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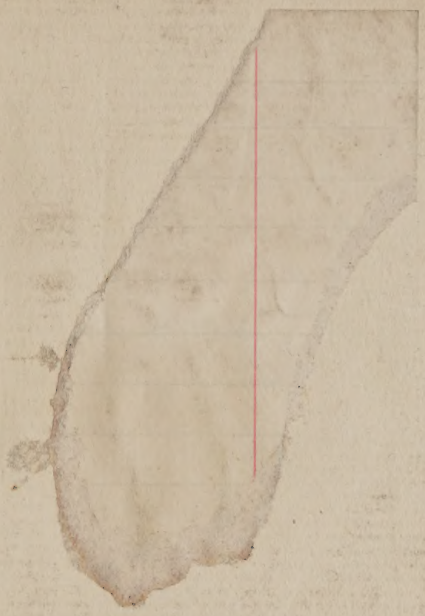

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VOLUME OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL

HELD IN

TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, MASS.

September 20-29, 1899

ISSUED BY THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE OF
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES
OF THE UNITED STATES

EDITED BY
REV. EUGENE C. WEBSTER
Assistant Secretary of the National Council

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PREFACE

The National Council of the Congregational churches of the United States at its meeting in Portland, Ore., June, 1898, made provision for the publication of a full official report of the proceedings of the second International Council, and intrusted that work to its publishing committee. The committee presents this volume to the Council delegates and the churches represented, as the result of its labor.

The report of the secretary, on pages nine and ten, may be referred to here as properly prefatory to this volume. It gives in some detail the official action through which the Council was convened in Boston. This great assembly had been anticipated with lively interest by the American churches, and especially by all who were charged, as their representatives, with the arrangements for it. Now that its record is complete, it is not too much to say that all favorable anticipations were far more than realized. The conspicuous success which attended its sessions, from first to last, calls for devout thanksgiving and praise to God. The occasions must have been very few when a convocation, continuing through eight "working days," with two and three sessions daily, has been so thronged. The last day brought as large an attendance as the first.

The size of the audience, from two to three thousand persons, no doubt lessened the amount of extemporaneous discussion for which the committee on program had endeavored to provide. But this, it is to be hoped, was more than offset by the increased value which so vast and representative an assembly gave to the Council as an educative force. More than fifteen hundred ministers of various denominations were in attendance, and many laymen of large influence. The number of delegates present from Great Britain, Canada, South Africa, and Australasia was a surprise to themselves. The absence of any delegate from Sweden was regretted, but partial compensation was found in the presence of one from Norway. The deputation from the Hawaiian Islands and the delegate from Japan were received with great interest.

After the inspiring experience of the two Councils, there was no hesitation in taking action looking to permanence; and a provisional committee was appointed, charged with the duty of arranging for a third Council, at such time and place as shall be found expedient, after a period of approximately ten years. Invitations were received from Sydney, New South Wales, and from Montreal, Canada, for the holding of the next Council, and, with hearty thanks, these were referred to the provisional committee.

The secretaries and assistant secretaries of the Council have served faithfully and efficiently to make this record full and accurate. The extemporaneous addresses were stenographically reported by Rev. Herbert W. Gleason, and the preparation of the volume for the press has been under the immediate editorial care of Rev. Eugene C. Webster, assistant secretaries. Mr. Webster has devoted most of his time to this labor from several weeks before the first session of the Council till the correction of the final proofs. Any apparent delay in its issue is, we believe, fully com-

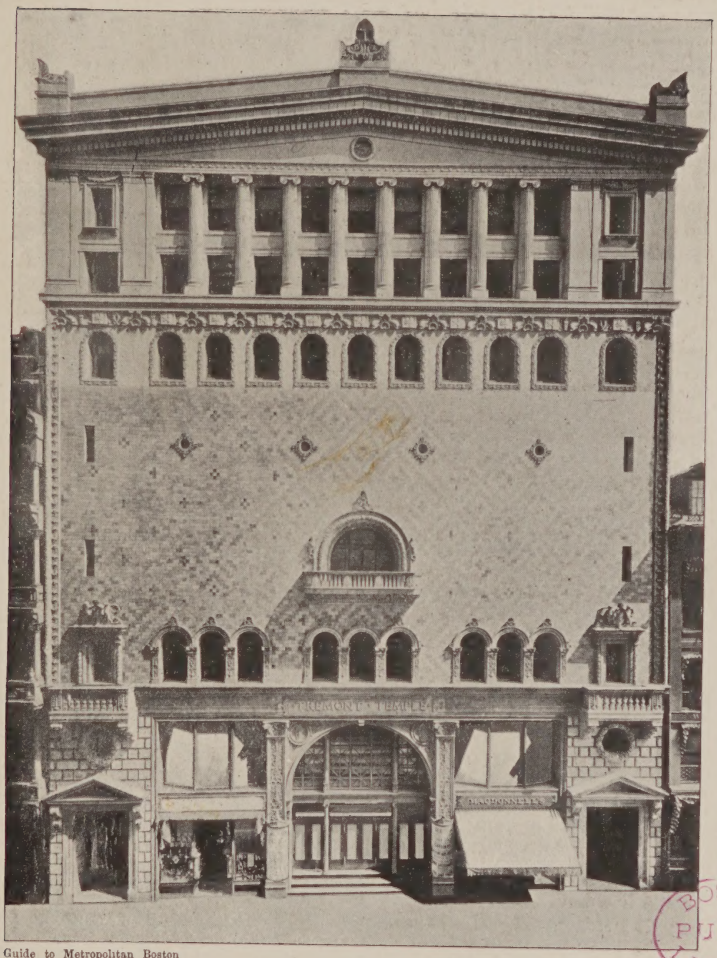
pensated for by the greater accuracy which, we hope, will be found to have been attained. The papers and addresses have mostly been revised in proof by their authors; and the correspondence with those in other countries has required considerable time.

The committee and many others in this country who were engaged in making arrangements for the Council have had frequent evidences, both in private letters and in the public press of the lands represented, of the appreciation by the delegates of their reception by their American brethren and of personal friendships which promise much for closer fellowship of Congregational churches throughout the world, and for better understanding between all English-speaking nations. We are assured that the ties have been strengthened between the churches in foreign missionary fields and those that planted and are helping to sustain them. May this volume further promote and increase the permanence of these precious bonds; and may it carry into all the churches the spirit of love and faith and devotion to Christ which rejoiced the hearts of those assembled in this great Council, and made all its sessions memorable in the history of Congregationalism.

The death of one of the delegates, Rev. W. Ivor Jones, of Wales, before reaching his home, may be mentioned with tender regret. It calls to mind the similar experience of a delegate to the London Council, Dr. Le Fevre, of Melbourne. And allusion here is proper to the death of Rev. Edward G. Porter, of Boston, February 5, 1900. Not a delegate to the Council, he will be remembered by all who went to Plymouth as the admirable presiding officer of the principal meeting there.

For the National Council Publishing Committee,

A. E. Dunning,
Thomas Todd,
H. A. Hazen.



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Cave, Rev. Prin. Alfred 456
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Desha, Rev. Stephen L. 320
Eliot, Pres. Charles W. 250
Emerson, Rev. Oliver P. 320
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Ezera, Rev. J. M. 320
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Fisher, Rev. Prof. George P. 44
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Gam, Rev. Jee 456
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Gordon, Rev. George A. 176
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Hall, Rev. Pres. Charles Cuthbert 424
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Hyde, Rev. Pres. William DeW. 224
Jefferson, Rev. Charles E. 328
Jones, Rev. John D. 136
Kauhane, Rev. J. 320
Kimball, Dr. Grace N. 280
Lawrence, Rt. Rev. William 400
Lyman, Rev. Albert J. 424
McLean, Rev. John K. xxiv
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Patton, Rev. Cornelius H. 328
Peabody, Rev. Prof. Francis G. 400
Plumb, Rev. Albert H. 16
Porter, Rev. Prof. Frank C. 44
Quincy, Josiah 16
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Slocum, Rev. Pres. William F. 224
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Storrs, Rev. Richard S. 482
Strong, Rev. Pres. Augustus H. 424
Taylor, Rev. Prof. Graham 160
Thomas, Rev. H. Arnold 160
Thomas, Rev. Reuen 250
Thompson, Rev. R. Wardlaw 456
Timoteo, Rev. E. S. 320
Tucker, Rev. Pres. William J. 224
Walker, Prof. Williston 376
Warren, Rev. Pres. William F. 424
Webster, Rev. Eugene C. 8
Wolcott, Roger 16
Woods, Rev. William J. xxviii
Woodworth, Rev. Frank G. 8
Wylie, Rev. James 400

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appointed by the

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(The first eleven on the list constituted the Executive Committee)

Samuel B. Capen, of Massachusetts.
Rev. Arthur Little, D.D., of Massachusetts.
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Rev. Albert E. Dunning, D.D., of Massachusetts.
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Rowland G. Hazard, of Rhode Island.
Cyrus Northrop, of Minnesota.
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Nathan P. Dodge, of Iowa.
Rev. William E. Griffis, D.D., of New York.
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Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D. Rev. Arthur Little, D.D.
Rev. Albert E. Dunning, D.D. Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D.
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John H. Colby, *Secretary*.
William H. Blood, *Treasurer*.

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Alphonso S. Covel.
Arthur H. Wellman.
Samuel Usher.
Frank Wood.

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William F. Whittemore.

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Rev. Edward G. Porter.
Arthur A. Maxwell.
John H. Colby.
Joseph P. Warren.

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Rev. George H. Flint.
Rev. Ellis Mendell.
Rev. William S. Kelsey.
Rev. Robert A. McFadden.
Rev. Frank E. Ramsdell.
Rev. Charles H. Beale, D.D.

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Prof. Junius W. Hill.

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Bailey, Rev. Amos J.	Seattle, Wash.
Bailey, Rev. Henry L.	Middletown Springs, Vt.
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Baldwin, Simeon E.	New Haven, Conn.
Barton, Rev. William E.	Oak Park, Ill.
Beard, Rev. Gerald H.	S. Norwalk, Conn.
Bell, Judge Charles W.	Lawrence, Mass.
Benedict, Augustus W.	St. Louis, Mo.
Bennett, Robert J.	Chicago, Ill.
Blatchford, Eliphalet W.	Chicago, Ill.
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Boynton, Rev. Nehemiah	Detroit, Mich.
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Bradley, Rev. Dan F.	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Bradley, Pres. John E.	Jacksonville, Ill.
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Brown, Rev. Clarence T.	Salt Lake City, Utah.
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Campbell, Rev. James M.	Lombard, Ill.
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Carroll, Rev. W. Irving	Dallas, Tex.
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Hazen, Rev. Henry A.	Auburndale, Mass.
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Hill, Rev. Jesse	Medina, O.

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Miner, Rev. Henry A.	Madison, Wis.
Moore, Rev. William H.	Hartford, Conn.
Moses, Galen C.	Bath, Me.
Moxom, Rev. Philip S.	Springfield, Mass.
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Noble, Rev. Mason	Lake Helen, Fla.
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Patton, Rev. Cornelius H.	St. Louis, Mo.
Phillips, Rev. Watson L.	New Haven, Conn.
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Pratt, Rev. Llewellyn	Norwich, Conn.
Ragland, Rev. Fountain G.	Wilmington, N. C.
Rees, Rev. Luther	Paris, Tex.
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Richardson, Rev. Cyrus	Nashua, N. H.
* Robinson, Henry C.	Hartford, Conn.

* Deceased February 14, 1900.

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Salter, Rev. William	Burlington, Io.
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Welles, Rev. T. Clayton	Taunton, Mass.
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Whitehead, John M.	Janesville, Wis.
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Woodworth, Rev. Pres. Frank G.	Tougaloo, Miss.
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Brown, Mrs. John	Bedford.
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Coutts, Mrs. James	Edinburgh.
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Craig, Rev. Robert	Edinburgh.
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Dowsett, Mrs. Thomas	Essex.
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Harrison, Mrs. Thomas W.	Hanley, Staffordshire.
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Hollowell, Mrs. J. Hirst	Rochdale.
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Hooke, Mrs. D. Burford	London.
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Hooper, Mrs. Arthur G.	Dudley.
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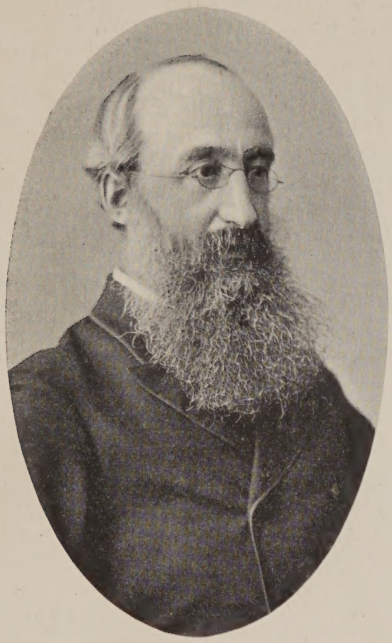
Jones, Rev. Morgan	Bolton, Lancashire.



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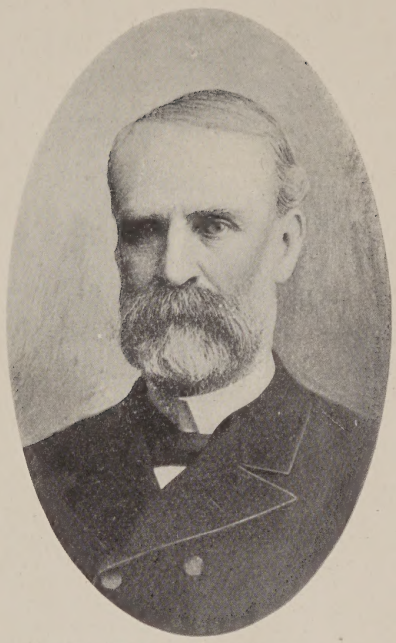
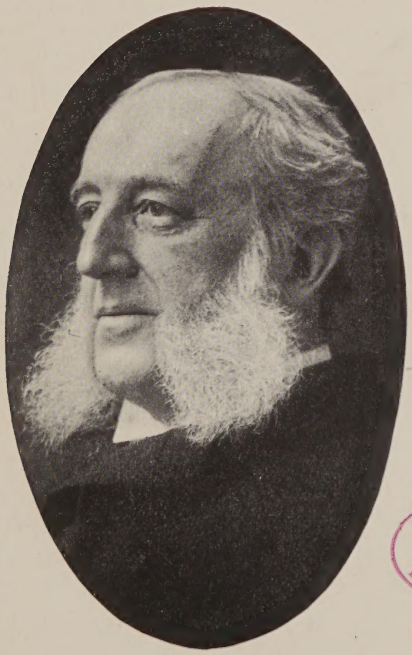
London, England.



REV. JOHN K. McLEAN, D.D.,
Oakland, Cal.



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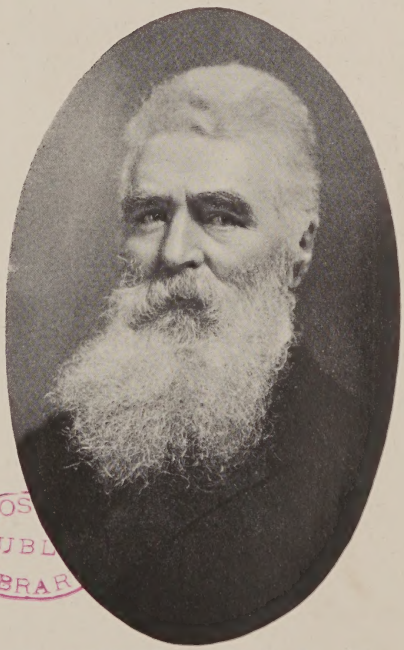

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Spicer, Mrs. Albert	London.
Spicer, Evan	London.
Spicer, Mrs. Evan	London.
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Tavender, Rev. Frederick	Great Marlow.
Thomas, Rev. H. Arnold	Bristol.
Thomas, Mrs. H. Arnold	Bristol.
Thomas, Rev. Owen	London.

* Died in Liverpool, October 28, 1899, aged 37.

Thompson, Rev. R. Wardlaw	London.
Thompson, Mrs. R. Wardlaw	London.
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Toms, C. W.	London.
Toms, Rev. H. Storer	London.
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Bevan, Penry Vaughan	Melbourne.
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Halley, Rev. Jacob John	Melbourne.
Halsey, William	Melbourne.
Robertson, Rev. Joseph	Adelaide.
Toms, Rev. J. Henwood	S. Brisbane, Queensland.
Woodhill, A. M.	Burwood, New South Wales.

JAPAN

Cary, Rev. Otis.	
Miyagawa, Rev. Tsunetern . . .	Osaka.

AFRICA

Dower, Rev. William	Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
Pixley, Rev. Stephen C. . . .	Inanda.

ASIA

Dwight, Rev. Henry O. . . .	Constantinople.
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Smith, Rev. Thomas S. . . .	Tillipally, India.

MICRONESIA

Price, Rev. Frank M.	Ruk.

NORWAY

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Olsen, Rev. Morten	[Boston, Mass.].

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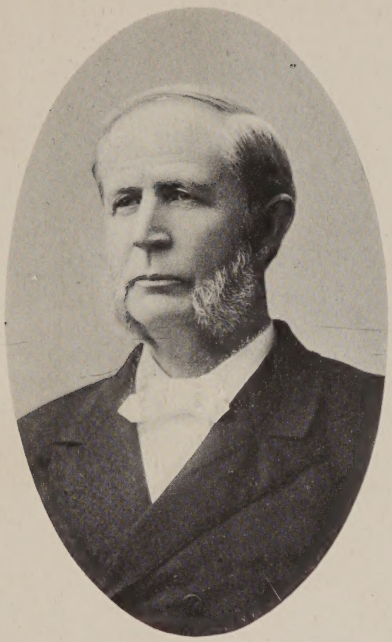
* See Errata, page xxx, and Erratum in the Appendix, page 545.



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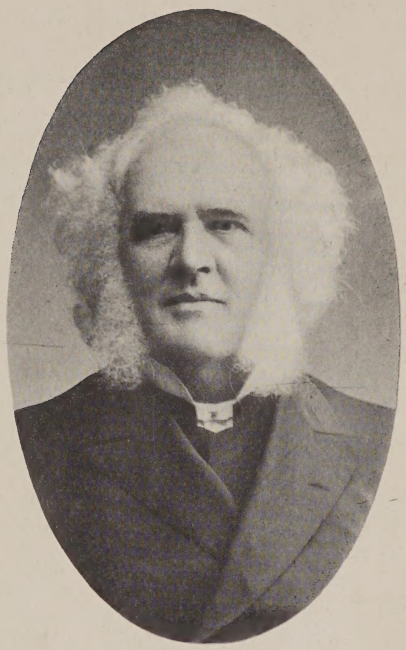

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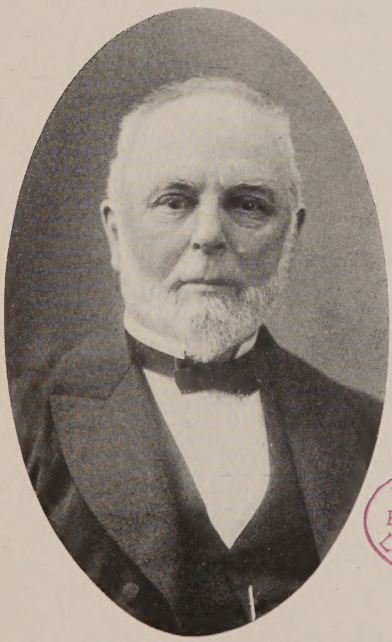

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ERRATA

These corrections are mainly due to the fact that the revised proofs were not received from several of the speakers until after the pages had been printed for the entire edition. The book was printed from type and some delay was unavoidable, as only about one hundred pages could be printed at one time.

PAGE 7, Line 42, Rev. D. Burford Hooke was elected by the Council for Secretary. He should have been an Assistant Secretary (see Appendix, page 545).
PAGE 8, Line 27, *for* E. B. Pitkin, *read* E. H. Pitkin.
PAGE 34, Line 13, *for* hie, *read* his.
Line 16, *for* ths, *read* the.
PAGE 36, Line 1, *for* the period (*after* holiness), *insert* a semi-colon.
PAGE 46, Line 14, *for* free, *read* freed.
PAGE 47, Line 27, *for* sometimes of it, *read* sometimes demanded of it.
PAGE 50, Line 6, *for* richened nations or continents, *read* richer notions or contents.
PAGE 99, Lines 8, 11, *for* A. D. S., *read* A. T. S.
PAGE 102, Line 7, *for* self-consciousness, *read* self-assertiveness.
Line 16, *for* he gives them the answer, *read* he gives the answer.
PAGE 123, Line 14, *for* senate, *read* synods.
PAGE 125, Line 8, *for* revises, *read* revives.
Line 17, *for* John Dwight, *read* John Bright.
Line 40, *for* anti-Diluvian, *read* ante-Diluvian.
PAGE 126, Line 22, *for* accupew, *read* occupew.
PAGE 130, Line 32, *for* Nottingham, *read* Nottinghamshire.
PAGE 131, Line 30, *for* Unfortunately, *read* Fortunately.
PAGE 183, Line 10, *for* appendages, *read* appanages.
PAGE 196, Line 46, *for* pay, *read* bear.
Line 52, *for* democratic (*twice*), *read* dogmatic.
PAGE 197, Line 1, *for* democratic, *read* dogmatic.
PAGE 210, Line 16, *for* effected, *read* affected.
PAGE 236, Line 28, *for* ingenuous, *read* ingenious.
PAGE 238, Line 27, *for* protest, *read* protests.
Line 53, *for* from place of power, *read* from the place of power.
PAGE 239, Line 40, *for* practicable, *read* practical.
PAGE 254, Line 40, *for* unceasingly, *read* increasingly.
PAGE 255, Line 14, *for* be in, *read* begin.
PAGE 273, Line 6, *for* stringently, *read* strenuously.
PAGE 274, Line 45, *for* art, *read* arts.
PAGE 275, Line 41, *for* of Oxford, *read* as Oxford.
PAGE 276, Line 23, *for* in England, *read* in New England.
PAGE 327, Line 17, *for* four thousand, *read* nearly fourteen thousand.
PAGE 383, Line 37, *for* annually, *read* according.
PAGE 384, Line 35, *for* restriction, *read* restoration.
PAGE 385, Line 5, *for* imparity, *read* uniformity.
Line 15, *for* fightings, *read* bigotry.
PAGE 386, Line 8, *for* a hardier manhood, only, *read* only a hardier manhood.
Line 36, *for* defending our right, *read* defending our rights.

PAGE 387, Line 22, *for* not by, *read* not only by.
Line 26, *for* forebodings, *read* wickedness.
PAGE 388, Line 9, *for* had, *read* so.
PAGE 389, Line 52, *for* catechists, *read* catechisms.
PAGE 432, Line 12, *for* secretaries, *read* secretary.
PAGE 447, Line 17, *for* country, *read* county.
Lines 20, 26, *for* established, *read* gathered.
Line 37, *for* Independence, *read* Independency.
PAGE 448, Line 22, *for* meeting, *read* meeting-house.
Line 27, *for* Independents, *read* Dissenters.
PAGE 465, Line 5, *for* forms, *read* form.
PAGE 470, Line 43, *for* this, *read* the.
Line 53, *for* in, *read* on.
PAGE 471, Line 14, *for* day, *read* days.

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THE CONGREGATIONAL HOUSE.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SECOND INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL

OF

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

Wednesday, September 20, 1899

PROCEEDINGS

AFTERNOON SESSION

The second International Congregational Council convened in Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass., U. S. A., at three o'clock, Wednesday afternoon, September 20, 1899, and was called to order by Samuel B. Capen, M.A., of Massachusetts, chairman of the committee of arrangements appointed by the National Council.

Prayers were offered by the Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D., of New Jersey, and by Rev. John Brown, D.D., of England. Prayer was especially offered in behalf of Rev. Daniel L. Furber, D.D., of Massachusetts, who lay at the point of death.

Mr. Samuel B. Capen made an address of welcome, and presented to the Council a gavel which was made from the wood of an elm which grew on the present site of the Congregational House.

Mr. Capen's Address of Welcome

The committee of arrangements desire the privilege of speaking the first word of welcome to the delegates of the second International Congregational Council. Eight years have passed since our first meeting in London. The churches of Great Britain taught us then in the most practical way the meaning of English hospitality. Everything that was possible for our comfort and enjoyment was given with lavish hands. We in America have been looking forward since then to the time when we might show not only our appreciation of what you in Great Britain did for us then, but our love for all our brethren, from Canada, and from across the sea, and from the ends of the earth. The tie that binds us reaches around the globe. We welcome you to a renewal of the old fellowships and to a discussion of the great problems that confront the nations. Together we will kindle anew the missionary spirit and do what we may to lift the cross of Christ a little higher.

When we welcome you as you welcomed us eight years ago, we are all conscious of the mighty changes that have taken place.

(1) Great Britain is not the same. We have watched with admiration the increasing courage and faith and power of the non-conformist churches, in which Congregationalists have been conspicuous. While your beloved, our beloved, Dr. Dale, Dr. Allon, Dr. Berry, and others have gone, yet God has raised up other leaders among you as brave and true, many of whom are here to-day. We glory in your growth in numbers and in spiritual power. We have read from a recent issue of the London *Daily News*: —

"Congregationalism, so far from declining in this country [England], is going ahead by leaps and bounds." We are sure there has been growth in a proper spirit of denominationalism, and that you are federated together for service in 1899 better than in 1891. We have an increasing pride in you because of what you have wrought, and our welcome therefore is all the truer.

(2) Australia and her sister colonies are not the same. Have we not read of the new "Commonwealth of Australia," and its wonderful constitution? We owe to you our ballot system and other good things, and glory in your progress in the building of the new brotherhood of civil and religious liberty towards which the world hastens. And we know well the honorable part Congregationalists are taking in all this uplift. Chief Justice Way, of South Australia, has said recently: "The influence of the Congregationalists in my own colony at all events is all-pervading, and is quite out of proportion to the number they bear to the colony in general. They are keenly intellectual and wonderfully enthusiastic in all matters affecting the higher citizenship." With joy in your victories we bid you also a hearty welcome.

(3) Canada is not the same. Wonderful progress is being made by our neighbors just over the border, with whom, without fort or barrier, we have lived in peace for nearly a hundred years — a peace, I venture to prophesy, which will never be broken. And in this progress will you blame us if as Congregationalists we take a little special pride? Listen to this admission from one of your leading Congregationalist clergymen, a prominent member of the London Council in 1891, who in a letter to the London *Independent* says: —

"Sir Wilfred Laurier has defined his political point of view as that of a 'Liberal of the English school.' And the Liberalism of England, with its combination of democratic freedom with reverence for law, is to a very large extent the outgrowth of the principles asserted by the early Independents, and embodied in national life by such leaders as Cromwell and Milton. But Sir Wilfred is not only a 'Liberal of the English school,' he is also premier of the Dominion. And what was the factor that turned the scale in his favor two years ago last June? The growth of the spirit of freedom in the province of Quebec! And what has been one of the chief agents in stimulating their growth? The contact of French Canadians with the democracy of New England manufacturing towns to which they went seeking employment and from which they returned bringing ideas! And what gave its democratic stamp to New England? Congregationalism! Is it too much then to say that Sir Wilfred Laurier derived his political principles from the Congregationalism of England, and his political opportunity from the Congregationalism of New England?" Yes, our brethren from Canada, we bid you welcome.

(4) Great changes have also been made in Mexico, Japan, China, Africa, India, Turkey and Micronesia, all of which countries we had hoped would be represented in this Council, and to which one and all we bid a glad welcome.

(5) And America is not the same. Dr. Dale, of sacred memory, told us how our English brethren were almost "startled" by the robust faith of Americans in Congregationalism, and that "our confidence in the Congregational polity was splendidly vigorous." We have more faith than ever in that system which was born in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the germ of a free church and a free state. While we have abated not one whit of our belief in the independence of the local church, we have ourselves been coming closer together as a denomination in our work. While we have no conflict with others who believe in their ritual, their bishops and their

church government, we believe deeper than ever in the simple polity of the early New England churches. It seems to us to be "common sense in religion." It has been carried by her sons across the continent clear to the Pacific shore, and its representatives from over forty states are here to-day. We welcome you also to the old home.

There are vacancies in our ranks as in yours. Of those who had prominent places on the program in London, Drs. Brand, Clark, Quint, Ross, Stearns and Taylor are gone. And since this program was prepared Dr. Lamson, a prince among our ministers, and Samuel Johnson, a prince among our laymen, who had planned most generously a reception in your honor, have both entered into rest.

Yes, eight years have wrought mighty changes in us all. History has been making rapidly. We are told that America little realizes the silent revolution that has taken place in England, bringing that nation into fuller sympathy with the democratic institutions of America. We on our part have been appreciating more and more that we have a common literature and to a large extent a common ancestry. Together we believe not only in religious liberty and humanity and in the right of self-government, but also that the gospel of the Son of God is the only power to redeem the nations. Because of these things how nobly has England stood by our side in the stormy times through which as a nation we have been passing. In the words of John Hay, our Secretary of State, when leaving London as American ambassador: "We are bound by a tie which we did not forge, and which we cannot break. We are joint ministers of the same sacred mission of liberty and progress." We give you now an equal interest with ourselves in Plymouth Rock, and we know you grant us an equal interest in Scrooby, which made the story of the Pilgrims and of Plymouth Rock possible.

Yes, we have been coming nearer together in the years since we met in London, and with new joy we have put side by side the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes. For we know that those who are loyal to the one flag equally with those who are loyal to the other, not only speak the same language but have a common interest in missions and education and liberty. We welcome you, then, to a discussion of these great themes, that we may speak out anew our grand message of life and love, eager as Congregationalists to enter the new century with holier enthusiasm and determined to do a nobler work for Christ in all the world.

Organization: Secretaries

Rev. William A. Robinson, of New York, nominated the following persons for secretaries and assistant secretaries, and they were elected.

Secretaries.— Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D.D., of Massachusetts; Rev. William J. Woods, B.A., and Rev. D. Burford Hooke, of England.

Assistant Secretaries.— Rev. Eugene C. Webster, of Massachusetts; Rev. Herbert W. Gleason, of Minnesota; and Rev. Frank G. Woodworth, D.D., of Mississippi.

The Roll

The roll of the United States delegates was called by the Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D.D., that of the English delegates was called by the Rev. William J. Woods, B.A., and that of the Canadian and other

foreign delegates was called by Rev. D. Burford Hooke, and each delegate stood up and responded to his name.

President

Rev. Henry Arnold Thomas, M.A., of England, chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, nominated James Burrill Angell, LL.D., of Michigan, President of the University of Michigan, for President of the Council, and he was elected by acclamation.

President Angell was escorted to the chair by Rev. Samuel E. Herrick, D.D., of Massachusetts, and Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D., of Australia, and he made a brief and appropriate response.

Vice-Presidents

Hon. Arthur H. Wellman, of Massachusetts, nominated the following as Vice-Presidents, and they were chosen.

Vice-Presidents. — Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois; Rev. John K. McLean, D.D., of California; Rev. Samuel E. Herrick, D.D., of Massachusetts; Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., of England; A. J. Shepheard, Esq., M.L.S.B., of England; and Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D., of Australia.

The Vice-Presidents took seats upon the platform.

Committees

The following committees were appointed: —

Committee on Credentials. — Rev. Dan F. Bradley, D.D., of Michigan; A. Lyman Williston, of Massachusetts; Rev. W. Hope Davison, M.A., of Scotland; Rev. J. Henwood Toms, of Australia; Rev. Edward M. Hill, M.A., of Canada.

Business Committee. — Rev. Morton Dexter, D.D., of Massachusetts; H. Clark Ford, of Ohio; E. B. Pitkin, of Illinois; Rev. Jacob John Halley, of Australia; and Rev. W. Henry Warriner, M.A., B.D., of Canada.

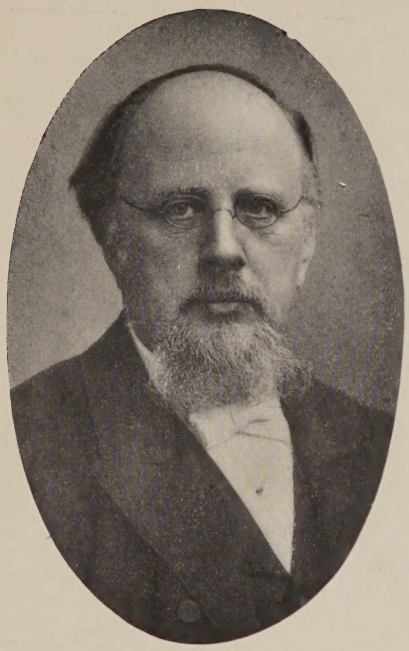
Nominating Committee. — W. H. Strong, of Michigan; Rev. Azel W. Hazen, D.D., of Connecticut; Rev. Arthur W. Ackerman, of Oregon; Rev. A. J. Griffith, M.A., of Australia; Evan Spicer, J.P., of England; Rev. David E. Irons, M.A., B.D., of Scotland; and Rev. John P. Gerrie, B.A., of Canada.

Daily Order

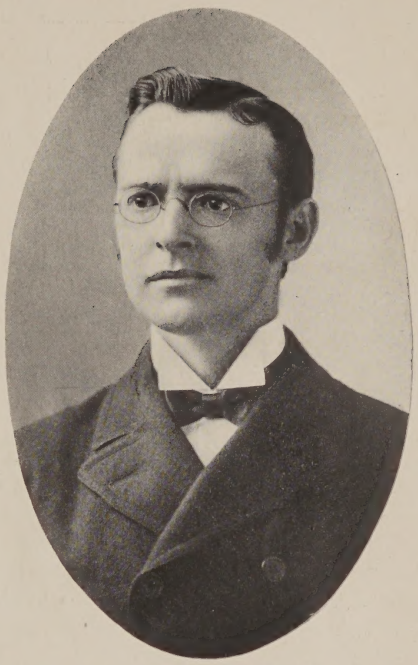
Moved and carried that the morning sessions of the Council commence at 9.30 o'clock; the afternoon sessions at 2 o'clock; and the evening sessions at 7.45 o'clock.

Greetings to Rev. E. A. Park, D.D.

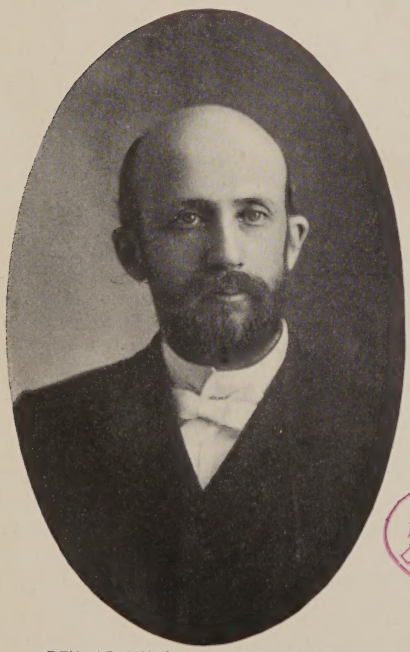
Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D., of New Jersey, moved the following resolution, which was carried.



REV. D. BURFORD HOOKE,
London, England.



REV. EUGENE C. WEBSTER,
Boston, Mass.



REV. FRANK G. WOODWORTH, D.D.,
Tougaloo, Miss.

REV. HERBERT W. GLEASON,
Minneapolis, Minn.

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Resolved, That the second International Council of the Congregationalists now in session at Tremont Temple, Boston, sends its affectionate and reverent greetings to the Rev. Prof. Edwards A. Park, D.D., of Andover, to recognize his great service to the cause of sacred learning and thus to the Kingdom of God, to congratulate him on the completion of his ninetieth year, and to assure him of its earnest prayer that the evening of his life may be long, peaceful and full of the joy of the Lord.

Secretary's Report

Secretary Henry A. Hazen, D.D., read his report.

Secretary Hazen's Report

Fathers and Brethren of our world-wide Congregational fellowship: This is a glad hour to all of us who have had to do with the arrangements whose results we witness in the assembling of this second International Congregational Council. Your welcome has been fitly spoken by the chairman of our committee of arrangements, but you will not, I trust, deem it out of place for me to add a personal word of welcome on my own part, and of the thanksgiving and gratitude to God which fill my heart in the presence of this great and unique assembly. If the Master of assemblies gives us his gracious presence, as we believe and pray that he will, the results will tell, the world around, for the spread of his truth and kingdom.

There are a few things which at the outset may properly claim your attention, and which the secretary of the committee may speak of more naturally than any other.

The first International Congregational Council, held in London in 1891, adopted a resolution that the National Council of the United States be requested to act as the convening body of a second Council in substantially the same way as the first Council was called by the Congregational Union of England and Wales; and that a committee of fifteen be appointed to convey this request to the National Council. The American section of this committee, by its chairman, Dr. Noble, presented this request to the National Council, at its session in Minneapolis in 1892, with the recommendation that the Council be held in the year 1900 in the City of Boston.

This recommendation was heartily approved by the Council, and at its session in Syracuse in 1895 a committee of thirty was named, authorized to make needful arrangements and to name a sub-committee of eleven as its executive.

This committee has had in charge the arrangements for this Council, in most fraternal correspondence with the committee of the Union of England and Wales and with all other Congregational bodies. The deliberations of this committee had not gone far before objection to the year named, 1900, began to appear. It was feared that the attractions of the great French Exposition would prove a too powerful counter-current, and for this and other reasons, with the approval of the English committee, they took the responsibility of changing the year to 1899, judging that the closing year of the nineteenth century would not be, on the whole, the most favorable time for this assembly.

The place where this Council should meet has never, so far as I know, been in question. The place for the first Council was never in doubt, although I think that London never invited it. But when children are

going home they do not stand on the ceremony of an invitation; and Boston has more pleasure in seeing you here to-day than would have been possible if you had waited to ask whether you would be welcome. She takes a bit of pride in your assumption of that fact, and rejoices in the regard and confidence which she reads in your presence.

The making up of our roll of delegates raises a query — What bodies are to be recognized as entitled to representation in this International Council? The secretary's answer, subject to your judgment and instruction, is that delegates are to represent a national or colonial body. These bodies may, of course, provide for the selection of their delegates as they see fit, and may invite any local bodies to name delegates, but any delegates so named become representatives of the national body through whom they come to us. There are no delegates for whom we have a heartier welcome than for those who, through the invitation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, of Ontario and Quebec, and of the Australian States, have been named by certain institutions and societies; but when so named, they become the delegates of the Unions in question, and this Council cannot go behind their authority in the matter. This question is to-day purely academic; but if future Councils are to be held, it will be important to have the correct principle recognized, and troublesome questions averted.

Six of the delegates who had been appointed to this Council do not answer to their names to-day. They were Revs. James Brand, D.D., and Charles M. Lamson, D.D., Hons. W. E. Hale and Nelson Dingley, Samuel Johnson and E. D. Smith. They would have filled a large place in our councils here; we may not doubt that they are filling a larger place in the world to which our loving thought follows them.

It is fit that such members of the former Council as have ceased from their labors should have reverent mention here. The first name which occurs to us all, Americans as well as Englishmen, is that of the honored and beloved President of that Council, Rev. R. W. Dale, D.D. How graciously and impressively he bore himself in that high office none who were present can ever forget; nor that that service was among the latest, as it surely was among the ripest and best, of his illustrious contributions to the Christian thought and life of the world.

And in a niche very near we set the name of one of our American Vice-Presidents, Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D. He brought his clear thinking, wide knowledge, and rare organizing power to our service with loyal and loving devotion; and it is safe to say that no man put more intelligent interest into the life of the first Council and the preparations for this body, as long as God spared him to us, than Dr. Quint.

Of others, I mention only Americans, leaving to the English secretary the privilege of naming others, better known to him. Two of the younger of our delegates were the first to go, Revs. A. H. Hall and Prof. L. F. Stearns. Great hopes and promise of future usefulness were taken from us in their early death. Others, in order, were Prof. Benton, Hon. J. W. Patterson, Rev. A. H. Ross, who must rank with a very few in whose early forecast and discussions the way was prepared for the holding of the first Council; Revs. William M. Taylor, D.D., N. G. Clark, D.D., and D. G. Watt; Samuel Holmes, Rev. Allen Hazen, Rowland Hazard, Charles H. Woods, and Rev. James Brand, D.D.

This roll of our dead is a shining one, and we may count it high honor that God has given us the fellowship of such men in laying the foundations of this Council; their memory should be an inspiring incentive to us to build wisely and faithfully upon them.

You will naturally ask yourselves the question of the future — Has not

the time come when we may recognize the right and the duty to become a permanent body, and take our place as an organization to be reckoned with among the world's spiritual forces? I suggest the early appointment of a committee which shall consider the question in its various important phases, and report to you in season for action before our sessions close.

I may properly record another fact of which you are entitled to the knowledge. When it was decided that this Council should be held in Boston, the Congregational Club of Boston sought the privilege of acting locally for the churches, as the hosts of the Council. This was cheerfully granted by the committee of arrangements, and the ministration of our hospitality has been and will be in the hands of this club.

I take the liberty of suggesting that the members of the committee of the club, who have been specially charged with this service, and whose names are not on our roll, be entered as honorary members, *viz.:* Mr. John H. Colby, Mr. William H. Blood, Mr. William F. Whittemore, Rev. Edward S. Tead, Rev. Marshall M. Cutter, Rev. Howard A. Bridgman, Rev. D. W. Waldron; and to this suggestion I would add the names of two assistant secretaries whom you have named this afternoon, Rev. Eugene C. Webster and Rev. Herbert W. Gleason; also the one member of the publishing committee not already a member of this Council, Mr. Thomas Todd; and Rev. S. N. Jackson, a member of a committee of the former Council, which has a report to make to this body.

Honorary Members

The recommendations contained in Dr. Hazen's report were unanimously adopted, and the following were made honorary members: —

John H. Colby, William H. Blood, William F. Whittemore, Rev. Edward Sampson Tead, Rev. Marshall M. Cutter, Rev. Howard A. Bridgman, Rev. D. W. Waldron, all of whom were on the committee of arrangements appointed by the Congregational Club of Boston; also the two assistant secretaries, Rev. Eugene C. Webster and Rev. H. W. Gleason; and Rev. S. N. Jackson and Thomas Todd.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Prin. Alfred Cave, B.A., D.D., of England.

Moved and carried to take a recess until 7.45 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION

The Council convened at 7.45, President Angell in the chair. After the hymn "All people that on earth do dwell" was sung, prayer was offered by the Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., of England.

Addresses of Welcome

Addresses of welcome were made by His Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts, Roger Wolcott, LL.D., and His Honor the Mayor of the City of Boston, Josiah Quincy, to which President Angell made a brief and appropriate response.

Governor Wolcott's Address of Welcome

The duty, Mr. President, which you have called upon me to perform to-night is one which, of necessity, must be brief in the performance and yet one which, I can assure you, sir, it is wholly agreeable to me to assume. For the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, famous among her sister states for the force and strength of her religious and educational institutions and associations, can never be indifferent to the meeting upon her soil of such a body of men as is represented here to-night. Nor, Mr. President, can Congregationalism feel itself upon an alien or unfriendly soil when it meets, through its chosen delegates, in a Commonwealth which bears upon its bosom that Plymouth Rock from which have gone forth memories and influences that have spanned the world.

To her own sons and daughters who are here assembled, Massachusetts need speak no word of welcome. They are joint inheritors of her fame and her history. They stand, like sons in their father's house, behind the benign figure of the Commonwealth and are joint hosts with her in extending the welcome of Massachusetts to those who have come to us to-night from other states and from lands across the sea. But to these others — I will not call them strangers to us, for I hope that already they feel themselves at home — to these others I say that Massachusetts bids them a hearty welcome and a Godspeed in the deliberations which have brought them together here at this International Congregational Council.

I think, to him who reads history, that the most conspicuous and impressive lesson taught by her many pages is the force and the power and the influence of individuals. Religions have taken their name and have owed their precious inspiration to the individual man. Great discoveries, whether of unknown continents or of new fields of human learning, that have extended the vision of man and have ameliorated his condition, as also perhaps the founding of nations, are generally due to the individual power of some mighty intellect. And yet, while admitting this greater force and impressiveness of the individual, I think there is also something that always catches and fires the imagination in the power of association, in the perpetuity of an organization, whether it be some great seat of learning that for centuries has held aloft the torch of knowledge, whether it be an association of men such as framed that solemn compact in the

hold of the *Mayflower*, or whether it be some association for religious or philanthropic purposes. Great men live and do not die; they teach the lesson of an endless life. And yet also those names which do not live eternally, but are forgotten with the passing years, help to build the structure which, as the years and the centuries pass on, stands four-square to the light of heaven and bathes its towering summit in the effulgence of high noon. And it is something of that impressiveness which is borne in upon my mind to-night. We have before us, from our own soil and from lands far off in distant seas, men who have already won the precious prize of high distinction for learning or for spirituality. We have also men whose shoulders bear only the newly given accolade of earnest, youthful knighthood, and we know that they too are building the structure and are shedding abroad their influence which will make for the uplifting of the nation.

And so we welcome them, from whatever clime they come, whether their brows are already bound with the triumphant laurel of achievement or whether they strive if haply they may attain that hereafter.

To one who stands upon a mountain summit in any inhabited portion of the world, the scene that he looks down upon covers, alas! much of human sorrow — yes, and probably much of human vice and perhaps crime. The discordant Babel of earth's angry voices dashes like a wave against the base of the mountain, but it is only the harmonious sounds that reach the summit, as of the lowing of distant cattle, or perhaps the passage of some thundering train of cars bearing men and women on their errands of love or of labor, or some bell that calls to labor or to sorrow. These sounds alone reach the summit, and to him who stands there all the malarial vapors that hug the valleys disappear and the scene he looks down upon, whether it be in the glory of the rising sun or in the full effulgence of noon or in the splendor of the setting luminary, is always fair and peaceful and beautiful. We read in Holy Writ, that, after the different stages of creation as there related, God looked down upon the work of his hand and saw that it was good. Since then time has grown old, whether it be counted in the definite centuries that early scholarship placed upon the age of the world or in the unnumbered æons that geology and astronomy have placed as the term of human existence upon this world. The freshness of the creation has worn away; man has multiplied; vice and crime and woe and misery and suffering have multiplied too. And yet — I speak it in all reverence — if the God who created now looks down upon the world I believe that he again sees that it is good. Sin and crime were speedily admitted to the world that he had created, and the vision of Omniscience must have seen that they would come. And yet, with all the sin and suffering, I believe that to the eye of God, from his high and lofty heaven, looking down upon this world as I have described one gazing upon the landscape from a lofty mountain, the suffering and the crime will be lost in view of the greater mass and aggregation of noble effort, of constantly extending Christianity, of love, of virtue and of human happiness.

My friends, I believe that there is a special force in the deliberations of Christians assembled together, to whatever special denomination they may belong, — and I may perhaps shock some of you by saying that to me that is not a matter of the most vast importance, providing only the love of Christ and the willingness to serve him by serving man is the inspiring force in the individual heart. In the presence of these distinguished theologians I am too cautious and too sagacious a man to venture farther in this field, and I shall therefore simply once more say to you that Massachusetts feels herself honored by your presence, that she welcomes you

with a full heart and an outstretched hand, and that she believes that from your deliberations, where you touch shoulders with men of the great English-speaking race from all over the world, will go forth a powerful influence that shall be strong for the uplifting of humanity and for the service of the kingdom of Christ.

Mayor Quincy's Address of Welcome

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the International Congregational Council: It is difficult for me to find any additional words of welcome after the speech of His Excellency the Governor. I can only say that if the City of Boston is to be regarded in any sense as your host upon the occasion of this meeting, we are proud to be placed in that position and we appreciate the privilege of entertaining so many distinguished representatives of the Congregational churches, not only from various parts of this country but from other countries and from distant lands. The interesting feature of this gathering to my mind, the unusual feature, is that it is international in its character. It is not merely a meeting of the representatives of the Congregational body of the United States, but it includes the representatives of that body from our neighbor, Canada, from far-off Australia, and from England. It is certainly an interesting occasion that brings together all of these distinguished representatives of these churches, and we certainly appreciate it as an honor that you have selected Boston as your place of meeting.

I cannot but believe that every one of these international gatherings or conventions contributes no little towards bringing closer together — promoting a better understanding and more intimate relations — the various peoples of the world who are represented at this gathering. It is impossible for the representative men from England, Australia and Canada who have come here to attend this meeting, to associate with the representatives of these churches in the United States during the days of your sessions, and it is impossible for the representatives of the Congregational churches of the United States to associate with them, without parting with a better understanding on both sides, with a feeling of personal connection, and without doing something at least towards strengthening those bonds of international friendship and unity which are constantly uniting the nations of the earth more closely together. That great process of bringing the nations more closely together must naturally start by bringing into more intimate relation those who speak the same language and who have the same blood; and any occasion which brings together, as this occasion does, the representatives of the great English-speaking peoples of the world must do something towards promoting international unity and international fellowship. I think that their coming together does not tend to draw a line of distinction between those who speak the English language and those who speak other tongues, but that the drawing together of all nations in closer bonds of unity is promoted by this first natural process of a closer coming together of those who have the tie of a common language to start with. And this drawing together, this better understanding, this closer friendship that is springing up between the great English-speaking nations of the earth, does not tend to separate the world into two hostile camps, one of which speaks the English tongue and the other speaks the various other languages of the world, but it is rather, to my mind, the first stage in that great process which is bringing

all mankind into closer ties of fellowship and of unity and which is tending to make the whole world kin.

The working out of the great problems which confront the world must rest to a large degree upon the various churches in which the progressive and thoughtful minds of the world are joined. The one great sign of our times is that the churches are coming to consider more and more, not only questions of theology, questions of doctrine, and questions of religion, but those great questions which are bound up with the life of this world and with the future of humanity. And so I am glad to see upon this most interesting program which has been prepared for this Council subjects of such vital import to every man, whatever his religious faith may be, — subjects which relate to problems of international relations, problems of the world's peace, problems connected with the progress of the world. And in addressing yourselves to the task of throwing more light upon these problems you are contributing in no small degree, I am sure, through the leading minds gathered together in this Council, towards the enlightenment not alone of your churches but of the whole world and of mankind at large.

I am sure that the members of this denomination could not have come to a city which would be more in sympathy with the spirit of this gathering than the City of Boston. His Excellency the Governor has referred to the historic considerations which make the soil of Massachusetts an appropriate meeting place for this second International Council of the Congregational faith. Let me add that not alone on account of these historical relations of the past, but on account of the attitude of mind of our people here in Boston and in Massachusetts in this present day, this is an appropriate place for you to meet. For whatever our divisions of opinion may be here upon religious matters, however numerous may be the sects into which we are divided, we can at least claim that the great ideal of the most complete religious toleration, the most complete respect for the religious beliefs of others, is the accepted doctrine upon the soil of Massachusetts. If I may refer to such a subject, I can speak for myself at least in expressing my sympathy with what I suppose should be called the non-conformist attitude which is represented by so many of the delegates who have come here from across the water. In this country we believe in non-conformity. We do not believe in the idea of a state church. We believe in every man conforming to his own belief, to his own ideas, and belonging to his own church, which shall stand upon an exact and equal level with every other church. And so I can assure those who come here from a country in which different ideas have descended from the past that their attitude will meet with the hearty sympathy of all of our people and that we are with them in spirit, whether we are of their belief or not, in their attitude of non-conformity.

I can only add that I am sure the citizens of Boston generally appreciate the privilege of having this great International Congregational Council meet in our midst. I know that they will follow the proceedings of the Council with interest, and that they will be glad of an opportunity to listen to the gentlemen of national and of international reputation who are to deliver the papers and the addresses here. I trust that all the members of this Council will find their stay in this city a pleasant and agreeable one, and that they will be able to take home with them pleasing recollections of the City of Boston. I wish you all success in the accomplishment of the objects for which you have here assembled, and I wish for the great denomination which you represent, continued growth and success in the accomplishment of the ideas for which it stands.

To the above addresses, President Angell replied as follows: —

Response by President Angell

I am sure my colleagues of the Council would not forgive me if I did not, in a single word, express our sincerest thanks to His Excellency the Governor and to His Honor the Mayor, for their kind consideration in coming here to-night and in addressing us these words of welcome and of cheer. I could not but think, as they were speaking, however, that they perhaps were in a more advantageous position than the magistrates who preceded them some two hundred years age, who, whenever the clergy assembled to consider matters of doctrine, found it to be their duty to interpose with some authority to see that the clergy were kept free from heresy. I am very glad that that burden is not laid upon these gentlemen in addition to their other duties; but I feel very confident also, after the rational theology they have presented to us to-night, that none of us could have much cause to complain of their verdict. We certainly desire to thank them most fervently for the services they have rendered us to-night.

The hymn "I love thy kingdom, Lord" was sung.

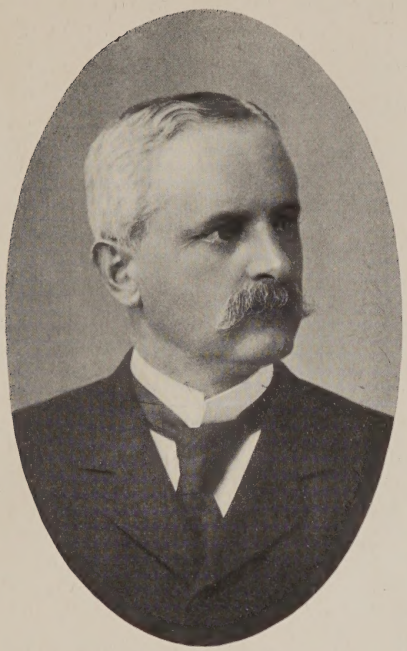
The Presidential Address

James Burrill Angell, LL.D., of Michigan, President of the University of Michigan, delivered the following address, as President of the Council.

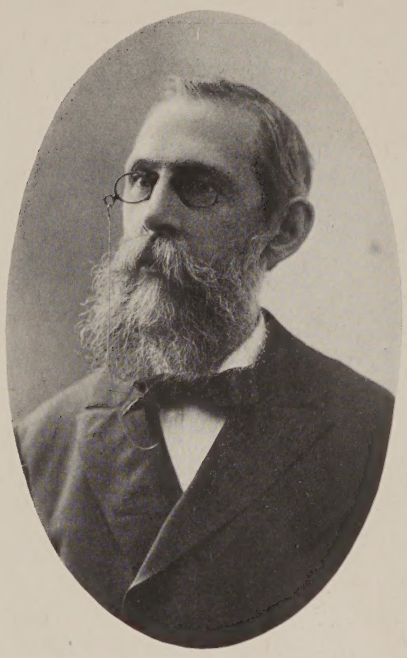
President Angell's Address

Those of us who were fortunate enough to attend the first International Council, held at London in 1891, can wish nothing better for this Council than that it should equal that in interest and spiritual power. How our hearts were thrilled by the memories of the heroic past, as we gathered in Memorial Hall, which was erected to commemorate the devotion of the clergymen who for conscience' sake gave up their livings in the adjacent parishes, and which stands on the site of the old Fleet Prison, where Barrowe and Greenwood, the early advocates of our simple faith, suffered for their beliefs. As we clasped the hands of our brethren from Great Britain, from Australia, from India, from China, from Japan, from Sweden, from Africa, from every continent of the globe and from the islands of the sea, how our zeal was quickened and our faith was deepened with our glad consciousness of being soldiers in such an army, that was making beneficent conquests in all parts of the earth under the ever-victorious banner of our Lord. Our hearts are overflowing with joy at greeting so many of the same brethren here and now. But I am sure we sadly miss one commanding figure, who lent us all so much inspiration at that meeting, the President, Dr. Dale, who was even then suffering in some degree from the illness which not long after terminated his life. His wise and weighty words none who heard them will ever forget. And so his benign spirit shall not be altogether absent from us at this meeting.

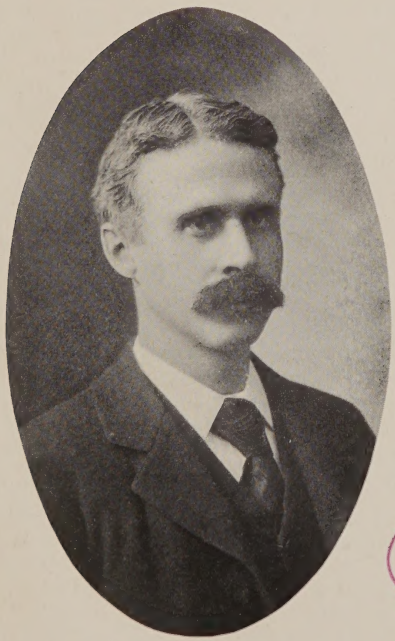
We trust that you, our brethren from other lands, will not find this spot devoid of associations of deep interest to you. Plymouth and Boston and Salem and Cambridge are not strange names to you. Brewster and Bradford and Winthrop and Eliot are not unfamiliar to you. Here our fathers, who were the neighbors and friends of your fathers, came to escape the tyranny which forbade them freedom of worship and fought at great odds



HIS EXCELLENCY,
GOV. ROGER WOLCOTT, LL.D.



SAMUEL B. CAPEN, M.A.,
Boston, Mass.



HIS HONOR,
MAYOR JOSIAH QUINCY.

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REV. ALBERT H. PLUMB, D.D.,
Boston, Mass.

the hard battles of life in the wilderness. But with true English grit and with an invincible faith they fought through to victory. And so every foot of New England soil should be hallowed ground to those who believe as you do. For nearly three centuries it has been the stronghold of the faith you cherish. If there is a spot where the Congregationalists of the world should find a heartier welcome than anywhere else, it is in the state which owes its very existence to the Pilgrims and Puritans of the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The history of the great movement which led our fathers to the adoption of the faith and polity which we have inherited, I need not dwell upon in detail. You have from your childhood again and again lovingly lingered over every chapter of the wonderful story.

You know that the spirit of their faith was, as Palfrey says, no mere creation of the sixteenth century, but is as old as the manliness and truth of England, nay, as old as Christianity itself. Its benign light shone forth from the pure soul of John Wiclif, the morning star that flamed so brightly on the Eastern sky of the English Reformation, and from the pathways of the fraternity of Christian Brothers, whose swift feet, beautiful upon the mountains, carried the New Testament and tracts into so many of the homes of England, years before Henry VIII had broken with the Pope of Rome. How those earnest men, who were soon to be known as Puritans, found Henry's politico-religious Reformation of the church inadequate to the spiritual needs of the nation, you know; how in the bloody days of Mary scores of them gave their bodies to the flames, and made Gloucester and Oxford and Smithfield and a hundred other places holy ground forever; how hundreds more, fleeing to the Continent, came under the influence of the great Genevan, who through them so shaped the ideas both of Old and of New England; how under the first Stuart they were so annoyed that thousands of them, his most intelligent and prosperous subjects, preferred life among the savages to life beneath the shadow of his throne; how the humble Scrooby brotherhood of Brownists, after many hindrances, made their way to Holland; how after twelve years' sojourn in that strange land, a little company, whose names were to become so dear to us, set out for this distant shore; how John Robinson, than whom few men have better deserved canonization, gave them his benediction and his parting counsels in those wonderful words which are pregnant with the germs of future progress, and which stamp him as a century in advance of his age in largeness of view and in his mode of apprehending Scriptural truth; the weary voyage; the famous compact carrying the life of future democracies in every line; the dreadful trials by famine, by sickness, by wars; the planting of the other and stronger colonies; the arrival in New England of twenty thousand settlers before the meeting in 1640 of the Long Parliament, which put an end to the Laudian persecutions; all the chequered history which follows until this little corner of America has furnished one fourth of the population of this country, now stretching on this continent over a hundred degrees of longitude and forty degrees of latitude, and numbering more than seventy millions of inhabitants, and has wielded an influence which words can hardly exaggerate in shaping the destinies of this people; the purity and bravery with which in Great Britain the followers of Barrowe and Robinson have borne their testimony to the truth, as they understand it, in face of the social and political discouragements offered by the existence of an established church; the energy and activity of their sons in the far-off insular continent of Australia; their missionary zeal illustrated by carrying the gospel to every continent of the globe, — all this splendid history you know so well that, fondly as I could dwell upon it for the hour before us, I may not do so now. The hasty

sketch by my unskilled hand would, I fear, be a poor substitute for the picture which the great historians of our faith have already hung in the chambers of your minds.

While expressing our appreciation of the fathers, we are not disposed to indulge in indiscriminate eulogy of them. They were fallible, and we honor them by recognizing and avoiding their mistakes. Let us not deny that some of them forgot St. Paul's assertion that the letter of the Scripture killeth, but the spirit giveth life. Let us admit that the founders of the Massachusetts colony at least did not run on in advance of their age or even keep pace with Roger Williams in learning the lesson of religious liberty, and of the separation of church and state. Make all due abatement for these and any other blemishes upon their record, still there remains enough to their credit to entitle them to our lasting gratitude and to justify us in dwelling for a little on some of their salient characteristics.

The first and most important of these was their intense desire to do the will of God. Duty to God was their watchword, the key to their character, the inspiration of their life. Duty, not pleasure, duty in spite of all temptation, to do whatever they could to set up the kingdom of God on earth, this was their regnant idea. God was to them not a being shadowy and far off, but a captain here with his people fighting in the great battle against Satan and all the hosts of evil. His command was always and everywhere implicitly to be obeyed. We may apply to most of them those strong words of Carlyle concerning the Puritans, "Here are heroes, who knew in every fiber, and with heroic daring, laid to heart that an Almighty Justice does verily rule this world, that it is good to fight on God's side and bad to fight on the devil's side. The soul of this heroism remains part of the eternal soul of things."

Again, our fathers not only longed to do the will of God, but they believed profoundly that God has revealed his will in the Holy Scripture. They were Bible men. The Bible was their meat and their drink. They often fell into a slavish bondage to literal interpretations. They sometimes failed to read the Old Testament in the blessed light with which it is flooded by the New. But still the fact remains that they took the Scriptures as the guide of their daily life. It was to them no dim and indistinct utterance from an almost forgotten past. As they lingered with a sort of spiritual passion over its pages, the words sounded in their ears as though falling from the lips of the living God. Traditions of ecclesiastical usage, the will of national or œcumenical councils, the decrees of kings or of high commission courts, all were as nothing to them against a plain "Thus saith the Lord."

Once more, they believed in education. The school was always planted by the side of the church. Nay, the higher education was cared for. Seven years had not elapsed from the transfer of the Massachusetts Charter to America, many of the necessities of civilized society were still wanting, when the Massachusetts colony appropriated a sum equal to its ordinary tax for a year to found the college at Cambridge. It has been said, I think truly, that this is the first instance in history in which the people by their representatives ever gave their own money to found a place of education. The brethren in the other colonies cheerfully sent in their contributions of corn or money to strengthen the infant college. No doubt their primary aim was to train up a learned ministry. But their ideal of life and duty required of every man the best culture attainable by him. Every man was to be able to study the Scriptures. Every man was to develop his faculties so as to do the best work possible to him in God's vineyard. They could tolerate neither ignorance nor idleness. Wherever they or

their descendants have planted themselves, schools and academies and colleges and universities have sprung up multitudinous as the stars in heaven.

I think you will agree with me that men with the traits and ideals I have briefly described naturally and necessarily developed a marked type of individualism which we may characterize as godly, steady and intelligent.

By godly individualism I mean that kind which limits its self-assertion and its action by God's law. Its life is not self-centered, but centered in God. Its liberty is that with which Christ maketh free. Its independence is reconciled with obedience to the divine law. It finds perfect freedom in the service of God. It stands in sharpest contrast with that egoistic, morbid, heady, reckless individualism too common in our days, which sees no freedom save in defiance of the supreme law. That our fathers made some mistakes in deciding what were the divinely intended limitations of human action, we willingly concede. Still, it remains their signal merit that they honestly tried, and with a high degree of success, to rear up men, who in originality, good, roundabout sense, and brave self-reliance have never been surpassed, and who yet were ever ready to bend their wills to the will of God.

There was a steadiness, too, a certain wise conservatism in their individualism. This may seem to the superficial student of history, who thinks of Puritan and Pilgrim only as ranters and extremists, an unwarranted assertion. But any one who will carefully study the annals of England will be surprised rather at the patience than at the haste of the non-conformists. Rather than break with the established church they held on for long and trying years, exhausting every resource in the attempt to exercise their liberty of worship within the old fold. They were preeminently law-abiding, and even under the exasperating rule of James I openly proclaimed that they believed not in violent opposition to his laws, but in quiet suffering of the penalty, if they could not conscientiously obey. Scan their proceedings in all the novel circumstances of their organization of governments on our shore. What decency and gravity and order! How little mere radical theorizing! These are plain sensible Englishmen, adapting themselves with great wisdom to their new conditions. How little of Old England do they drop off, merely for the sake of change! And in all their subsequent history, how seldom do the schemes of visionary leaders, system makers, find any favor! These men have their eyes turned heavenward, but their feet are firmly planted on the solid ground. Gradually apprehending and taking up new ideas, toleration, coöperation, independence, they never, in grasping at the prizes of the future, let go the acquisitions of the past. The more rapid their movement in great emergencies, the more firmness and steadiness it takes on. The more canvas they spread to the breeze, the firmer is their hold at the helm.

One might have supposed that in their theology, if anywhere, their individualism would have run into whimsical extravagances. But if we except the oddities of the Fifth Monarchy men, who were a temporary excrescence on the Puritan body, how steadily they have held to those great cardinal doctrines, on which Protestant Christendom has been substantially agreed. If they have now abandoned some of the positions held by the fathers, it is only because the nineteenth century has light denied to the seventeenth. Not with recklessness, but with bravery tempered by caution, they have welcomed the new light and rejoice in it to-day.

And again, their individualism was guided and guarded by intelligence. The men whose boyhood had been spent in the school-houses, colleges and Christian homes could not be an ignorant herd, the habitual victims of blind prejudice and fickle, wayward passion. Their action was generally

the deliberate action of well-trained minds, guided by enlightened conscience and the will of God. That this will was always rightly interpreted, that the decisions of conscience were always such as we now approve, is not affirmed. That sometimes the intellect rather than the sentiments may have been developed, that preaching may at times have become too coldly metaphysical or too brilliantly intellectual, is possible. But the mighty power of this intelligent element in Congregational individualism, and its beneficent influence in stimulating and guiding the energy of our fathers and brethren, and through them in molding the social, political and religious ideas of England and America, history is ready to attest.

The principle of individualism applied to the life of a man or of a church raises some difficult practical questions. Each one of us is a member of a greater or less number of associations, and a member of society at large. Every day we are called to decide whether we shall yield our ideas of expediency or even of right to our associates and conform to the wishes of others. The problem thus set before us is the problem of equipoise in life. We are trying constantly to solve it. In matters of truth and right it is to be hoped we abide by our consciences, even if we stand alone. In matters of expediency we conform somewhat to the usages and wishes of others, or we cut ourselves off from relations with them and lead lives of isolation. In pursuit of common objects of general good we coöperate with them in methods not offensive to us. Only thus does society move forward to a worthy goal.

Our fathers in breaking away from an established and consolidated church, whose errors they wished to escape from, carried the principle of individualism in church life so far as to be fearful of what we now deem helpful coöperation. It is perhaps not strange that it took them a long time to solve this problem of equipoise between independent church life and the fraternal fellowship of churches. I fear that the problem is not yet fully solved everywhere among our churches. But step by step we have been advancing.

Our great missionary organizations have been powerful agencies in promoting coöperation and in developing the consciousness of a common spiritual life. It was with misgivings that some saw our earlier National Councils in this country. But I think that not only has all fear of evil consequences now disappeared, but the assembling of the International Council in 1891, and of this one now, has been hailed with general approbation by all our churches everywhere. In these days of close and easy communication we are not to grow strong by isolation and atomic life, but by a life of as great intimacy of voluntary association as does not endanger the substantial autonomy of each church organization. One's faith in an idea and one's zeal for its dissemination are more than doubled by the assurance that another has faith in it. It is, at least, quadrupled. In general we should not err in saying that one's faith in it and zeal for it are strengthened at least as the square of the number of believers in it. Every one of us will go away from this Council with such an enthusiasm for our faith and polity as we never knew before. There is no practical danger of our churches losing their autonomy. But there is a real danger that for lack of touch with each other, of wise coöperation, of a vital consciousness of our united strength, we fail in large degree to do that part of God's work in the world which we ought to do. Without boasting, with a generous and catholic appreciation of what other communions have accomplished, we may say that under the divine blessing we have become a not unimportant branch of God's church. With gifts and opportunities which lay us under most solemn obligations to report for duty in solid phalanx on the fighting line in the great army of our Master, we have too long thought

that we were called to fight only in certain limited sections of this country or other countries, and in small squads, not as one army. Some of us have perhaps flattered ourselves that we were to carry the gospel only to certain select classes of intelligence and respectability, to preach it only to those who could appreciate the beauties of a classical style of eloquence.

But as we gather here to-night, representatives from many lands far distant from each other, like those assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, do we not feel our hearts glow in Pentecostal fervor with the glad consciousness that we are brethren in a common faith, prompted by the Holy Spirit to act together, with a common impulse and united purpose, to help bring in the Kingdom of God among men? We are to counsel together in frankness and freedom how to accomplish this great end. It is not proposed to put any man or any church in bondage to ideas alien to their faith. But in so far as we are agreed, we may draw inspiration from each other and may work towards one result.

It is not for me to anticipate the expositions and discussions of so many eminent men, at whose feet I shall be only too glad to sit as a humble and docile learner. But speaking as a layman I may perhaps be permitted to say that I think, and I hope, that whatever the special topics discussed, the present trend of thought and life in our churches will compel the expression of views on certain subjects that are constantly forcing themselves on our attention. We are to consider religious life from the point of view of the present and of the immediate future. We have actually to deal with the problems, not of the seventeenth, but of the twentieth century. While the great fundamental truths of our faith remain the same through all the ages, the modes of presenting, defending and applying them must needs change with the new phases of political, social and intellectual life.

Therefore we must leave large liberty of thought and expression in our fold. We have always emphasized the importance of high scholarship and intellectual activity, especially in our teachers and preachers. We must not cripple their usefulness on the plea of preserving orthodoxy by binding them in the metaphysical or exegetical fetters, which men no more enlightened nor devout than they, have forged in the past. We best honor the fathers by renouncing their errors. Sincere and earnest disciples of our day must be permitted and encouraged to pursue with courage their studies in the fuller light which scientific, archæological and critical research has shed upon their path. If we are not to have a pinched and stunted parochial life for our brotherhood, we must find room enough in it for those devout seekers, to whose receptive souls the new light, predicted by John Robinson, may reveal itself, even while many of us more torpid in spirit are still slumbering in darkness. Let us rejoice if on our most advanced picket lines we have some choice spirits that can descry the dawn of larger truth than we in the rear have yet seen. Let us not hasten to burn them as heretics but wait patiently to see if they are not our prophets.

While cherishing this spirit of wise liberality towards our brethren, I trust that we all observe with approbation the rapidly increasing tendency in our churches to let the Christian spirit control us in all our activities, industrial, social and political. There have been periods when attention was so concentrated on theological controversies that there seemed to be a chasm between the lives of men as church members and men as members of industrial and political society. Theology itself was not so far shaped by ethical conceptions as it is now. Men were asked to hold and apparently did hold conceptions of God which it would be ethically impossible for us now to cherish. Our economic usages and our economic theories bore no trace of the altruistic spirit of the Golden Rule.

But we are all aware that of late years many of our more thoughtful

church members, and especially many of our preachers, have been engaged in most serious efforts to secure the application of the Sermon on the Mount to the adjustment of the relations of labor and capital, of employer and employed, to the solution of the problems of public charities, and of reformatory and penal administration, and to the establishment of just and wise government in cities and nations. Wisely, I think, it has been left to the individual members of our churches, rather than to the churches as organizations, to carry on these activities. But it cannot be questioned that under this just conception of the scope of Christian duty, the influence of our brethren has been and is operating powerfully for the amelioration of the conditions of our social, economic and political life.

Guided by a similar inspiration to imbue all life with the Christian spirit, not a few of our churches, to which the title of institutional has been applied, have been doing most commendable work in bringing a large range of amusements, study and coöperative charitable work within the reach of its guidance. Others, with noble self-denial, have taken part in the maintenance of settlements in the congested districts of our cities, in order to come into closest and most helpful touch with populations needing a civilizing Christian uplift.

Are not all these working in the true spirit of the Master? Do not these devoted efforts to saturate society from top to bottom with his spirit cheer us, when we hear the charge that true religion is on the decline? Was there ever a period in the history of our churches when they were so alive to their duty to help in the elevation and transformation of the world about them?

The idea has sometimes prevailed to a deplorable extent that our function is to care only for the intelligent and cultivated classes, and to leave the poor and illiterate and unfortunate to be ministered to by others. How those who found the pattern of their living in Jesus Christ cherished such a thought it is difficult to understand. A church which should thus claim for itself an aristocracy of respectability and learning could hardly expect to be classed as a follower of him, who brought to the world as his gladdest announcement, "to the poor the gospel is preached." I fear we have sometimes cut ourselves off from the blessings of those who accompanied our Lord into the highways and hedges to seek and to save the destitute and forlorn. We have, thank God, rarely or never been in danger of lacking the learning and culture which would enable us to gain a hearing from the educated classes. But too long we have left to others the work of gathering sheaves for the Master out of the ranks of such ignorant and outcasts as he delighted to rescue in his day. But at last we have begun to awake to our duty and our privilege. And I rejoice that everywhere we have self-sacrificing men and women; I rejoice that we have them here in this assembly, who are redeeming our name for us by carrying the gospel of good works and the example of godly lives into the slums of our cities and irradiating the darkest corners of the world with the sunshine of their presence. From this platform and in the name of this great assembly, representing the Congregationalists of all lands, let us give them our heartiest word of good cheer and bid them Godspeed. Let us assure them that our understanding is, that when our Lord bade his disciples go into all the world and preach the gospel, it was not meant that one band of them was to remain secluded on a platform of Pharisaic elevation, addressing only scribes and scholars, but that all were to make known the good news to whomsoever they met, from the highest to the humblest, and that if any were to be especially sought out, it was those who from ignorance or wretchedness most needed to be sought out and invited to come to the feast prepared for them.

It is in the spirit which we have been commending that during most of this century our churches have been so active in missionary work. Among the very earliest to engage in the planting of foreign missions, they have been among the most zealous in the support of them. Nor have they been less enthusiastic in the maintenance of home missions. If there is any ground for the fear, sometimes expressed, that their ardor for either branch of missionary work is abating, a cry of alarm should be sounded. A church that is burning with no desire to carry the gospel and its temporal and spiritual blessings to others is already threatened with paralysis. Christianity is in its very essence a missionary religion. To possess the spirit of it is to long to impart it to others. When our churches cease to be missionary churches, their decadence has already begun. Whatever we gain or fail to gain from this Council, I am sure that we cannot come into contact with the devoted men and women who come to us with glowing hearts from a hundred missionary fields, at home and abroad, without finding, as we leave, that our hearts have been set aflame with their holy passion for making known the gospel to all men. Then not in vain shall we have made long pilgrimages hither.

For what is our object in taking these weary journeys from afar, and giving this week to conference and communion, but to strengthen our desire and to devise the best way to help bring in the Kingdom of God among men?

After singing the Doxology, the body adjourned at 9.35 till 9.30 o'clock Thursday morning.

Thursday, September 21, 1899

MORNING SESSION

The Council was called to order at 9.30 o'clock, President Angell in the chair; the hymn "My faith looks up to Thee" was sung, and prayer was offered by Rev. William Hayes Ward, D.D., of New Jersey.

Honorary members elected

Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., introduced Rev. John Robson, D.D., of Aberdeen, and Rev. William Blair, D.D., of Dunblane, Scotland, moderator and ex-moderator respectively of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, who were on their way to the Council of the Presbyterian Alliance to be held at Washington, D. C. They were voted honorary members, and Dr. Robson responded as follows: —

Response by Rev. John Robson, D.D.

Allow me just a word to thank you for this brotherly expression of interest in us, and for the honor you have conferred on us in this election to honorary membership. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland has often expressed its interest in the Congregational churches and its desire is that God's blessing may be with you in your work. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland has been always in close sympathy with the Congregational churches. We have tried to fight for the liberty of the church and for a church free from the control of the state. In that fight we have always felt that no matter who else failed us, the Congregationalists never would.

First Church (Unitarian) of Roxbury

Secretary Hazen read a letter from the First Church of Roxbury inviting delegates to visit its historical meeting-house on the site where John Eliot preached to the Indians.

Address

Rev. George Harris, D.D., LL.D., of Massachusetts, President of Amherst College, delivered an address on Fundamental Principles in Theology.

Address by Rev. George Harris,* D.D., LL.D.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN THEOLOGY

The Congregational church has always been a preaching church, both in Britain and in America. We pray the gospel, and we sing the gospel,

* When President Harris was invited to give this address he was Professor of Theology in Andover Seminary. After his introduction he said, "I am very glad, Mr. President, that my last act as a theological teacher is to represent Andover Seminary before this Council."

as do others, but especially we preach the gospel to every creature. Every real preacher is a theologian, for he proclaims the truth and shows the truthfulness of the gospel, the truth which is for life, the revelation of God in Christ for the redemption and perfection of man in the kingdom of God on earth. The preacher and the theologian have the same task, to verify and interpret the Word of God, which is the good news of salvation. The theologian may be more largely occupied with the reasonableness of the truth, with the adjustment of it to knowledge gained from other sources; the preacher with the application of it to personal and social life; but both deal with the same truth, and have the same object. It is, therefore, eminently fitting that the first working day of this International Congregational Council should be given to theologizing and to preaching, for these always have been and still are the most important functions of Congregational Christianity. Our inquiry to-day is really the inquiry whether the gospel is preachable or not; or yet, more directly, what are we preaching to modern men in the modern world?

Prejudice against theology is passing away. It was directed against false, irrational, and especially against immoral theology, a theology divorced from reality and from life, or in conflict with unquestioned fact. Widening knowledge of the universe at first antagonizes a doctrine of God based upon inadequate knowledge, but soon demands a belief concerning God which is the true *rationale* of the universe. Recognition of the nature and history of man displaces crude conceptions of his original state, of his inheritance and of his destiny, but soon is exigent in the requirement of a true doctrine. The religions of the world at first seem false, degrading, superstitious, the works of men's hands; but later show that man is religious, has sense of dependence, awe before mystery, feeling of obligation under absolute law, corresponding to the reality of the one Almighty and all-wise God, in whom men live and move and have their being. So long as religion endures, there will be theology, for religion is beliefs concerning God and man, and theology is simply the beliefs which are justified to reason and to life. But no defense of theology is needed in this presence, and we go at once to our subject. I do not attempt, in a single paper, to formulate a system, but only to suggest postulates in the form of a study in theology.

The fundamental principle of theology is also the heart of the gospel. That principle is that God is love. All theology and all gospel are contained or implied in that principle. It is not given to us immediately, but is embodied in the cosmos which contains humanity and contains the Christ. Once gained, it is found to be the *rationale* of the universe and of man.

This truth implies a creation, an object other than God, an object in which he delights, which he can love. A God of love is self-imparting, self-revealing, self-sacrificing. God rejoices in his material creation, in its beauty and sublimity. At epoch after epoch of creation, God saw that it was good. But love is reciprocal. The universe, to be loved and to love, must contain rational creatures, capable of knowing and loving God and one another, lords of creation, to whom he gives dominion over the works of his hands. Here is found the significance of time, space, existences, evolution. A universe unpeopled would be merely a toy, a clever toy, but not a sufficient object to be produced by the God of wisdom and love. God rejoices in his habitable world, for that alone realizes his loving purpose. A universe without such a purpose would really have no purpose, would be a godless universe. Theories of evolution were feared and opposed because they were theories of fortuitous evolution. The fear and the opposition are passing, since it is seen that evolution is

definite and progressive, is a method issuing in consciousness, self-consciousness, social-consciousness, God-consciousness; a method directed toward intelligent, moral, spiritual beings who are the children of God in the family of humanity. The God of love has created a peopled universe. The people are the great object of creation. Humanity is part of nature, the best part. Science no longer separates them, but interprets the universe in terms of humanity as well as humanity in terms of the universe. Science and religion converge upon the same supreme fact, the sixth and last epoch of creation after which God, according to the naïve story of Genesis, rested from all his work which he had made.

We undoubtedly start with ourselves to get an ethics, a philosophy, a theology, or even a science; ourselves living in communities, on the hills, in the valleys, by the seashore, warmed and lighted by the sun through the day, observing the moon and stars by night, yoking the forces of nature to car, plow and wheel, as well as enslaving all sheep and oxen, the domesticable animals; yea, and gradually extending our dominion over the fowl of the air and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the sea. We do not know that there are other rational beings in the universe. If we speculate about them we simply objectify in imagination beings essentially like ourselves, and their non-existence would subtract nothing from our life, nor from our science, philosophy and theology. For aught we know man may be the point of initiation for the peopling of the universe. We know something about our antecedents, about that which has gone into our making, and may well believe that in only one way could such a creature, with such bones, muscles, fibers, nerves, brains, blood, with such thoughts, feelings, and self-steering power have been produced. But we are what we are in this actual world, however we came to be what we are; and our knowledge, opinions, conduct, character, faith, are implications of ourselves.

Now the peculiarity of this creature is that he perceives and pursues ends, that is, is an ideal-forming animal. The rest of the universe, in what we call its lower stages, in the inorganic and in plants and animals, is apparently unconscious of purpose or end. The rosebush does not foresee the rose, and is not aware of its own beauty. Poetry projects the feeling of the human observer into the flower, and feels the tremulous rapture of the rose. Animals pursue ends for the satisfaction of casual wants, but have no aim for their lives, no vision of a destiny to be realized. Æsop, Uncle Remus and Kipling anthropomorphize downwards. Purpose is there, for the highest outcome is a mind that recognizes and affirms purpose. But, however it may be with the lower sentient orders, it certainly is true that man perceives and pursues ends. He does more than to satisfy casual wants. He makes plans for a year, for a lifetime, both for himself and for and with the society of which he is a member. He cannot, indeed, pursue any and every end. He cannot make a journey to the north star, nor as yet, to the north pole. He is under limitations, yet he proposes certain ends to himself, can choose one rather than another. He can sit still or can walk, can read a book or a newspaper, can make a true or a false representation, can be honest or can cheat, can relieve another's want or can turn away contemptuous. We need not discuss freedom, for everybody, whatever his theory, behaves as if he had freedom within certain limits to do this or that, to be this or that. Human freedom simply means that man has power to pursue certain ends; that he is an ideal-forming and ideal-realizing creature. On this power hang all the law and the prophets of ethics, philosophy and religion. In this, I say, man is distinguished from all other creatures. The exception is an enormous one. The human species is more numerous than any of

the vertebrates, and extends to all parts of the earth where any of the other orders are found, subjugating or exterminating them. In view of this characteristic the conclusion is reasonable that the universe in which and by means of which man realizes his ideal, is guided by purpose which is divine, although it cannot be held that such purpose has exclusive reference to man. But it is easy to believe that the true ends man proposes for himself are God's thoughts for him, since the universe is adapted to the common purpose of God and man, which is a perfected humanity.

The pursuit of ends includes the entire range of conscious wants, from the physical to the spiritual. When a man wants something, he pictures himself in the possession and enjoyment of the object. A desired possession may seem to be external, but it is desired as a source of enjoyment to the person, it is himself enjoying it. The satisfaction of that want is his ideal of himself, and he goes from one want to another in an ascending series. Society advances by the consciousness and supply of new wants, from improved methods of communication and locomotion, to widening knowledge of nature and history, to more beautiful products of art, to finer culture, to purer morality, and to more spiritual religion. Increase of wants means a growing man. The man that wants literature, music, science and philosophy is the man that is himself literary, musical, scientific, philosophical. In other words, every person has some ideal of himself and his pursuit of objects is the attainment of his ideal self. This is especially true of morality and religion. A moral person may be characterized as one who perceives an ideal which ought to be realized. Duty is that which ought to be, a notion of the mind, an idea, a picture, an ideal which is perceived before it is realized, and is perceived as that which ought to be realized. A complete ethical system of principles, rules and maxims is the ideal of a perfect and symmetrical character. It is a delineation of the man who combines all good qualities and of a society composed of such men. The moral lawgiver brings an ideal to the actual practice of the people. He has seen a pattern in the mount. The ten words on stone tablets are ten bold lines which trace the salient features of a good man. The decalogue might be regarded as the profile of a perfect man, like some great stone face showing clear-cut in massive outline against the sky. The Psalmist portrays the blessed man who is like a tree by the rivers of waters. Buddhism describes the man with thirty graces who is like a lotus flower, untarnished by the water or the mud, a child of the clear, cold stream. Now there never was such an Israelite, nor such a Buddhist, but morality must have in view an ideal, partial or complete; must either take actual men that have exhibited virtue in some of its aspects, or must combine into an ideal character virtues which are scattered and suggested in actual persons. The first and most vital inquiry of ethical philosophers is inquiry concerning the nature of the ideal. Systems of ethics find their chief difference in definition of the supreme good, the *summum bonum*, which is the ideal person. It would be interesting to show, if time permitted, that the newest psychology, which traces the genesis and development of personality, finds it in the attainment of an ideal, by imitation of other persons who are points of initiation, and that the process is chiefly ethical, through social relations, customs and institutions, and religious, in that the ideal enlarges and recedes toward the perfect or absolute.

It is now, in this relation, that we know God and that we know him as love. God is known in his purpose, which is expressed in realities, in actual existences. Man is in a world he did not make, a world adapted to his existence, to his progress, to the realization of his ideal. Man did

not give himself his own constitution, nor his social sympathies, nor the moral law by which he is ruled, in obedience to which he realizes his ideal. The psychologists, to refer to them once more, trace the making of a person in the processes of perception, desire, imitation of others, until there is the wonderful creature that thinks and feels and loves, is scientific, æsthetic, ethical and religious. They show how a baby becomes a man. But here is the astounding fact that a baby, a helpless, ignorant little bundle of flesh and bones, can become a man; that it can imitate and remember and form character; that it can by and by, with other babies, build cities, constitute governments, create institutions. From society, indeed, from matured men and women, the child comes into the inheritance of knowledge, customs, laws and religion, but they in turn learned from others, each generation making some accretion; so we have a race, no matter how it got on its legs, with the potentialities of persons in society. God is found in human existences as well as in the material universe. He is revealed in man as well as to man. The things that are seen, by which God is known, are human things, as well as material things. In his own self man sees the purpose of God, and sees it most clearly in his ideal self. Objectively, this is the law of God, with its commands and prohibitions. Subjectively there are requirements that one should be a better man than one is. In the ruder religions this is not analyzed. Calamities are punishments for offending the God. If a man does certain things God will harm him; if he does other things God will help him. He thinks that gifts will avert punishments or will procure favor, but some sort of ideal is before him, as that which God wants him to be. Offenses and sins are failure to be what God would have him to be. We never get beyond this, God's thought or purpose for man, and so for society.

Here, in all religions, is the meaning of sin and guilt, of salvation, redemption, regeneration and sanctification. The ideal person is in view. Sin is doing what one ought not to do, which really is being what one ought not to be. It is failure to attain the ideal, and in many languages is so characterized, as missing the mark. External acts are sinful because they are the acts of a bad person. Sin, we say, is selfishness, or is satisfying the lower instead of the higher wants. That is, it is the bad actual in place of the good ideal person. Salvation is converting a wrong person into a right person, and not escape from pain, since penalty can be escaped only by transformation of the person. Regeneration, as the word signifies, is recovery of the genus, the type, as degeneration is departure from the genus, the normal person. Redemption is redeeming a man to himself. Sanctification is perfection of a person according to an ideal. Here also is the conception of the church and of the kingdom of God, which is the ideal society composed of ideal persons, a renewed or idealized humanity on a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

So God is love. He made us to be our best, our best selves, and when we strive to be we go right and the world goes right, or at least, the world would go right if all were aiming to realize that ideal which is God's wise and loving thought for men. The ideal which is God's purpose for us, includes the whole personality, the intellectual, æsthetic, physical, social and spiritual.

The revelation of God, then, broadly speaking, is in his moral purpose, that is, in humanity making progress by divine guidance toward the moral ideal. This could be shown in history. The philosophy of history is a moral philosophy, judging ancient and modern civilization by a moral standard. It could be shown more clearly by the ideal order of history, the perception of that which ought to be, the conviction that duty must

be done at all hazards, and that the right will triumph — but time does not permit the development of this truth.

The moral order means to-day, as it has always meant, the person in society, and that is, in part, the modern state, which is a moral institution, the institute of justice, aiming to give to every man his right, that he may realize his true worth in coöperation with others. Democracy is self-government, in which each has his own rights through respecting the rights of others, for we are members one of another. The moral order is a union of states, each realizing the rights of its own citizens, according to the national type, each recognizing the function of every other state in world progress, each sustaining amicable relations to every other. The moral order includes the family within the state, each existing for and by means of the other. In the family the strong serve the weak; there is respect, kindness, sympathy, self-sacrifice. It is the institute of love, the kingdom of heaven in miniature. The moral order includes equitable economics, — to every man his due, to every man that honestly works the subsistence by means of which he may gain the higher values of life. The moral order includes the school, — that each generation may possess the intellectual and moral values gained by predecessors. The moral order is no longer monastic. The modern world and the modern church have spurned that ideal, knowing that the kingdom of God is not in the wilderness, but in the city; not in the cloister, but in the capital; not in the retreat, but in the market place; not in celibacy, but in the family. The guarantee of this moral order is our faith in the God of love. So he works in us to realize those interests. We know that we shall not stumble upon a spot on the earth which demands a different order, that we shall not stumble upon a social law binding men together in wrong and hate. We can trust the universe; we can trust humanity. God believes in his universe, has invested his wisdom and power in it. God believes in humanity, has staked his character upon it. He discloses to us in the state, the family, the church, in the farm, the shop, the school, that far-off goal toward which the whole creation moves. He believes in us as persons who will respond to his thought in our own personality and freedom.

> Our wills are ours, we know not how,
> Our wills are ours to make them thine.

This is going on now. God is the living God. The person that had the deepest insight into man's needs and God's purpose said: "My Father worketh, even until now." He has worked in the past, indeed, and from history we learn his purpose; but it is a history which once was the palpitating present of Hebrew prophet, and of a people, a state, called to righteousness, a period which is a part of the great world movement still going on, as every period of human progress has been. God was revealed in the past when the church organized itself and apostles spoke immortal words; but it is a church which has been out in the world ever since, realizing God's purpose in the changing conditions of society, which knows his purpose better as his kingdom keeps coming in the exaltation of personality and the purifying of social institutions. We seem to be at the beginnings as truly as the fresh young church was, and we are peering into the future as eagerly. We are caught up into the movement of God's purpose. Our all is staked on it. We do not stand by and observe the social movement as one observes a panorama painted and moved by another hand, but we are actors in this drama, — actors, not puppets, actors who know our parts and know the significance of the tragedy. Our hope that we shall attain, our strenuous, struggling tension to possess the true

values, is inspired by faith in God, who is working in us to these very ends. We can work out our own salvation because it is God that worketh in us to will and to do of his good pleasure. Here is the pledge of our immortality. We are workers together with him who is from everlasting to everlasting, and who will complete that which he has begun, — a moral and spiritual personality in the kingdom of heaven.

All this means the personality of God. He is intelligence, that is, purpose; he is will, that is, he energizes to realize purpose; he is love, that is, he is person related to person. Whatever more than personality, as we know it, he may be, he is that in perfect degree which our best is in imperfect degree. He is one who knows and wills and loves. Love includes all. The word has been fused in the heat and glow of human experience. From birth to death love ennobles and beautifies every period of existence. It gives their value to the nearest relationships. Love is the dearest word of childhood, the deepest word of manhood and womanhood, the tenderest word of age, the sacredest word of religion. It was gathering meaning through the ages as the family rooted itself in affection, as friendships rang more true, as humanity became more humane, till it was a prepared word seized by the greatest moral teacher to characterize the absolute goodness. The truth and value of it had been adumbrated in humanity's best, and so could be adopted as the final and comprehensive word for God and for the children of God.

> Though truths in manhood darkly join,
> Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
> We yield all blessing to the name
> Of him that made them current coin.

And so we come to the Christ. In Christ we see God, who created the universe and humanity, redeeming man, bringing him to his true self, which is his own and God's ideal. This is Christ's whole revelation — nothing more than that, and, thank God, nothing less than that.

He was a revelation of God because he realized God, trusted God, obeyed God, lived in God, was ever coming forth from God.

He was a revelation of man because he realized the ideal of man, just that, because the ideal in him was real, so that he cannot be passed nor surpassed.

The revelations are not two, but one, for he revealed God by being the perfect man, who is perfect in trust — trust in the holy, loving will of God, — and perfect in love to others, that they may be such as he in trust, obedience and service. He was a revelation of God because he was a revelation of man. He was a revelation of man because he was a revelation of God. The whole revelation is the personality of God; the whole revelation is the personality of man; the character of God shown in the ideal of man in the Christ.

Christ was not a revelation of power, except as the ideal man has corresponding power. He was not omnipotent, or at least, omnipotence is not our Christ. He did not have all knowledge, except as the ideal man has moral insight. He was not omniscient, or at least, omniscience is not our Christ. In any event, his power and knowledge were for moral, human uses, wholly for the good of man in love. His divineness is as the Son of God and the Son of man. His divineness is his humanness.

We may have, I suppose we must have, theories about the person who was such a revelation, but any theories are inferences from the reality. The doctrine does not guarantee the revelation, the revelation guarantees the doctrine. Christ revealed the glory of God; the light of the knowledge of the glory of God is given in the face of Jesus Christ. So the glory of

God is his love. Imperfect man is a revelation of God, but at the best of the dimness of his glory. Christ is the brightness of his glory, and so is the light which lighteth every man coming into the world.

Christ, therefore, is Mediator and Saviour. He is Mediator because he brings God to man (he that hath seen me hath seen the Father) — because he brings man to God (perfect love casteth out fear) — because he brings man to man (having broken down the middle wall of partition, that he might create of the twain one new man, so making peace). He is Saviour because he was the sinless, holy, perfect man, the ideal of humanity. His power of salvation resides in his holiness. But does not unblemished goodness simply rebuke sinners? Does not the perfect character of Jesus increase the condemnation of imperfect men? Must not his power to recover men from sin to holiness be something else than hie sinless, perfect character? While perfection does indeed rebuke and condemn, it is a mistake to suppose that it only rebukes. It is a wrong conception of goodness that finds in it nothing but condemnation of ths bad. It is a wrong conception of the character of Jesus. It is a thought of negative perfection, free from faults, sinless, temptationless. But absence of sin and blemish by no means exhausts perfection. The holy character has, it is true, such exemption from faults, but holiness is wholeness, completeness, fullness. Jesus is known to be perfect, to be the ideal, by the whole of his life. His goodness was self-imparting. The self-impartation of sympathy and love was the very genius of his character. The line of cleavage between holiness and selfishness divides them as sharing and not sharing. The deepest impulse of goodness is that others should be good. Jesus would not have been perfect if he had had no impulse of self-impartation. The reason we know him perfect is that holiness, which was complete, measured the self-giving, which was complete. Without this impulse there would be a selfishness, even a contemptuousness, in holiness, which would detract from it. Indeed, it would not be holiness at all, for holiness is love. It is a passion for goodness in others, as well as in self, and values the worth of another as it values its own. The holy man sympathizes with those that suffer and sympathizes most deeply with those that are in the bondage of sin. One and another must have asked, "Why does Jesus come to my house, company with me, talk with me, when he knows he will incur social disgrace and be exposed to danger?" And they could only answer that it was to bring them into his way of living, to save them from their sins. He sat at a publican's table, that the publican might become an honest man. He was kind to a debased woman, that she might return to virtue. Sympathy attracts while it rebukes. The deeper its loving rebuke the mightier its attracting and transforming power. A sinless, perfect man, sympathizing with sinful, imperfect men, not refusing obloquy, suffering and death in his consuming desire to save them to themselves, could not pass through the world and leave it unchanged. The sacrifice of Jesus on the cross is thought to be the power of salvation. And so it is, unless the sacrifice is regarded apart from the character, the holiness, the example of Jesus, as sheer pain suffered or penalty endured, as some mysterious offering to God. His sacrifice was indeed offered to God and was acceptable to God, but it was the sacrifice of Jesus, his self-sacrifice. It was the giving of himself, his whole and very self for men. After it had been said of the Hebrew priests that when they came to the altar it was necessary they should have somewhat to offer, it was observed of him who was greater than all the priests, that he offered himself, nothing less or other than himself in all the wealth of his purity and sympathy. That was the unspeakable, the incomparable gift. Sufferings and death were the in-

cidents, or, if you please, the substance of complete self-giving. He suffered because his holiness and his call of men to a righteous and loving life brought him into collision with those whose ways of goodness as well as of badness he condemned.

The love of the Son of God is the love of God. The suffering Son of God is the suffering God. God spared not his own Son, but gave him freely for us all. We do not make our painful way to God, but God in Christ makes his great way to us to redeem us to ourselves. The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost. We love him because he first loved us. Christ died and lived to save us from our sins. He saves us from sin by recovering us to the ideal, that we should put away the old man, the old bad actual, which waxeth corrupt after the lusts of deceit, and that we should put on the new man which after God, after God's thought and purpose, hath been created in righteousness and holiness of the truth.

The objective of all revelation is the kingdom of God on earth, the people of his possession. The person saved is the person in society. The kingdom may be made the central principle of theology with perfect propriety, but, if made the central principle, it is because it is the kingdom of God, has an absolute character, because the chief good must be found in the eternal purpose of God which he is realizing in time, and not in the fleeting, vacillating purposes of humanity apart from God. The kingdom consists of the sons of God, and there are sons of God because God is love.

The loving God, realizing his purpose in his kingdom, is the Spirit of God, taking all moral things, and showing them unto us, taking the things of Christ and showing them unto us. He is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of holiness, energizing in the moral order of history before Christ, energizing since Christ in our aspiration and repentance, that we may be conformed to the image of Christ as God's dear children in his blessed kingdom, the renewed society on earth. The doctrine of the Spirit signifies the immanence of the personal God. The immanence of God is recognized by science, touching at every point active living forces; by history, tracing the divine working in human movements; by the recovery of the gospel of the kingdom of God which is amongst us in the state, the family, the church, in friendship, honor, faith and service. The influence of person on person is a mystery, yet a reality. The influence of the personal God, the very spirit of God on the human person is a mystery, yet the reality of our true life as children of God in the kingdom of purified hearts and of social service.

Fathers and brethren, I have not given you a creed, nor a system, but have recognized the reality of the living God who worketh even until now in his universe, in humanity, in the Christ through the Holy Spirit, that we might attain unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. And what is this but our ancient creed? "I believe in God the Father, Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord; and I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the dead and the life everlasting."

We may put these things together as best we can in our doctrine of God the Father, Son and Spirit, recreating a new humanity till his kingdom comes, but to the last word of the story it is all divine, and to the last word of the story it is all human. All knowledge and progress converge on those lines. The last word of science is man; no, the last word of science is God, inseparable subject and object in one final sentence. Man and God are the last words of history, of philosophy, of theology, of

religion. God creates men in his own image of holiness. God redeems men in the Christ, that they may be conformed to the image of his Son; God sanctifies men through the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son. God is not ashamed to be called our God, because he has prepared for us a city, the New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven — the ideal society, the kingdom of God on earth, the kingdom of purified hearts and lives.

The hymn "Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts" was sung.

Address

Rev. Frank C. Porter, D.D., PH.D., of Connecticut, Professor of Biblical Theology at Yale University, delivered an address on the Message of the Old Testament for To-day.

ADDRESS BY PROF. FRANK C. PORTER, D.D., PH.D.

THE MESSAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT FOR TO-DAY

One who reads the Old Testament books as documents of a history is concerned first of all with the recovery of the past. He seeks to know the message of each writer to his own day, and does not ask for a message for our day. He may indeed fear to ask for it, Christian history being what it is, lest the great gains which historical science has so hardly won on this field be jeoparded, gains, he feels, to faith as well as to knowledge, since not only is the progress of science freer, but the Christian view of God and the Christian temper of life are more secure, and the task of the Christian apologist is easier because we are no longer bound to defend all that the Old Testament contains.

We cannot use the old methods of searching in the Old Testament for Christian and modern truth, and we have lost the old motive and interest in the search. Instead our eyes are wide open to that which separates Old Testament times and thoughts from ours, and we are inclined, no doubt, to put too great value upon conceptions and ceremonies of a crude and primitive sort, which reveal the remoter beginnings of religion in human history, and so, we fancy, bring us nearer to the essential nature of religion itself. We are intent upon the study of other days than ours when we read the Old Testament. What we value most and what our reading yields to us in the end is a history — the religious history of Israel. Here all is life and movement. We are concerned with events and with persons, with tendencies and influences, with causes and results; and a message, as if from a book of divine oracles, we are not likely to hear. But what if the history itself contain a message? To the lessons of history our age is far from indifferent. And if the religious history of Israel illustrates and enforces truths which come close home to the present need and duty of the Christian Church, we shall not fail to find in these the special message of the Old Testament for to-day.

It is not in the outward course of Israel's fortunes, its rise and fall as a nation, that the lessons lie; nor yet in the growth of religious ideas from crude beginnings to purer forms and larger proportions; but rather in the relation of the religious spirit both to the national and to the intellectual life of this people. Israel's knowledge grew, as knowledge must, with new experiences and a broadening outlook. This growth it is often regarded as the chief task of the historian to trace. It is indeed a task

of difficulty and significance. But quite distinct from this are the fluctuations of religious feeling and character, the coming and going of the spirit, amid the on-going movements of the national and intellectual life of Israel; and it is in this that the greatest significance of its history is to be found.

To keep warmth of religious feeling, strength of faith, depth and purity of the inner life, amid the changing conditions, the absorbing activities, and the advancing thought of the world, is in all times, and in our own day, the chief task and only glory of a religion. And the history of religion — not of the fortunes of a sect or church, not of the variations of a doctrine or creed — consists in the story of the successes and the failures of the spirit of man in its effort to master his actual life and interpret his growing knowledge in the name of God and for the ends of character. The lesson both of success and of failure in this supreme enterprise of the human spirit can nowhere be read by us with such freedom from prejudice and to such profit as in the religious history of Israel. Let us glance at some of its suggestions and look for their application to our day.

In Old Testament history the prophets are the most conspicuous examples of success in this mastery of the world by the religious spirit. The secret of their success lies in the hidden depths of their personalities, where God meets man, but something of the nature and method of their success may be learned from their attitude toward the past, and toward the life and thought of their time.

The religious faith of the prophets had its roots in the past, and yet toward the past as it was embodied in rites and popular beliefs they were sovereignly free. They made their appeal back of the past which traditions and institutions embodied, to a remoter past which lived in conscience. The religion of righteousness, mercy and truth was older than the religion of forms. "Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?" cried Amos. Not these will I accept, "but let judgement roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream." The prophets do not cry, "Forward to new faiths; let the past be past"; but, "Return unto the Lord, back to the simpler life and truer love and purer heart of the nation's youth." A union of reverence and freedom characterized the prophets' attitude toward the past. Tradition, however entrenched in the people's life and love, had no power to silence the voice of God within them. But they did not lose the security of a faith grounded in history, and its power to hold and stir the soul. They were condemned as radicals for their attempt to save the spirit of the past at the expense of its forms. But they were the true conservatives, the actual conservators of Israel's faith.

But if the prophets recovered a lost past it was only to meet a present need. They were deeply and on all sides involved in the life of their people. They were concerned with its character, and all their heart was in its fortunes. With its actual life, and that in its entirety, their religion had to do; and except as a light interpreting real experiences and disclosing in them the hand of God, and as a power transforming actual conditions, overturning evil and establishing righteousness among men, they knew nothing of it. Religion had to do with business and home as well as with sacrifice, with common as well as with sacred places and times, with the heart of a man as well as with the glory of a nation. And yet the prophets' faith renounced all worldly means for gaining this mastery over the world. The religious spirit was never so unworldly, though it never entered so completely into the life of the world. Dependence upon ceremonies and institutions, the resort to politics and to war, the prophets denounced.

Not so was religion to maintain itself in the world. They believed not only in the supreme value of moral qualities, but in the actual dominion of moral powers over the lives of men and the history of peoples. Nothing outward, nothing but God was either to be trusted or to be feared. This was their monotheism. Its place is not in the history of religious speculation, but among the triumphs of religious faith. It was, therefore, by inward means that they endeavored to transform the outward life and reshape the outward destiny of their people. Yet not even upon the existence of this people, as upon something outward, could faith in God depend. The prophets foresaw the approaching downfall of the nation and could interpret even this as a deed of God, could master this also for faith.

The appearance of the Assyrian Empire upon Israel's horizon was not only an event of tragic import for the nation's fate; it was also for them the emergence of the conception of the world and world history, a vast and bewildering conception, destined to overthrow the faith of the multitudes of Israelites who still believed that material force ruled the world. Only the prophets knew how to claim for God the new wide world thus forced upon their knowledge, only the prophets were true to the spirit of the ancient faith when they said a thing so new as this, that Jehovah would be exalted in Israel's fall, and that Assyria was but a tool in the hand of him who rules in righteousness. "His is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth. His the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations."

The prophets neither held to the world as they had known it for the sake of faith, nor renounced their faith because the world had become great and new. They enlarged their faith to contain the new world, and made the new world add its riches and glory to faith. They dared to view history in the light of God, and not rename God at the bidding of history. Of such sort was the prophets' success in interpreting by the light of the ancient faith and using for new spiritual gain the great movements of life and thought in their day.

It was the prophets who made it possible for the remnant of Judah to see in the Exile a deed of God and to change their outward loss into inward gain. But Judaism failed fully to master for religion the new conditions of its life. The prophets dealt with their own nation, as they must if they would deal with present reality. But they taught that religious faith is not bound up with anything outward, however ancient, but is to move forward with the movement of events, finding their meaning and putting them to their use for the spirit. With the Exile Israel's history had moved on and out of the narrows of national life into the broad channel of world life. The task of religious faith was not to force the current back into its old boundaries, not to maintain a false semblance of its lost limitations, not to create a hope of their restoration. Its task, if the spirit of prophecy, not its letter, was to have fulfilment, was not to hedge itself about in the name of religion and keep its treasure to itself, not to erect its beliefs, its rites, its hopes, into a wall of opposition to human life, but to bring to the peoples the knowledge of God and to lead them in the way of righteousness. One would hesitate perhaps to put so hard an obligation upon a people now few and weak if it had not been done by their own greatest seer. But in view of his call to his people to become the prophet-servant of Jehovah to the nations, we need not fear to say that the Exile was a distinct summons to Israel to become the teacher of a spiritual and universal religion to the world. But the spirit failed them, the spirit that would have been truest to the past by departing most widely from the forms of the past, would have found its true life by losing its

life. The leaders of the community, those who shaped its new program, saw no other way to keep their faith — and the faith was theirs they thought to keep — but to draw more closely about them the peculiar garment of race and sect, to build higher and more secure the walls that shut men out, that shut them off from men. They searched the past, not to drink from the fountains of its living faith, but to find earthen vessels in which to preserve the imperiled treasure of their faith. To give new forms old sanctions rather than to give the old spirit new forms for its freer manifestation was their concern.

Against the living currents of secular life Judaism maintained itself by organization. Religion became the constitution of a society informed in spirit and shaped in detail by the ideal of a peculiar people keeping itself holy by separation from the world. Anti-worldly in aim, it was almost of necessity worldly in spirit, since it fought against the world life about it with the weapons of the world. Religion made itself known in life, chiefly by outward signs, by formal distinctions between the sacred and the profane.

Judaism possessed a larger knowledge than any previous age, but could not fully and freely take possession of it for faith. The great world of nature, to which their eyes were opened, they did gain, in some measure, in the prophetic sense for religion. The first chapter of Genesis is the monument of the victory of Israel's religious spirit over a new realm of knowledge. It is the interpretation of the universe as they knew it, as throughout the good work of God, designed for the use and service of the spirit of man. That chapter became a mighty defense of faith against the dominating and dangerous because lofty dualism of the Greeks. Yet this victory of religious faith over nature was but partial, for the law proceeds to separate things pure from things impure, those that belong to God from those that do not. Religious theory claimed all things for God, but religious faith did not consecrate all to God. The contradiction of universal conceptions by an exclusive spirit is the striking characteristic of Judaism. Universal nature, universal history, they ascribed to God. Their monotheism was absolute. Yet with only a few men in the world, and with but a few of their ways and deeds, did God really have to do. It had not been so indeed, they confessed, at the beginning; and the time would come again when God would be over all. Then nature would in reality acknowledge man's headship and minister to him. Then God's way would be known upon all the earth, his saving health among all nations. But though the Jewish church sang lofty and inspiring songs of a new earth and of an enlightened and God-fearing humanity, yet it did not work for that for which it hoped. It did not trust its ideal. It did not attempt the transformation of the world, the sanctifying of life, the saving of men. It must have done this if its faith had been strong, and if love had inspired its hopes. But the religion of separation did not spring from love, but in part from fear and in part from hatred of the world, and these it increased. They are to be found not only in the law, but in the hopes of Israel, and even strike the one discordant note in the splendid chorus of its praises and prayers.

The danger against which the method of separation was devised was increased by it, for its restrictions could not but produce a reaction toward secularism. So Judaism, because it feared to try the harder task and trust the larger hope, the total mastery of life by religion, often failed in its narrower effort. With Alexander's advent it came into contact with a new and still vaster world of action and of thought. Many were swept away by the mighty tide of Greek worldliness. Against this Judaism drew its lines more closely and not in vain. Hellenic life it could resist.

Hellenic thought it could not master. It could only seek to guard and keep its own. The Talmud was its final response to the science and philosophy of the new age. It was an impenetrable hedge not only about the law, but about its observers. Those who, like Philo, chose the opposite method of inclusiveness, could only artfully insert the wisdom of Greece into the words of the Old Testament, but could not breathe into the new knowledge the living spirit of Old Testament faith. Only Christ, because he returned from the method of the scribes to the method of the prophets, could make religious faith vital and victorious again in the new age.

Judaism, however, by no means signifies an entire failure of the religious spirit to get the mastery of life. Indeed, in one direction it achieved a marvelous success. The Jewish people rescued religion from the ruins of the nation and kept hold of it, and by it of themselves, amid conditions in which kindred peoples, and the great majority of their own race, had utterly lost all that was their own.

There are two victories in which religious faith overcomes the world. One finds lofty expression in the psalmist's cry: "Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever." The other sounds in the prophetic call: "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." The communion with God in which men are lifted above the evils of life, the love which inspires men to deliver from evil those who are bound by it, — these two find expression in the Old Testament, but their harmony is missed and they appear to be conflicting ideals. A great prophet like Jeremiah might achieve a real harmony, so that his spirit might inspire both the inward piety of the psalms whose trust defies a hostile world, and the ideal of the ministering servant of Jehovah who bore the griefs and sin of many. But the harmony was never fully gained, and, in conflict, the ideal of holiness prevailed over the ideal of love.

Religion must indeed sometimes separate itself from the world. There are situations in which resistance against overwhelming worldly influences is our one duty. There are experiences in which the soul needs nothing so much as to be lifted above the world, to find refuge and help in God. Such sides of human experience the spirit of Judaism mastered. Sufferings of body and of soul are wonderfully lightened by its faith and translated into spiritual values. For though suffering remained for Jewish theology an harassing problem, faith was now and again victorious over it. And the songs of the trial and triumph of faith will never cease to bring comfort and strength to afflicted and struggling human hearts. But though Judaism knew well the faith that lives by patience and hope, it could not learn the faith that works through love. And when the naïve nationalism of its early days was held amid new conditions, against the implications of a monotheistic faith, against better knowledge and the teachings of its greater men, against the importunate demands of its new opportunities, the result could be only a conscious and proud exclusiveness, the unloving and unlovely spirit which seeks its own and hopes for its own, both in this world and in the world to come.

In the gospels the Pharisees stand over against Jesus. They were the fruit of Judaism. Israel's religious history had come to this. They bore their character in their name, Separatists, and their inner self is contained in the prayer, "Lord I thank thee that I am not as other men." Jesus denounced them only for their exclusiveness and its fruits.

They rejected him only for his love and its works. He also taught the victory of the religious spirit over the world by communion with God, and repeated the words upon which the proud self-consciousness of Judaism had daily fed: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." But he added as a second commandment, like unto the first, their neglected and perverted law: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

What now is the message of this religious history for our day? The age in which we are living is possessed by a new knowledge and absorbed in new activities. Science has made this a new world for thought; invention and enterprise are making it a new world for life. Is there a place for faith when men are finding it so well to walk by sight, to trust to skill and determination to conquer the evils of the world and gain and use its good? There can be, I fear, no doubt that among those who move most freely with the currents of the world's intellectual and practical life an increasing number are not in hearty sympathy with the Christian Church. Nor is this only because the spirit of self-confidence and self-seeking cannot sympathize with the spirit of humility and self-sacrifice. For not only intelligence and capacity, but thoughtfulness and character are to be found among those who stand aside from Christian churches. Why should they stand aside? Is it unverified statements in Christian creeds, or unapproved lives in Christian communions; the idea that the churches oppose science, or substitute an unreality for character? Is it that religion is felt by some who value it to belong to the sacred privacy of the individual soul; that the spirit of individualism and freedom is averse to every sort of authority and to all externalism in religion? Is it that some who reverence the example and words of Christ do not find that the churches have a peculiar right of possession to his truth, or show a special power to impart his spirit? Whatever the reason, is it not a fact that Christianity is not in full possession of the intelligence and will of our day? The Christian Church has surely not fully interpreted the knowledge and enterprise of the age to its deeper self, and transformed its gains into character and spirit.

To such an age the Old Testament history brings its message. It teaches us to love times of change and the men who live most fully in their time and work most powerfully upon it; to love movement and to dread results, to fear the institutions and ceremonies and dogmas in which religious faith seeks to withdraw from the movement of life. It teaches us that it is the business and calling of faith to enter fully into the life of its time and possess and master it for God and the soul. Its duty is not to itself, but to the world, and its success in saving itself from the world could hardly be thought better than a failure. The calling of the Christian church to-day is not unlike that of the Jewish church when it was cast out into the great world. Two dangers face us, the identification of religion with culture and progress, and over against this the separation of religion from the life of our time. The danger of secularism, of irreligion in thought and in deed, would seem the greater, but this danger is increased by our fear of it, and by the means of defense which fear suggests. For us I believe the greatest danger of all is the subtle blending of the two into which Judaism fell, the separation of religion from the world in form, with conformity to the world in spirit.

Religion may use various outward means for separating itself from the world. The oldest way is the ritual of priesthood and sacrifice. Let us be thankful that science has cut the roots of the superstition from which alone ritualism, old or new, can grow, and made it impossible to believe

that holiness pertains to things. Far more dangerous to us is a pietism which withdraws religion from the common feeling and experience, and puts it on a plane above the common moral needs and efforts of humanity. The danger of sectarianism is always near us, the effort of churches to increase their power for the sake of power, in which separatism in religion stands most stripped and bare in its essential worldliness. By a certain doctrinal conservatism religion may separate itself from the onward movement of knowledge and bind itself to past views of the world because once, when they represented, as they no longer do, men's best knowledge of nature and history, they interpreted the world to faith and were useful to the spiritual life. But the theologian should be a prophet, not a scribe, and should think it his calling not to maintain doctrines in the face of facts, either by denying facts or by forcing new meanings into old formulas, but to look first at the facts and whatever they are and however they turn, to find in them the meaning of God and the highest duty of man. Of a doctrinal liberalism which is simply divisive in intention and in effect, and which cuts religion off from the past, not in form, but in spirit, so that reverence and humility have no soil in which to grow, I need not speak. But there is also an earnest doctrinal liberalism which follows the method of separation. There are those who in their eagerness to make religion independent of the shifting opinions of philosophy, and of the daily novelties of fact and of theory in science and history, seek to give it a place of its own in the human mind where it cannot be molested, with the danger that large regions of experience shall be left without religious motive and interpretation, and that in universal history and nature, we shall lose the courage to look for a revelation of God.

So in one form and another the attempt is too often made to defend faith from the world, rather than to conquer the world by faith. Our theory is broad and inclusive as was that of Judaism. We claim for God in Christ's name nothing less than all of life, all men, all truth. If we do not gain for Christ all sides of the life and thought of our day it is because we lack the prophets' faith, because, whether it be fear or selfishness that prompts it, a spirit of exclusiveness contradicts our universal thought and makes it ineffectual. If by organization, or rite, or mystery, or dogma, we draw lines between the sacred and the profane, and erect walls between man and man, this is a virtual denial of the oneness of God and the lordship of Christ which we profess. It is indeed in opposition to the deeper insight and aspiration of our own age. The religious spirit is making itself felt abroad in the world as the spirit that unites all facts and truths in personality as their source and substance and end, the spirit that unites all men in the brotherhood of mutual sympathy and coöperation. The unity of the universe in God, the unity of men in love, — to this faith the mind and heart of our age responds. The Christian Church should not and will not stand in the way of a faith, a hope, an endeavor, which have such good right to be called Christian; it should not and will not allow itself to be, and make religion appear to be, a divisive influence in the life of individuals and communities. Is there, then, no danger in this doctrine of unity and inclusiveness taught both by success and by failure in Israel's history, and enforced by the spirit of our age? Doubtless, a very real and grave danger. The history of Israel's religion warns us not only against resisting worldliness by the method of separation, but also, and emphatically, against yielding to the currents of the world's life and thought with passive acquiescence. It is not enough to affirm that everything good, all useful work, all right thought, is Christian. Our task is not an empty claim which is a virtual surrender to the world, a claim for Christ like that which Philo made for Moses. It is one thing to rationalize Christian doc-

trine and to secularize Christian life. It is another thing to Christianize rational knowledge and to Christianize secular life, to take possession, for the spirit, of the science and work of our world.

Have we not a duty to the past? Yes, or rather we have a power in the past, and only by reverence and fidelity to it can we hope to escape the dangers and win the success. But the past binds us only in order to set us free, for the past which claims our reverence is the spirit of Christ.

It is indeed to nothing else that the Old Testament brings us in the end. Its message is of him, and historical study can only kindle our desire and help us in the effort, for ourselves and for our age, to find him anew and to hold only to him. And so the path of the historian and that of him who reads the Old Testament for his soul's good, which diverged so widely at the beginning, approach each other at the end.

The message of Old Testament history is not found in that which lies upon the surface of the book. The lesson of the history is that justice, mercy and humility, not sacrifice, are what God requires; that neither arms nor wealth, but only righteousness and truth rule the world; that religion at its center is inward and individual, depending upon no nation's existence, secured by no constitutional law; that suffering is not a sure mark of divine displeasure, but may bring the greater gain for character and even for service; that one can draw near to God only by living close to men, since the heights of devotion and holiness are missed when sought, however eagerly, for their own sake, are reached by those who lose themselves in work and in care for men. The religion which Old Testament history teaches is so ethical, so concerned with actual, social wrongs, so vital, so bound up with great and inspiring personalities, so free from speculation and from mysticism, that we may almost characterize the best in modern religious thought and effort as a return to the Old Testament. But this can only mean that we find the deeper sense, the underlying truth, the final message of the Old Testament to be Christ. Our return is through the Old Testament to him. In our own way, the way our age prescribes, not in allegory, or in type, or in letter, we also find that these are the Scriptures which testify of him. We find in them that universal and spiritual faith which he found there by the pure light of his own spirit, that which religious souls have always found according to their measure, when they have looked there reverently for their own.

But we not only find Christ in the Old Testament and understand and judge it according to him; we come to Christ himself through the Old Testament history. We are forbidden to approach him by any other path than that which in reality led to him. And this path brings us closer to him than we could come by ways that have served others but are closed to us. This is the supreme service of the Old Testament to our day. It is an indispensable means for the right performance of the supreme task not only of historical study, but of the Christian spirit in our time — the task of finding for ourselves the eternal, and only the eternal, in the Gospel picture of Jesus, of gaining and of giving to the world that in him, and that only, which is spirit and life, and so from within and in reality conquering our world through him and unto him.

At the close of Professor Porter's paper, a recess was taken to enable the Council to attend a reception by His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The Council, therefore, stood adjourned at 11.45 until 2 o'clock.

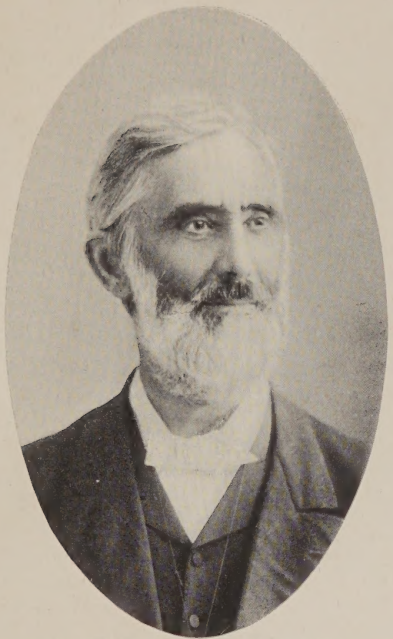
RECEPTION AT THE STATE HOUSE

His Excellency Roger Wolcott, LL.D., Governor of Massachusetts, courteously tendered the Council delegates and visitors a reception in the Executive Chamber in the State House at noon on Thursday, September 21. After the adjournment of the morning session of the Council, the invited guests, to the number of over twelve hundred, made their way to the State House, where they gathered in Doric Hall, and passing through the corridor and up the stairs, were presented to the Governor by the Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., vice-chairman of the committee of arrangements. The entire hour from 12 to 1 o'clock was occupied with the reception, a constant procession passing through the Executive Chamber. The Governor's words of greeting were kind to all, but especially hearty to the missionaries and other representatives of the more remote and less widely recognized fields. The event proved a delightful social function, and the Governor added to the splendid impression made by his address of welcome the previous evening. After the presentation to His Excellency, the visitors inspected the halls of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, the offices of the various State Departments and the State Library, where Librarian Tillinghast extended the courtesies of the place and exhibited the Bradford Manuscript.*

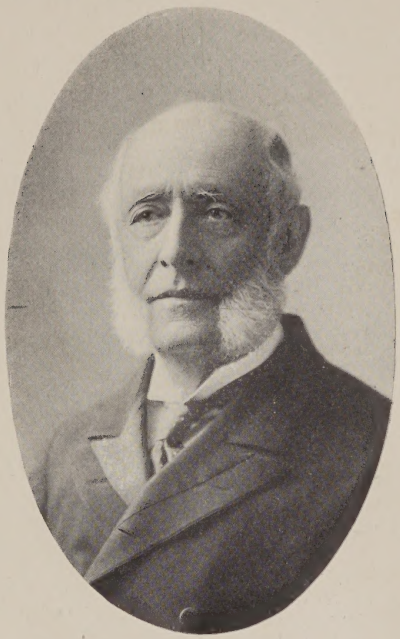
Council Photograph

After the reception the Council delegates were photographed on the State House steps, up and down which fully three generations of public men have walked, and on which Massachusetts Governors have stood when reviewing the soldiers of both the Civil and Spanish wars.

For an historical account of the Bradford Manuscript, see the Appendix.

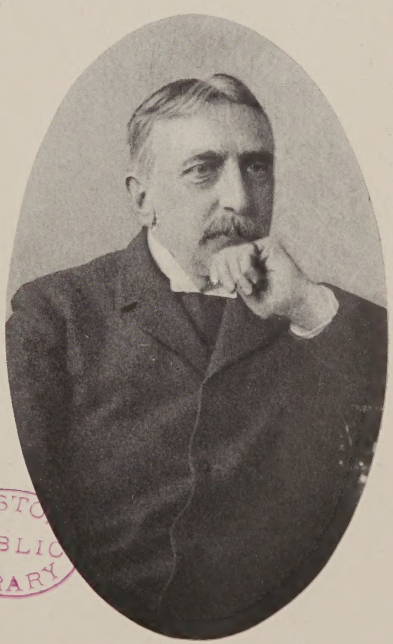


PROF. ALEXANDER GOSMAN,
Hawthorn, Australia.



PROF. GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D., LL.D.,
New Haven, Conn.

PROF. FRANK C. PORTER, D.D., Ph.D.,
New Haven, Conn.



PRES. GEORGE HARRIS, D.D., LL.D.,
Amherst, Mass.

BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Council came to order at 2 o'clock, Vice-President Rev. Samuel E. Herrick, D.D., of Massachusetts, in the chair.

After singing the hymn "Oh, where are kings and empires now," prayer was offered by Rev. Robert R. Meredith, D.D., of New York.

Hymn, "All hail the power of Jesus' name."

Address

Rev. Alexander Gosman, of Australia, Principal and Professor of New Testament Exegesis, Theology, Apologetics, and Homiletics at the Congregational College of Victoria, Hawthorn, and pastor of the Congregational Church in Hawthorn, delivered an address on Theology and the Order of Nature.

Address by Rev. Prof. Alexander Gosman

THEOLOGY AND THE ORDER OF NATURE

By the order of nature I mean that invariable permanent and necessary connection between antecedents and their consequences, the full admission of which lies at the root of all knowledge and of all reasonable faith. That axiomatic truth, alike of science as of theology, is not the direct product of observation or of experience, but becomes a primary *datum* of reason by a law of thought; itself beyond demonstration, but lying at the basis of all logical processes.

The law of continuity may be referred to as one of those first principles of intelligence that underlie all science, all philosophy and all theology. Negatively, it denies the entrance of any new force or cause into the matter or the movements of the universe; the sum total of things being necessarily assumed to be absolutely the same from eternity to eternity, without increase or diminution. Man's relation to them changes and there is no limit to what he may know of nature, but nature is now what it ever was, and the limits of human thought forbid the enlargement of nature by any process.

The law of continuity on its positive side affirms that the universe has attained its present position from causes or antecedents that have been operative through the whole course of its past history. All that has become, therefore, has so become by a process in which there have been no breaks, or leaps or new departures; and the present is only the prophecy of what shall be as the ages roll on, developing the infinite thought of God.

Theology has no quarrel with the law of continuity, for when the word is translated into the language of religion, it simply expresses the active and ceaseless activity of God, which is part of his very essence, and such activity is universal, continuous and invariable. "He that keeps Israel

slumbers not nor sleeps." No system of theology, therefore, can be satisfactorily explicatory of the nature of God that is out of joint with the doctrines of true science. But the law of continuity and Biblical theology alike assert the unity and harmony that run through the entire universe, and theology finds in that fact an irrefragable argument for the existence of the only living and true God.

The same confidence is not generally felt in relation to the comparatively modern doctrine of evolution. It is to be feared that there are those who look upon this scientific doctrine as if it were subversive of Christianity in so far as it is believed to be a supernatural revelation. But the aim of this paper is to show that theology has nothing whatever to fear from a full acceptance of evolution when apprehended as an important and comprehensive illustration of the order of nature. On the other hand, when free from vicious theories and intelligently applied to the interpretation of phenomena, theology gains immeasurably from the fact that some of its most valuable and important doctrines are not only illustrated by evolution, but strengthened and confirmed by legitimate inferences from its teachings. But before we attempt to answer the question how far theology has been or may yet be affected by evolution, it will be necessary to indicate what we mean by that word, for obscurity here cannot lead to any satisfactory conclusion as to its relation to theology, or to any other department of human knowledge.

It is hardly necessary to say that evolution has nothing in common with the notion of a first cause. It is not claimed for it that it underlies all phenomena, and is their only and final explanation. To regard it in that light would be to invest it with the attributes of divine personality, and to elevate it to the supreme place in human intelligence.

Nor are we required to accept evolution as something opposed to the notion of creation in its broadest sense, namely, as that which is both God-caused and God-sustained. Creation implies the notion of a certain outness in the Creator, but not an absolute separation between him and the world of matter. For he is in and all through his works, without either increase or diminution. Although it is asserted that evolution may account, for example, for the origin of species, we are not to suppose that true science gives any encouragement whatever to the doctrine that such an origin necessarily displaces that of creation in the sense we have attached to that word.

We must also endeavor to make a clear mental distinction between evolution as a law, if so regarded, and such explanations of it as are propounded for the purpose of illustrating and of confirming it. Natural selection, or the struggle for existence, may not supply all the facts necessary to give it a place amongst the assured results of science, yet it must not be forgotten that when an hypothesis is started it often anticipates facts as well as explains them.

By evolution, then, we mean that process or order in nature by which certain subtle changes or modifications are brought about, both in material things and in living organisms, and which, working through the countless ages of the past, has brought about the present existing order along a line of unbroken continuity. Evolution, therefore, does not find the explanation of existing organisms in special acts of creation, but in descent along a pathway under ever-varying conditions, and where there are many finger-posts to guide the traveler in his investigations. With respect to the human race, the question which evolution raises is simply whether man was created by God, according to the account given in Genesis, that is, by a special act of creative power; or whether his ascent has been from the simplest and lowest forms of life by a process of con-

tinuous uprising from lower to higher things, to the proud position he occupies to-day as the head and crown of creation. The Bible, when literally interpreted, seems to teach that man was made in the image of God by a special creative act; but science tells us that, although there are many links wanting in the chain of evidence, the evolutionary ascent of man is the more reasonable account of his origin.

The acceptance of evolution as a working hypothesis does not require us to believe that the changes and infinitesimal modifications that have taken place in the all but illimitable past have been of the same character, and continued at the same rate. In the natural world there may be slowly gathering, through long periods of time, forces that on arriving at a certain stage in their relative proportions may produce the most stupendous results, sufficient to shatter a globe like ours to pieces. So also in the organic world there are favorable and unfavorable conditions to the development of life; and while there are no wild leaps in nature, there are different degrees of speed, according to the conditions that pre-determine its movements.

The demand for the missing link in confirmation of evolution is from one point of view unreasonable; for the so-called missing link is not some living creature between two closely allied existing species, but a remote ancestor whose bones may have perished untold ages ago, and whose footprints even have been obliterated from the record of the rocks. Still more unreasonable and foolish is the objection that a goose, for example, is never known to develop into a swan; for if it were proven to do so, it would completely overthrow the doctrine of evolution, which seeks for a common ancestor for both, but has no hope of ever finding such freaks or transformations as are sometimes of it.

In spite of these objections on the one hand, and the foolish and unscientific extremes towards which this hypothesis is sometimes pushed on the other, the conviction is growing in men's minds that evolution as a process rests upon an ever-widening and deepening basis of facts. From a religious point of view, it simply expresses the mode in which God works, and yet it is that in which he conceals himself. We can see part of the web that has been woven: we may occasionally see the shuttle in its swift flight amongst the threads that compose the web, but we see not the hand of him by whom it is driven, nor can we comprehend the infinite thoughts of his mind by whom the energies of nature are directed. This brings us to the question we have raised: How and to what extent would theology be affected if evolution should pass from the hypothetical stage into the region of assured science? From a religious point of view, its denial, not its acceptance, would be atheistic. In relation to theology, it seems to come into conflict with the teaching of Scripture concerning the creation of the world and of man as recorded in the early chapters of Genesis. When taken literally there is no possibility of bringing evolution into line with the Mosaic narrative. The same may be said of all attempts that have hitherto been made to harmonize science and revelation on the assumption that the first chapter of Genesis is plain literal history. As long as it was supposed that the earth stood still, and that the heavenly bodies moved around this little globe of ours, it was found impossible to account for their movements. The discovery that the earth turned on its axis brought about a revolution in men's thoughts. In a similar way, when the Bible was believed to be verbally infallible, and to give us accurate information not only on past events, but even to anticipate the course of history and the growth of knowledge, the difficulty of reconciling that dogmatic assumption with the widening area of positive science became more and more apparent, until at last it was found to be

insuperable. But when it was seen and felt that revelation could not be a complete and finished thing in one act, but that which must necessarily come to us along the paths of history, the Bible, from being a kind of solid firmament, opened up in consistent perspective. From a peaceful lake it became a flowing river. Like the history of our globe, revelation was seen to be a process and an illustration of evolution. When viewed in this light the first chapter of Genesis, by whomsoever written, is simply the religious side of the knowledge of the time, and as such it carries the evidence of its own inspiration in its living and suggestive paragraphs. It is against every principle of rational interpretation to suppose that words spoken and reported have a meaning to those for whom they were originally intended and at the same time have also a sort of wizard-like capacity to transform themselves into any shape for the convenience of those whose theories of revelation will not fit into its facts. Those Mosaic days cannot be geological epochs, nor can they be days of twenty-four hours, which an uncompromising literalism would have us believe in defiance of the absurdities and contradictions which such a theory involves. These days are representative or symbolic periods of time. The writer stood on theistic ground between the two extremes of atheism. He did not believe in the eternity of matter. He did not believe that the Universe as known to him was God. He laid the foundation of a pure Monotheism in these sublime words: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Nor did he believe that the visible universe sprang into existence as if by enchantment. Creation had a process in time between the two extremes of laborious effort over prolonged periods and a single act with a completed result.

The discovery that revelation was a development and not a complete and perfect whole without any historic background has been of incalculable benefit to theology, by removing doubt, solving problems and reconciling difficulties otherwise hopelessly out of joint. It has given a value to every portion of the Bible by pointing out its organic construction and the relation of the parts to each other, with their respective values growing out of that relation. To those who estimate the Bible by this standard it has become a new book, a living word and not a dead letter.

But while many are prepared to admit that evolution has thrown a flood of light upon the doctrines of revelation, there is still a considerable reluctance to regard the incarnation as an illustration of its working. If God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, it is contended that he must, in a special and unique sense, have come down from God, and not along the line of nature working upwards. It is a daring and hazardous position for any one to limit the power of God or to lay down conditions for the divine activity. Still, with the books of nature and of history in our hands, the simple question is, What has God done? and that knowledge is both science and revelation.

That the Christ-thought was in the world before the advent can hardly admit of reasonable doubt. As a thought, it gathered to itself more and more of definite contents, and although this position has been assailed, it has never been surrendered. And what is this Messianic development but an illustration of the law of evolution? It is generally conceded that the Johannine Christ is fuller and diviner than that of the synoptics, for the Christ grew in him in whom the memory of his Lord was a living thought. Theology has within the last few years become largely, if not wholly, historic, and the historic method is nothing less than tracing the evolutionary process. But all this may be admitted, still the doubt remains whether this historic Christ was a natural development or directly from God by a supernatural act. One answer to this is, that we have here an alternative

belief where there is no real distinction. The phrases "from nature below," "from God above," are meaningless to theistic evolutionists. Every link in the chain, however small, has God in it. He did not forsake the world when he made it; nor is the world working itself up towards him now any more than at any past time in its history. There is, therefore, nothing in the doctrine of the incarnation at war with evolution. When the world was ripe for it, and when all the conditions that had been working their way upwards were fulfilled, in this fullness of time, the Son of God appeared to take away sin by the sacrifice of himself. The manifestation of the divine Son required no new or exceptional movement on the part of the divine Father.

At every stage in man's progress there are blessings awaiting him by a kind of divine storing; and whenever by moral effort, by prayer and sanctification of the spirit, he fulfills those conditions on which by a wise pre-ordination his happiness and the happiness of others depend, the divine beneficence does not come down to him, but he rises to it, for God is present at every stage in his progress in proportion as he is able to realize that presence. On such a theory the doctrine of the incarnation comes along the line of development; miracle is no longer any departure from the order of nature, and is only exceptional to the extent in which it was the outcome of exceptional conditions; and answers to prayer necessitate no change in him who is without variableness or shadow of turning, but simply the lifting up of holy hands to receive what God has prepared from all eternity to give to those who ask things agreeable to his will.

The reasonable time allowed by this Council forbids the illustration of this theme beyond the barest outline. I should like, for example, to have indicated how far the spiritual life in man runs naturally along evolutionary lines, from its inception to its completion in exalted saintship; and if evolution is God's method, it must still be true that it is God who worketh in us according to the good pleasure of his will. But I must conclude.

Evolution, accepting it as representative of the order of nature, does not take away our Bible, but it enlarges its scope, increases its value and makes every part of it conducive to the explanation and development of the divine purpose; as every contributing rivulet or stream adds to the value and volume of the river that fertilizes the land through which it flows. Evolution does not nor can it take away from faith the thought of God. A process, even although it should be a divine process, is not a person; and the soul of man demands a person to love, and not a process. Evolution cannot explain the varied phenomena of the universe, but belief in God can, and that belief will soon bring even evolution itself under it, binding all our knowledge into a consistent whole. Evolution does not destroy the argument from design; it only lifts it up from doubtful individual illustrations into the one grand overwhelming thought that everything, no matter how perplexing to the human intellect, is contributory to the infinitely wise and beneficent purposes of the Creator.

Evolution does not destroy the doctrine of atonement, but it lifts it up out of exceptional and altogether impossible conditions, and places it on a distinctly rational basis. Nature herself teaches us, and sometimes very sternly, that we reap as we sow. It teaches us that punishment is not arbitrary, and that its philosophy is not exhausted by exclusive prominence given to any one aspect of its complex character. Punishment is first of all punitive, but it is also disciplinary, reformatory and substitutionary. The atonement means nothing if it does not represent God as not only fighting against sin, but agonizing in the person of his Son for its removal.

Above all, evolution does not take away the divine Son either from the church or from the bosom of Christian love; for it enables us to see that

the incarnation and God's method of human redemption are not something apart by themselves, but subject to the same will as that which underlies all natural processes, having its stages of development according to God's methods of working. The divine thought or word has a limited but still a real expression in the rocks and the rolling sea. It has enlarged and richened nations or continents in the vegetable and the animal world, for life is simply the visible side of the divine thought. There is, if possible, more of God in man, and most in him of spiritual insight, of keen intelligence and moral excellence. But in Jesus Christ we have the fullness of the godhead bodily; "for the word was made flesh and dwelt among us." This Jesus did not come into the world by a sudden and unlooked-for manifestation, but, as Paul teaches, in the fullness of time, both in God's purpose and man's preparedness to receive him, and the future civilization and Christianization of the world will be measured by the world's apprehension of the character and work of Christ.

There can, therefore, be no real discord or divorce between theology and the order of nature. We who are here to-day are witnessing the closing months of the nineteenth century; but if we have eyes to see and ears to hear we are also witnessing not only the suspension of hostilities between science and faith, but a growing alliance and coöperation; for true science is simply the knowledge of God, and theology is the religious side of all true knowledge.

At this point President Angell took the chair.

Address

Rev. George Park Fisher, D.D., LL.D., of Connecticut, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Dean of the Divinity School, Yale University, delivered an address on the Historical Method in Theology.

Address by Prof. George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D.

THE HISTORICAL METHOD IN THEOLOGY

I shall venture to modify the terms and to widen somewhat the scope of the topic assigned to me. The subject on which I wish to remark, as far as the time allotted will permit, is the influence of historical studies, especially of late, on theological opinion and theological teaching. The subject is so large and so alluring that I shall have to ask your indulgence if I deal with it more in the way of suggestion than of methodical discussion, and, perhaps, in statements abbreviated almost to curtness. It is plain that "dogmatic," "systematic," "didactic" theology — or however the branch referred to may have been designated — no longer maintains the preëminence which it formerly had in the circle of theological studies. It is evident that the Bible is less and less appealed to as a repository of proof-texts, or as if it were a consecutive work, the product of a single author, and that author the mere organ of divine communications. It is not considered sufficient, in order to prove the doctrine of original sin, to cite the interrogatory of Job, "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" It is felt even by the most conservative adherents of the Westminster Confession that the fortress of Scriptural texts connected with that creed needs a radical reconstruction to conform it to the composite character of the Bible and to other attributes of the Scriptures which once,

to speak moderately, were far less obvious than they are now. These changes in theology are certainly in no small degree owing to the rise and spread of the historical spirit, and to its effect in altering the conception of the nature of revelation, and of the canonical Scriptures as related to it. In the first place, it has come to be discerned that the basis of divine revelation consisted from the beginning of a series of historical or providential *doings* of God, in which he disclosed himself to the mind and heart of the Hebrew people. It was not by the manufacture of a book that he made himself the object of an advancing knowledge and a loyal trust. It was at the root by the education of events. I have only now to remind you how often the redemption of Israel from bondage in Egypt is referred to as the precursor and type of the greater salvation through the Messiah, and as the warrant of Israel's hope and confidence in God. The teaching of inspired prophets and apostles is fundamentally the interpretation of facts, or acts of God, forming the series extending from more or less obscure beginnings to the cross and the open sepulcher of Jesus. That writings, "the oracles of God," were indispensable adjuncts, were the means of keeping out error and inculcating truth, is, of course, recognized. But the prophets were not fortune-tellers. They were inspired interpreters of history and preachers of truth and righteousness. The apostles likewise were sent to unfold the significance of facts of which they were witnesses. The end of revelation — and here another point is to be marked — was not the production of a literature. It was the creation of a people who should know God, and live to him, and be conscious of his nearness. The Apostle Paul founds everything on the faith of Abraham — the consciousness awakened in the soul of a man in a far-off time, of the living God. Jesus said to the little group of disciples, "*Ye* are the light of the world, *ye* are the salt of the earth." The process of revelation worked towards the creation or evolution of a community in fellowship with God, animated and actuated by his spirit. By that community the enlightenment and renovation of the world was to be accomplished. Within the pale of its fellowship mankind was to be drawn through the engendering of a spiritual affinity. The entire course of the rise of the kingdom of God, in whatever aspect it is looked upon, is stamped with the note of gradualness. Take, to begin with, the canonical histories of the kingdom in its rudimentary or Old Testament form. It is not for me in this place, if it were for me anywhere, to pretend to define with precision the landmark where we get upon relatively firm ground in the ancient Hebrew Scriptures. History rests upon contemporary evidence for its authentic foundation. It is vain to suppose that the Hebrew historians were critical students, using the search-lights which are essential in modern historical investigation of the past. They were not inquirers who subjected their sources of information to the tests now in vogue. They contemplated the past in a religious spirit. They wrote from a practical religious motive. Their inspiration is not to be conceived of as of a kind to ensure the absolute accuracy which has often been attributed to them, but which, had it existed in their time and circumstances, would have anticipated the scholarship of a period in the remote future, and would presuppose a continued miracle little short of magic. There are those — of whom I am not one — who question the historic existence of Abraham. So much is undeniable that the introductory portion of Genesis, up to a certain limit, comprises the legends and traditions of the Semitic peoples, which have been cleared of elements incongruous with the religion of Jehovah. I once heard Julius Müller remark, I believe justly, that "the first three chapters of Genesis contain more moral and religious truth than all other books not dependent directly or indirectly on the Bible." It is felt by many to be a gain that we are delivered from the bur-

den of apologetic sophistry designed to dovetail the early Genesis narratives into the fabrics of the modern sciences, astronomy, geology, philology and history. It is a relief to be spared the reproaches and the sneers of adepts in these branches of knowledge, whether expressed in scientific essays or in such prints as one said to have been circulated in Germany, depicting the polar bear making his way down to take his place in the ark. So historical criticism, which embraces within it what is called "higher criticism," is pretty generally admitted to have established the gradualness of the growth of institutions in the Hebrew commonwealth. There is really no reason for a shock of surprise when it is discovered that the codes of law were kept open, as in England, in Massachusetts, in Connecticut, and in most historic communities whose records are preserved. Nor is it without example if old rubrics may have been retained for legislation judged to reflect in an equal degree the mind of God, and to be of a piece with that which had preceded it. The author of the book of Jonah, when he says that the "Lord spake unto the" whale, can scarcely have meant that the whale was audibly addressed, and in the Hebrew language, but only that it was prompted to part company with the prophet. The truth that "the law came by Moses," that the foundations of the sacred jurisprudence were laid by this founder, that the germs of the later growth proceeded from him, is not subverted by finding that, from one period to another, there was a gradual expansion. The discrimination required between competent contemporary testimony and later writings is, of course, generally speaking, not called for in regard to the New Testament histories.

When we turn from the Biblical narratives to the doctrinal teachings of the Scriptures, the altered character of present-day theology, which arises from the historical point of view, is still more impressive. From the field that belongs to the introduction to the Old and New Testaments, with what it has to say of the origin, the date, the authorship, the sources, the simple or composite character of the several books, we turn to the special function of the new branch of Biblical theology. In the room of the old fashion of indiscriminate quotation from the Bible, as if it were written at one time and by one author, we have a careful tracing of religious and ethical doctrines from their obscure, germinant appearance, through the stages and turning-points of their progressive unfolding, down to the latest of the Gospel narratives and the last utterances of apostles. In the room of a conglomerate brought together from prophets and apostles, we have distinctions drawn between the tone and drift of the several prophets, and the different points of view of the apostolic authors. Along with essential features in which the conceptions of one or another group of authors are identical, we mark the diversities that spring from different intellectual traits and varying circumstances. We have a Pauline, a Petrine, a Jacobean and Johannine form of exposition. In place of monotonous sameness, we perceive a variety in the representations, like the views which one has of a minster of the Middle Ages, when one looks at it now on one side and then on another, now from a height and then from a lower level. Moreover, we see in apostles more or less distinct traces of progressive mental movement, and recognize modifications arising from an enlarged experience, and fresh light from inspiration. Compare, for example, earlier or later Thessalonians with Colossians.

Of course, we must not forget the signal advantage from the more exact philology of the present time and the improved exegesis thus made possible. But the perception of the historical background, which is now so much more clear, is an inestimable aid to exegesis. The study of the Jewish theology and the non-canonical Jewish literature contemporary with Jesus and the apostles, sheds a welcome light upon our Lord's teach-

ing and that of the apostles afterwards. In the case of the apostles we are assisted in drawing a line between that which was distinctively from Christ, and modes of apprehension and of inference inherited from the Jewish schools — a distinction that is not without its uses, even when no discredit is cast upon the authority of any portion of the apostolic teaching. The attention which has been directed, during the last half-century or more, to the bearing upon apostolic history and teaching of the great struggle between Judaizing Christianity and the Catholic, especially the Pauline interpretation of the Gospel, has been most prolific of good results in New Testament studies. Had the historical situation been as vividly discerned in times past, I believe that certain prolonged doctrinal conflicts in the church would have been, if not averted, at least mitigated and been less productive of divisions in the church. I hope I may be pardoned for illustrating this remark by adverting to a portion of the Apostle Paul's teaching — namely, the ninth and the next two chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. This ninth chapter — what a battleground it has been from the days of Augustine and Pelagius, through the Middle Ages, in post-Tridentine Catholicism, in earlier and later conflicts of Arminianism and Calvinism! How generally has the fact been overlooked that the Apostle Paul is here in the heat of his lifelong conflict with Judaizing antagonists, in the cause of the freedom of the Gospel. He has to face a difficulty with which, no doubt, he had something of a struggle at times in his own mind, — Why did the bulk of the Jews turn away from the Gospel while the heathen were flocking into the church? How could a fact, which he tells us caused him "sorrow and unceasing pain," harmonize with the relations of God to Israel, with the promises, with the entire revealed plan and purpose of God? The apostle is wrestling with the problem of the theodicy in an aspect of it which profoundly stirred his feelings. What answer shall he make? His mind hurries from one confutation to another. First, the blessing of God has not in the past descended strictly in the line of heredity. Who shall be the heir has been determined not by pedigree merely, nor by personal merit, but simply and solely by the will of God — just as an Englishman might say, it is not the nearness of consanguinity, but the decree of parliament, which has settled the order of succession to the throne. For one to raise the question why the Almighty decrees so and so in the matter, strikes the apostle as pert and impious. In his ardor he plays on a word which in the Hebrew means either "creator" or "potter." In a word, we seem to be listening to a full-blooded Calvinist. But he does not rest satisfied with this solution. He does not stop at the point where the Calvinist is apt to stop. Before the end of the ninth chapter, he pushes on to a new answer. He takes up another defensive position. The Israelites have failed of attaining the blessing because they sought it not by faith. Here has been their mistake and their fault. The blame is on themselves. The Calvinist begins to talk like an Arminian, and he goes on in the tenth chapter in the same vein. But, alas! the distressing and astonishing fact still stares him in the face that Israel is out of the pale of the kingdom brought in by the Messiah, and the apostle rushes forward to the further thought and bold affirmation that after all God has cast off his people only for a while. The divine purpose is to stir them up and to spur them on to a kind of rivalry. A change will come over them. They will turn to the Gospel; "and so all Israel shall be saved." This fervid apostle, in repelling assailants and justifying the ways of God to men, moves on from Calvinism to Arminianism, and then to a sort of Universalism as far as Israel is concerned. What exactly he anticipated by this complete ingathering of Israel he does not make clear, and we have no means of ascertaining by personal inquiry. I do not mean to intimate

that he first asserts, and then revokes what he has asserted. There is no reason to infer that it occurred to him that his explanations might appear to clash with one another. The old philosophical problem of liberty and necessity emerged thus early in Christian thought. Man's alienation of heart from God is all by his own fault: his recovery from it is all by God's grace. God orders all events, man is free and responsible. We are not authorized to say that the apostle was concerned to reconcile the two. Had the question been put to him, perhaps he would have answered, "Never mind the reconciliation!" I wish now simply to emphasize the statement that the apostle's train of thought is started by a momentous, heart-stirring, historical situation, an historical crisis. His unqualified propositions at the outset, his tacking from one side to the other, is the effect of the agitation which the course of Providence in the spread of the Gospel, and the taunts of his adversaries, excited in his mind. How often have theologians handled these chapters as if they were a dissertation written in cool blood in the closet of a metaphysician!

In nothing are the historical spirit and method which are characteristic of the present more manifest than in the absorbing interest which is felt in the investigation of the life of Jesus and of the beginnings of the Christian Church. Scholars are bent on applying to the records of the life of Christ a more severe scrutiny than was ever applied before. The curiosity to ascertain the precise facts in the earthly career and teaching of Jesus gives rise in different lands to numerous biographies and to endless disquisitions on special points. But along with the exhaustive inquiry, or beneath it, is the insatiable yearning to penetrate more deeply into the inner life of the Lord, and to realize in imagination the consciousness of Jesus. Men are not content to stop with the definitions of his person which are set forth in the ancient confessions. What is craved is a clear, self-consistent, vivid conception of the ongoing of his mental life. Abstract statements relative to the Incarnation do not avail to satisfy the demand. That during the earthly life of Jesus there were bounds to his knowledge, that nothing can be admitted concerning him which would introduce an element of fiction into his true and real humanity, are propositions on which students of theology are more and more coming to insist. Whatever may be the theory on the subject, if there be any theory — be it the *kenosis*, or an incarnation gradual in its effects, and so not consummated until the end of his ethical development — what I have just said is undeniable, and so to this extent something is conceded to the old Socinian exegesis. But the divinity of the Lord stands fast. There was an immanent presence of the Father, transcending his union with prophets or any other of the sons of men, so that the words and works of Jesus Christ, nay his thoughts even of divine things, human as they were in their molds and free as he was in his choices, were the words and works and thoughts of the Father. The Father was in him as an *alter ego*. In the conscience of every one of us there is an *alter ego*, a *vox Dei*, however clouded and perverted its mandates may become in the atmosphere of passion and ignorance, which is created by a resisting will. While conscience is inseparable from a man's own being, and is one's own conscience, yet within its restricted sphere it is the presence and the dictate of a Being not himself. This may help us to conceive of an *alter ego*, not thus restricted, immanent, in mysterious organic union with humanity, and finally reaching a complete ethical union by the progressive, and at last consummated, yet free, identifying of the human will of Jesus with the divine.

History has carried its torch with unexampled painstaking into the dimness of the apostolic and sub-apostolic age. One result is the exposure of untenable opinions relative to ecclesiastical organization. Much has

been written on this subject on the tacit assumption that the apostles looked forward to coming ages of the church and framed a polity on purpose adapted to the necessities, not only of the present, but also of the distant future. The simple fact that throughout the New Testament the expectation in the apostolic age of the speedy visible advent of the Saviour and an end of the existing order of things, consigns to the tomb publications of this character. *Jure divino* theories of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism or Congregationalism vanish in the light cast upon the varying, growing, developing organization of the early Christian societies. It is seen that the ecclesiastical arrangements in Cyprian's day, or in the time of Irenæus, are not to be taken as the copy or mere Continuation of what existed in the age of Paul, or of Polycarp, or of Justin. It is made evident that even the local or parochial episcopate of Ignatius, the precedence and authority of a single pastor, as a mode of superintendence and a means of order, had not then become a diocesan rule, nor had it spread in all the territories of the church; for example, in the region where the "Didache" (the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles") was an accepted manual.

The history of doctrine is one of the channels through which historical study exerts its influence upon theological opinion and teaching. The degree in which the formulating of Christian truth has depended on the environment of time and place, in the successive periods, has been brought to light. From the time of the Reformation, the agency of the human factor of religious and speculative ideas, in the building up of the mediæval system, had been emphasized. Nowadays, historical students are directing the microscope to the early period when the œcumenical creeds and the ancient Greek and Latin systems had their origin. That Christian theology, like the other sciences, took its rise in the atmosphere of Greek thought and inquiry, is generally conceded. It is natural, therefore, to ask how far the contents of the creeds referred to, aside from their phraseology, were affected by the contemporary training and speculation. Was there a molding of the matter as well as of the form? As to the latter species of influence, we certainly find it in the most venerable of the ancient confessions. The terms "substance" (Usia) and "hypostasis," to say the least, in the Nicene Creed, require for their interpretation a knowledge of Aristotelian distinctions and of other types of Greek philosophy. When it comes to the discrimination as regards the *matter* of the formularies, there is certainly danger of exaggeration in the relegation of doctrine to extra-canonical, especially Hellenic sources. Yet a discrimination of that nature is legitimate. The influence of later philosophical systems upon Christian creeds and teaching has become obvious. What has been drawn from sources exterior to the Bible, but has been often inculcated as if it were the testimony of Holy Writ, can be dissected out of the composite bodies of divinity. Undoubtedly, one consequence is a weakening of the authority of tradition. The dogmas of the past are subjected to a revision which formerly would have been considered tantamount to an attack on Revelation itself. This process of eliminating alien elements, whether it be soberly or rashly conducted, is an evident characteristic of the present time.

Dogmatic theology, when we think of its exalted station in the past and of the prominence acquired of late by Biblical and historical theology, may seem like a discrowned king. But I am persuaded that this is only a temporary eclipse. Dogmatic theology has not finally lost its throne. It will reclaim its place as the goal of theological investigation, not in its old form exactly, but as the philosophy of religion in both its aspects, natural and revealed. The Christian mind will never abjure the office of casting the truths of religion into a systematic form and pointing out their rational

coherence. The function of Biblical and historical researches will be that of auxiliaries. Scholars in these branches, lofty as will be their calling, will serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the masters in this higher discipline. It is not difficult to see that the currents of thought are moving towards a simplification of Christianity as far as its essential contents are concerned. This movement is, incidentally, but effectually, paving the way for Christian union. It is gradually removing great obstacles that have stood in the way of successful missions to non-Christian peoples. The function of theologians as authorities in natural science and human history, and in everything in the heavens above and the earth beneath, is fast falling into desuetude. Moreover, within the sphere of revelation — and this is a change in which historical studies play an important part — lines are more carefully drawn between that which makes up revealed teaching, and doctrinal statements which are propounded as infallible deductions, but which are really inferences drawn, with different degrees of probability. The central place in the creed, as in the New Testament, is the doctrine of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. But where in the New Testament is there a formulated assertion or metaphysical elucidation of the Trinity? Long ago I heard from the lips of a man not less eminent for his piety than for his ability and learning, the remark that what meets us in the New Testament is the *disjecta membra* of the Trinity. This is the fact in the case. But we know that in science the construction of the naturalist does not stand on the same level, as regards its title to credence, as the materials which he combines and fills out by his own ingenuity. Paleontology is not a demonstrative science. To confound the Athanasian Creed with the explicit statements of the New Testament, as if on the score of authority they are entitled to equal reverence, is a mischievous mistake. Leaders in theology have sometimes taught that the doctrine of the Trinity was purposely designed by the author of Revelation to perplex human reason, in order to serve as a discipline of humility, a kind of gymnastic in the school of mystery. I believe that there is no warrant for such an idea of the divine purposes. It is not just to regard with light esteem what has been done in the church by Athanasius, as well as since his time and before, to bring together into intelligible and consistent form, with philosophical adjuncts and aids, what the New Testament declares of God the Father, of the Divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. All that is here denied is that when we are engaged in the effort to carry the Gospel around the world we are not to burden the message by fastening to it propositions of human origin, to the confusion of peoples of unripe intelligence, or as binding equally with actually revealed truth.

The complaint is made that in these days criticism, including historical criticism, is apt to be destructive. It may be not unfrequently open to this imputation. It is undesirable to subtract cherished beliefs when nothing is offered by way of compensation. To build up should ever be the end in view, and criticism should not stop with undermining structures which have furnished a more or less comfortable and wholesome shelter to those who are houseless without them. Yet the signs of the time appear to me to be auspicious for the interests of a living faith in essential verities. For do we not perceive that the intellectual ferment of the age is operating to concentrate attention upon the incarnate and living Christ and to re-enthrone him in the minds and hearts of his disciples? Possibly, in times past, even the Holy Scriptures, the documents of the Christian religion, may have been so endued with divine attributes as to cast a shadow over the transcendent figure to set forth whom is their prime distinction.

The hymn "Blest be the tie that binds" was sung.

Address

Rev. Peter T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D., pastor of Emmanuel Church, Cambridge, England, delivered an address on the Evangelical Principle of Authority.

Address by Rev. Peter Taylor Forsyth, M.A., D.D.

THE EVANGELICAL PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY

I am to commend my case that the final seat of authority for human society is in the Cross of the Forgiver and the Redeemer; that Christ is King, not as the Son of our Creator, or as the Logos of the Reason, but as our Saviour.

1. The seat of authority must be sought in the ethical direction rather than in such quarters as would usually be understood as rational. It is only in the practical reason that we find authority; the pure reason has none. There is no truth that we may not criticise; but there is such a person. There is no absolute formal truth, only an absolute person and his act. Science, even theology in so far as it is scientific, owns no truth as final. The absolute is the only final authority, and we touch that by the moral act of personal faith alone. Man is the free creature even more than the rational; the lower animals are more rational than free. And it must be in the region of his distinctive freedom that his King resides; it is there he needs and finds his authority. It exists for free will rather than for free thought. For knowledge and thought there may be order and limit, but there is no authority, which, in the real, absolute and final sense, exists for man as moral and not as intellectual. We receive from it our salvation, but not our creed. The truth as it is in Jesus is Jesus as truth. Revelation was in its essence redemption, an exercise of power rather than persuasion, and the gift of life rather than of truth. The remade man makes his truth out of the new gift of reality, as Paul did. The absolute authority of truth as truth means a reign of orthodoxy which has been one of the calamities of the church. It is but the rational side of that institution-worship which, in the larger form of Catholicism, has made the church one of the perils of the world.

The seat of authority must be primarily ethical, and act on the reason only ethically and indirectly. Our great response is an obedience more than an assent, and our strength is not so much certainty as trust. Our prime need is to know not so much where we have inquired, but in whom we have believed.

2. This ethical authority cannot be merely individual in its action; it must be social: morality has no meaning except through a society. Its word is not for the single conscience, but for the public. Its destination is not a group of wills, but the race. The lord of the soul is the lord of society. A single soul could not be a soul, nor have an eternal Lord. The ruler of a single conscience only would soon cease to rule even that conscience. My king would not forever seem to me royal if he were king only of me. Right for me would lose its right over me if it were not right also for a world of me's. A God who is God only of individuals soon becomes an individual God. We relapse into theism, which is just individualism obtruded into God. There is no social authority possible on a mere theistic basis. The individual force of moral authority is due to its social nature and power, to its seat in a God who is in

his nature social, and in his unity manifold, triune. "*L'Esprit Saint c'est Dieu social.*"

The seat of authority is not only in the center of the soul, but of society. This great white throne is set up among men because its roots are in the central society of the Godhead itself.

3. Being social, this moral authority must be historic. It is a rude view which regards society as contemporary alone. The living are but the latest; they are the fringe of society. We are but the outskirts of the race and inhabit the suburbs of time. The present is but the glowing tip of the past. For moral purposes and the affairs of the soul, society includes the dead and their works, heaven, hell and history. The longer the world lives, the more it is ruled by the dead. The majority of us are not with us. Our best wealth is chiefly legacy. I say nothing yet of the way in which we are ruled by the King of the unseen, the Firstborn from the dead.

Moreover, the future lives and works in us. Posterity is a great factor in the present. Heredity has a retrospective action and comes up to us from the future as it descends on us from the past.

> There come up the stream
> Murmurs and scents of the infinite sea.

The conscience of the future determines our action to-day as well as the conscience of the past. The unborn deeply affect the generations that carry them; they affect our tastes, feelings, thought and action. The present has the duties and emotions of a coming maternity. We were working in the men and movements of old. Parents obey their children in a subtle but real sense. There is in us an ethical presentiment and a spiritual providence, an entail from the anticipated, whereby we build better than we know. We own our solidarity with the future no less than our continuity with the past, and we confess the beneficence to us of the posterity we bless.

It is not, therefore, in the midst of the present that the seat of authority must be sought, but in the center of history, of the soul. It is at the focus, not of the age, but of the race. It is no more limited by the time than by the individual. It is catholic for all time, never antiquated though ancient, and as central at any one point of history as at another. Just because it is central to history it is equally relevant to every age, and the permanent contemporary of all time. If it emerge at any point it is central to all.

4. The moral authority which is final must be not only historic as a matter of fact, but as a matter of essence and principle. It must belong to the very nature and genius of this authority that it be historic. It should not inhabit only a remote world. It cannot rest in heaven; and it cannot realize itself in the mystic depths of the individual; the mystical is too individual to have authority. The true authority must press outward to take effect in events, in action, in history. It is a self-bestowing, self-actualizing authority. The action of the race must not only give it an area, but an expression. It "finds itself" in history. It must be authoritative for any age because it chiefly makes the half-conscious age what it is. And so it must be not the past alone, nor the future alone, but something which is the same yesterday, to-day and forever — the same not because equally indifferent to past, present and future, but because equally fontal and creative — that is to say, it must be in its nature Revelation. The absolute power over us must be an outgoing, self-giving power, translating itself into man; if it mold the soul it must mold it

to its own image. It descends on the soul, descends as a gift, as a self-bequest.

5. If the seat of authority be thus historic and not mystic, social and not individual, ethical and not merely rational, it must stand forth either as an institution or as a person in an act. As a matter of fact it is between these that we are compelled to choose — between a church and a person. And history has written in the career of Catholicism the result of placing the ultimate ethical authority in the church as an institution. It is Jesuitism. The conscience of human society is not another society. The church is not the conscience of the state; nor is the conscience of the church the kingdom of God even. The kingdom itself is first constituted by the king; and the conscience of society is a personal holy will. Wherever the conscience of the conscience is an institution, we lapse into some form of Macchiavellianism or Jesuitry, according as the institution is state or church. No institution can be the conscience of the conscience without debasing it and in the end provoking a saving rebellion. If the conscience cannot be its own authority, it can at least be the death of every usurping authority. Only one Lord can sit this steed.

Conscience is not its own lord, but it is autonomous thus far, that its authority must be of its own nature — personal. It is heteronomous indeed; it demands an external authority. But it is an authority external to its range only and not to its nature. And an institution is foreign in its genius to the conscience; it is only a person that is akin. Only a soul can rule a soul, only a will redeem a captive will, only a living person be a source of grace. Holy and blessed as the church may be, it is but the channel of grace, and therefore only the organ and not the seat of authority.

6. But if the final authority be not an institution, then it cannot be a canon, which is in the nature of an institution. It cannot be the Bible. The canon of Scripture was the work of the church, and if the church's work be final for the conscience then the church must be. The Bible is really a word of two meanings, with which we unconsciously juggle. It means the canon, and it means the Gospel as the living soul of the canon; and the two things are not the same. There is a great difference between the whole of the Bible and the Bible as a whole. The whole of the Bible is not authoritative, but the Bible as a whole is. The whole of the Bible is not authoritative, the soul of the Bible is. But even the Bible as a whole and soul is not, in strictness of thought, the *final* authority. The final authority is the Gospel in the Bible, which is Jesus Christ and him as crucified. That is within the Bible; but it is to be got out (as I have said) not so much by dissection as by distillation. The Gospel is not a dead portion of the Bible, but its living Spirit. The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of all its prophecy.

The Bible broke the yoke of the church; but there are those to whom the Bible itself has become a yoke. They have forgotten that they were the Bible's sons and not its slaves. The Gospel must do for the Bible what the Bible did for the church. The Bible has an authority that judges the church; and the Gospel has an authority that judges the Bible. The Gospel made the Bible, and the Gospel must rule it. If the church had made the Bible, the church would rule it, and would be its final interpreter. If the Christian consciousness simply had made it, then it would still be at the mercy of the Christian consciousness. But it is not. Neither the church tradition nor the Christian consciousness is the final appeal. It is the Gospel rather than the Bible, yea, rather than the character of Christ, that is the true last word of God. Christ himself was there for the sake of the Gospel — for the work of grace and the word

of redemption. The value of the Bible is not primarily for theology, but for redemption. It is there as an expression and witness of Christ in his saving work. The real solvent which is acting on the Bible at this moment is Christ and the power of his resurrection. It is the vast and growing action of Christ's redemption that is rending the gorgeous tomb and raising the lovely stone of Scripture, lest we should only embalm the Lord in his shrine. The Bible does not exist for the schools, but for the church, and especially for the practical function of the church with the world, its salvation. It is not there for sacred culture or sacred science, but for Christ and his one purpose of redemption. Its authority is due to its place and function in the service of the Gospel. The final authority is the Redeemer. The Bible is authoritative only in so far as it conveys and serves his redeeming work and purpose. It is regulative neither for science nor history, but for the soul. Its key and goal is the Gospel, as God's forgiving act in Christ. And the varying value of each part is proportionate to its nearness and directness to this central aim. The touchstone of every book and passage is Christ, as Luther said; but it is Christ, not as the perfect character, but as the sole theme that Paul would know, Christ as the crucified Redeemer. "Back to Christ" is a sound call; but it would mislead us if it meant merely back to his teaching as our norm and his character as our ideal. His teaching, as precept at least, does not cover all the moral ground, even where it is clear; and his character means for modern ears such a biography as we have not and never can have. Back to Christ means back to the Gospel as it is in Christ, and especially in his atoning death. The supreme commentary on the Gospels is the Gospel, as the key to Christ's life is his death.

We are free, nay, forced, therefore, to deal critically with all the parts of the Bible under the ruling principle of redemption. That principle prescribed both the power and the limitations of the Redeemer himself; and it cannot but determine the scope and limits of the record. The critics may teach us to *place* each part; but we measure and weigh it by its contribution to that principle and end. Christ in the Bible judges the Bible, as the conscience in us judges us. The authority for the Bible is not the conscience, but that which is the authority for the conscience also. It is the Redeemer of the conscience, who, through the redeemed conscience, sent forth the Bible to make just such claims upon men as the redemption that produced it — no less but no more. Both the Bible and church are products of the Gospel, and they exercise what authority they have as servants of the Gospel. And the servant is not above his Lord, nor even near his level. Both Bible and church may be the means of our faith, but neither is the ground of our faith. If Protestantism have any meaning it is that the ground of our faith is identical with the object of our faith — which is God reconciling the world in the cross of Christ. The Reformation was not the rediscovery of the Bible chiefly, but of the Gospel in the Bible. And it stood not for the supremacy of conscience, but for the rescue of the conscience by the supremacy of Christ in it. And of Christ in it, not as the supreme Rabbi to solve cases, but as the author and principle of a new life and spirit which solves cases age after age by an indwelling grace, and truth, and love, and light and power.

7. My drift has already escaped. There is but one authority which corresponds to all the conditions I have named, that is ethical, social, historic, personal, living and present. It is revealed, absolutely given and forever miraculous to human thought as the divine forgiveness always must be. It is the grace of God to us sinners in the cross of Christ that is the final moral authority as being the supreme moral nature and act of the Supreme moral Being. And it is forever a wonder to human thought except in so

far as it has made in man its own thought. It is not irrational, it is rational; but it is not in reason to realize its own deep nature and content till it is redeemed. And the redemption of Christ not only satisfies the natural conscience which is its herald, but it opens to it a new world even within itself. The thoughts of many hearts are revealed as well as the purpose of God. It provides a new standard and ideal which it guarantees as the final reality and *therefore* the final authority. It reveals in the conscience new needs, and raises it to appreciate the moral value and right of a doctrine like atonement, which to its mere light of nature seemed strange and incredible.

The grace of God to the conscience in the historic but perennial cross of Christ must be the one source of morals and the final seat of authority to a race that is redeemed or nothing — redeemed or lost. Natural and theological ethics may be separated for convenience of academic discussion; but in the final experience of the race there is no ethic but a theological. All morals are but academic which fail to recognize that the greatest fact in social ethics is also the most formidable and intractable. It is the fact of sin and guilt. We must take man in his actual historic situation; and if we do this the so-called natural conscience does not exist. It is an abstraction; and what exists is the historic product, the sinful conscience. Solidarity and heredity teach us so much as that. If, then, we so take man, whoever masters that fact of sin is master, effective and sole master, of the conscience, and so of the whole of human life, of history and of society. The Redeemer from moral death is the seat of authority for all mankind, in their affairs as in their faith. For practical purposes, on the collective human scale, on the scale of the whole passionate, actual soul, we must deal with the evangelical conscience, shaped by faith in the Redeemer, when we ask for the seat of final authority for the race. The ethics of the future must be the explication of the cross — and of the cross understood as a gospel and not as an ideal, as an atonement and not as a classic sacrifice.

8. I would present the matter, in fine, from this point of view, and indicate how it is only a deep and expiatory view of atonement that invests Christ with this final moral claim, or the cross with its ultimate authority.

The whole race is not only weighted with arrears, but infected with a blight. The train of history is not simply late, but there has been an accident, and an accident due to malice and crime. We struggle not only with misfortune, but with a curse. The total and ultimate moral situation of the race is not moral only, but religious. It is a spiritual and not only an ethical crisis. The malady and the remedy are religious both. The Lord and Master of the race is not merely "a self-transcending goodness," even if we regard that goodness as personal and ideal. He is a Redeemer. He not only *embodies* goodness, and startles us with the wonder and love of our ideal selves, but he *intervenes* with his goodness as the only condition of our release, and of our power to fulfill ourselves and share his life. My King and Lord is not only my helper, but he who gives me back the life I had thrown away and lost the power to regain. My Sovereign deigns to contend with rebel me, and, when he has disarmed me, gives me back my sword and takes me into his service. And he is especially and absolutely King and Lord when we realize *how* he became Redeemer, what is the nature of the moral act by which he saved the spiritual situation of the race. His authority does not rest simply on our grateful sense of his kindness. It is not alone that we are melted and mastered by the spectacle of his tender mercy and his love that will not let us go. It has a more objective ground. That is too subjective and unstable for a seat of authority universal and spiritual, absolute and eternal. Nor does it rest on

our admiring sense of his goodness. It is not that he produces on us the impression of one who incarnates excellence, concentrates human worth, anticipates in himself the moral future of humanity, and sets it forth as an ideal to man and a surety to God. All that is fine, but for the purposes of the conscience and its absolute authority it is too æsthetic. He remains still outside the living center conflict and tragedy of the will. The seat of his absolute authority is neither in our wonder, fascination, nor gratitude. He is not King because he personalizes the divine life. Nor is he our Master because he incarnates the holy law; for that would be but condensing in a personality the very power our sin had most reason to dread. *Holiness* becomes even more terrible in the Holy *One*. But he redeemed us from the curse of the law being made a curse for us. He satisfied for us that holy law which our sin could break but never unseat, whose wounded claim no future obedience or even penitence of ours could ever extinguish, which at once lifts us from the dust and grinds us to powder, which it is our dignity to touch and our misery to remember, on which the most Titanic human defiance dashes in vain, and which masters our loudest freedom with a quiet inextinguishable irony and a slow inevitable judgment. That was our absolute master as Christ found us. And that was the judgment that he absorbed in his holy love. By extinguishing through loving sacrifice the claims of this law he became their reversionary over us. Our High Priest became our final judge. He took over in his person the lien held on our sinful conscience by all the moral order of the world and all the holy righteousness of God. He acquired the claim he extinguished. He became our moral world, our spiritual realm. By his complete obedience to God's holy law he is identified with it in its immovable right over us, and so he becomes in himself and his redeeming act the moral master of the race. Because he took man's judgment he became man's judge. Because he exhausted the curse he acquired the monopoly of blessing. He who met the whole law became the law's lord. And the lord of the law of the conscience is for conscience its king. He is the conscience of the conscience because he is the redeeming conscience of Holy God. He is thus the fountain of moral honor and the center of spiritual authority forever. He would be supreme indeed if our orderly moral nature were only constituted in him; but he is absolutely and forever supreme because our disordered nature is in him redeemed. And the moral authority of society has at the long last only an evangelical base.

A true and deep evangelicalism, therefore, is not a party in the church, but it is the very being of the church. The coming church must be an evangelical church. While she has this note the church has the secret of the social future. Everything turns on the cross and the nature of the cross' grace. Is the spiritual power of society the moral mastery of Christ's cross? There is no question in the world so vital to society as this of the spiritual power. The temperance question, the sexual question, the war question, the Irish question, the negro question, the question of labor, the question of the proletariat, and other such are most grave and pressing. But none of them are so grave and deep, in the long run, as the question of the spiritual power. Society coheres with many abuses, but it cannot remain society without a spiritual power. What shall that be, and where is its seat? It is really the church question. No question of philanthropy, however urgent and moving we feel it, has the importance of this. For it has the future and permanence of philanthropy itself within it. It is possible to vulgarize any question, and more easy the greater, finer and subtler it is. And the church question is much vulgarized. The no-Popery cry can be vulgar enough. But the issue is great and spiritual enough to outlive all that. It will be always with us,

and always nearer. It is not extinct, it is only in abeyance. It retires for a longer leap. That the Christian question is a social question is now a truism in theory, though it is not yet a commonplace of practice. But that does not mean that it passes from the churches to the politicians, economists and socialists. It means rather that by the will of Christ the Christian problem cannot be solved except by a Christian society — by a church. And it means that we must be more concerned to choose between the various churches, especially between the two great Western Churches, the Catholic and the Protestant, the theurgic and the evangelical, the magical and the moral; for with one of them the social future lies, social authority and social safety; and it does not lie with the other. What lies with the other is social collapse. We must work in a church. Mere individual efforts at social reform, if they are very radical, are but quixotic, and break fruitless and miserable on the entrenchments of wrong. To change the world convert the church. It is through a society that the Saviour wills to save society, and when we make our choice we have but to ask which church gives effect to the New Testament cross, to the moral authority of the spiritual cross. Which is built on the Gospel as I have explained it — as an act and a power, rather than a creed? Which has that authority? Which, therefore, has the divine commission? Is it the church whose secret is in its organization or in its Gospel, which is institutional or moral, which is graceful in its sacraments or sacramental in its grace, whose word asks for mere assent or for the obedience of faith, whose authority has its seat on a venerable spot of earth or utters its still more venerable and awful voice seated in the center of the redeemed conscience? We must have for these days an authority which is *in its nature* emancipatory and not repressive, empowering and not enfeebling. That authority is the Redeemer's. The object of human faith must be the source of human freedom, individual or social. Society can only be saved by what saves the soul. The evangelical contention is that that object of faith is the Redeemer, directly and alone. And the concentration of the evangelical churches upon that infinite and creative point of redemption alone is the one answer by which Protestantism can meet a claim so bold, thorough and commanding as the dogma of Papal infallibility. Mere Catholicism is powerless against Vaticanism, which is Catholicism made perfect.

Our Gospel is not the property of a religious group however large, or of a religious organization however hoary. But it is the one public power, the one person, by which human society is saved, not only for God, but for itself. It is society that is being saved, and not only a group of individuals, an elect out of society. And the one saving power is the living Word and Gospel of Jesus Christ the crucified, risen and royal Redeemer, who is over all and blessed forevermore.

After singing the hymn "In the cross of Christ I glory," a recess was taken until 7.45 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION

The Council assembled at the appointed hour, President Angell in the chair. After the hymn "All hail the power of Jesus' name" was sung, prayer was offered by the Rev. William E. Griffis, D.D., of New York.

Hymn, "My faith looks up to Thee."

Council Sermon

The Council sermon was preached by the Rev. Andrew Martin Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, England, from the text, Matthew 16 : 18.

SERMON BY REV. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

"And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." — *Matt.* 16 : 18.

I. THE TEXT AND THE CONTEXT

This is a text that must be read in and through its context. The public ministry of Jesus had ended. His more intimate fellowship with his disciples was about to begin. The issue of his ministry had been the apostasy of official and educated Israel. He had come to his own, and his own — the priests and Sadducees, the Pharisees and scribes, the people who had claimed to be the elect of the elected — had received him not; and all he could call his were the simple and illiterate men with whom he then stood face to face. How could they enter into his mind, share his passion, become his witnesses, be the apostles and the ministers of his word? The capable had failed him; the incapable were about him, and if he had been but mortal man, what could he have done but doubt even unto despair? He came to the men who faced him and said, "Whom say men that I, the Son of Man, am?" And they made answer, "John the Baptist, Elias, some great prophet." "But whom say ye that I am?" And the man most swift and emphatic of speech made answer, "Thou art" — not Jesus of Nazareth, not a teacher sent from God, not the son of Joseph and Mary, but, using the highest name of the highest office and person — "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

His lonesome experience and the words of the men about him seemed to wake in Jesus two visions. As he looked at the men who had followed him he saw within and behind them the ideal he had come to realize, the city which he had begun to found, and the material of which it was to be built. As he looked past them to Jerusalem, sitting proudly amid her hills, grouped round the temple where her chief sons sat darkly plotting his death, he saw his cross and passion. The double vision created, as it were, a double feeling, such as may have come to the Almighty as, on the morning of the creation, he said, "Let light arise out of the darkness and

let darkness become the shadow of the light." Then the Creator saw good and evil wrestle in the womb of the creation. But he saw them, not as they appear to time, but as they seem to eternity; he saw them just as we see the shadow cast by the passing cloud on the hillside — a cloud that could neither be nor cast a shadow were it not for the light that burns above it eternal in the heavens; a shadow that must pass and perish while the hills abide in purple glory and everlasting strength. So the double vision of the cross and passion and the church did not trouble the serene eye of the Saviour. He saw and he spoke like one whose dwelling was eternity. Disasters dismay man, for they overwhelm him, but the Eternal whom they cannot overwhelm, they neither disturb nor dismay.

So Jesus, like one who lived in time while he belonged to eternity, conscious that he should have no mercy and wake no pity in his foes, yet touched with tenderness for his people and pitiful to his enemies, speaks in the very face of disaster and in the very hour and article of death, of founding a church, of building a city, against which the gates of hell could never prevail.

When we turn from the context to the text we are faced by various difficulties. There is, first, the singular and remarkable fact that this is the one solitary reference which Christ ever makes to his church — a fact all the more singular when we consider the extraordinary place it has filled in the thought of his people and the way in which it has, as it were, been an occasion for battles of mind and of blood through ages of men. There is, secondly, the difficulty which springs from the conflicts that surround it. The dissonant voices of men can hardly be stilled even in the audience chamber of the Holiest; and while we may desire to stand in the presence of Jesus oblivious of all these dissonances, they will break in and mar the sacred and everlasting calm. Then a third difficulty arises from the fact that we have not the text in the language in which it was originally spoken, with all the associations peculiar to it. We have it in a translation, a speech foreign to the Master, with associations which may be ours, but were not his. And the point where this difficulty is most acute is in the cardinal term "church," which is, as we have it, the translation of a translation, and translations have a trick of moving as by a geometric progression further and further from the fontal mind. There it stands, not so near to his mind as the Greek "*ecclesia*," which, while a foreign term, yet expressed what may be called a native idea. Our English "church," our Scottish "*kirk*," the German "*kirche*," come by descent, not from any term in this text, but from a later Hellenistic word, a mere adjective, as it were, which qualified the holy day, the divine oracles, or the sacred supper, denoting that they were the Lord's. It simply signifies that the thing or place is Christ's. The term came westward; entered our own and the cognate tongues; it has taken possession of men's minds; scholars have tried now to expel it from our version, now to fill it with some of its original meaning, but ever back it has come, as by a prescriptive and indefeasible right, to govern the mind of man and to hold, as it were, Christ himself responsible for our deeds, making his authority defend in a strange way the perversities of human error, the oddities of human devotion, and the terms in which men confess their beliefs. Earth loves to have heaven endorse its judgments, and nowhere has the desire of man to get God's will to confirm and sanction his choice rather than make his will express and obey God's, nowhere has man's determination to achieve this been more manifest or successful than in the fashion with which he has filled this great idea with the associations of his own past and the creations of his own fancy.

II. EXEGESIS OF THE TEXT

Turning to the text, then, let us note how it begins: "Thou art Peter." That is the direct and consequent antithesis of the prior phrase in the confession, "Thou art the Christ." As is the Christ in the one passage, so is Peter in the other. Jesus calls Simon by his new name "Peter" and then continues, "On this *petra* — on this rock — will I build my church." The relation is intimate. Peter is an official name as much as Christ. It is not the old personal Simon Barjona, it is the new man "Peter." What did that mean? As Christian to Christ, such is Peter to Rock. They stand thus related. The great Rock, unquarried, unbroken, eternal, is Christ himself. The stone dug from the Rock, the *petros*, is the man Peter, like in quality, like in character, to the Rock whence he has come. And the felicitous conjunction of the two words expresses this idea: that foundation and superstructure are all of one piece. The superstructure springs from the solid Rock. It is hewn out of it; rises from it four-square, strenuous, all its parts welded and bound together, facing every wind that blows, defiant of every storm. The man is not told that he is the foundation. Ask himself. Have you ever considered this, that of all the apostolic speakers and writers, Peter most loved the analogy of the rock and the stone? In one of his earliest discourses he speaks of the stone that the builders rejected, made of God the head of the corner. In his first epistle he speaks of that stone again, which is chosen of God and precious, and then of the living stones that, built on it, form a great spiritual house. The stone and the rock are one in nature, in kind and quality. What is taken forth from the great encompassing bosom of the eternal Rock is a living stone and therefore one fitted to find a place in the superstructure.

But we may dismiss Peter from further consideration. He has lived a long while in history, and it would have been strange to him had he been told that he would so live. Little could he conceive what the Master meant when he talked of this great church; still less could he have been made to understand that a large society would claim him as its founder and its head, and would regard this text as justifying all its wondrous claims. If he could have been made to understand it, what would he have said? Why something like this: "You little know the mind of the Master. He calls me Peter here. But wait a little, and he bids me get behind him as Satan. Would it not be a strange thing to make Satan become the head of the church? So frail a man could not occupy so eminent a position. I do remember that the Master took a little child, set him in the midst of us, and bade us become even as the child if ever we were to enter into his kingdom. And as to successors, I did not know I was to have any successors. I did not know that any promise was made to them. Least of all did I ever understand either that I was to be Bishop of Rome or that my successors were to follow me in that episcopate and inherit promises which I never knew to have been made." There is no reference to any scheme of that sort. All is personal; all is present and real; the man who is addressed has the quality of the person who is addressing him. Peter is the Christian, the living stone. Christ is the Petra, the immovable bed-rock, and these two are to be built together into the church, which is a great organic unity, foundation, and structure built into one homogeneous whole.

But now, advancing from Peter, let us seize that word "church." How are we to express it? Would that the term could be forgotten and we could recall some of the associations of the old Greek *ecclesia*. We may with propriety translate church, Israel, "My Israel," or we may leave it

untranslated and let *ecclesia* stand, expressing the idea of free men, met together in solemn assembly, with equal rights, equal dignities and equal duties, prepared by solemn deliberation to realize and fulfill the same. Or we may express it simply as "Christ's body of free men."

Mark next Christ's own relation to the church. "I will build." His is the action, his the power, his the presence, his the energy that creates the whole. Because he builds it is to endure. The gates of hell are not to prevail against it. In face of time, in face of eternity, it can sing in the proud possession of immortality, "O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory?"

III. THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH

We may then epitomize the idea thus. The constituent elements of the church are two: they are the Saviour who saves that he may govern, and the man who is saved in order that he may obey. These are the essentials, all else is accidental. It is machinery man has made, fashions devotion has followed, customs time has formed, associations history has created; but, while these may be of the essence of the sect, they are the accidents of the church. The essence of the church lies in the Saviour who reigns. Where he is, there it is, and where he reigns the people are free.

Two things fill me with wonder and astonishment. One of them is the supremacy, the absoluteness, of the divine energy that said, "I will build," and the second is the material out of which he built. It was material that the great empire builders of the world would have turned from with scorn. Christ was not the first person who had dreamed of an ideal society. Centuries before him Buddha had so dreamed. He had dreamed of a society formed of elect men, separated from the world, shut up to celibacy, made to live as those who held beatitude to be final loss of being. And where his society triumphs there human progress ends. Centuries before Christ, Confucius in China had said that the proper way to govern a state was to have the sages the counselors of kings, and kings the pupils of the sages, forgetting that the unwisest man in statecraft may easily be the wisest man in theory. Then, centuries also before Christ, there had lived in Greece a great thinker, Plato. His manhood gave us in ten books his great "Republic," and in his later age, in twelve books, he gave us his great work on "Laws." He dreamed of an ideal society. His king was to be a philosopher and his philosophers were to be kings — and curious kings they would have made. They were to educate men so as to get out of them their unstable humanity. Religion was to be manipulated so as to make the least possible appeal to the imagination. Property was to be common. Families were to be abolished and become affairs of state. Wives were to be common and the children were to belong to the community and not to be subject to their own parents. All this he dreamed and much more than this, and it remains a wondrous dream to-day — great in its power to educate men, but too impotent ever to become a reality. And after Plato came many a dreamer. Dante, who thought of a monarchy where justice was to reign and the king so to do right as to secure freedom and equity. Thomas More thought of a Utopia, dreamed of a city that was never built, that had no local habitation and no name. Bacon thought of an Atlantis, an imaginary island in the great ocean, where men lived according to a divine ideal. John Milton imagined a free state, a free commonwealth and a free church within it. But these were all dreams. They made literature; they have never made societies, they have never fashioned men.

Jesus did not dream. He gave no literary ideal, no social framework or form, no laws and proposals that men in later ages might amuse themselves by discussing. He came and he willed to save man and man was saved. He said, "Know me, and through me know thy Father," and men rose up changed, new men. The heavens above them ceased to be vacant, and from out the stars there looked down the myriad eyes of a father God who said, "Be brothers," and man ceased to be article of commerce to man, woman ceased to be object of lust, and humanity in its great unity stood up and marched as to a divine order and took a significance that it drew from the divine mind and the divine purpose. He said, "Time is eternity; let eternity fill time. Thou art, O man, immortal, and in every moment of thy being be immortal man." New ideals took possession of the individual, new ideals inspired the organization of the race. Humanity had breathed into it the breath of life. Jesus took no man out of society when founding his church; he left him as he stood. He changed the man and through the man all society. He withdrew no father from his family, no daughter from her mother. He left them there, but changing the men he changed all. It was a divine, a great achievement — a creation you may call it. Call it not dream. It is a thing that through the ages has stood, in the ages has worked, and is to-day more living than ever — the church, that hath an eternal foundati onbuilt on the rock which is Christ.

IV. THE CONGREGATION OF THE GODLY IN THE CHURCHES

But there are multitudes who will say, "Ah! this is far too simple. It is too simple to be true, too bodiless to be efficient, too impalpable to be true. Yes, give us a church with an authority which can rule, laws as of state, heads that are imperious; give us a legal and political framework that we may have a church." But look round you. There is nature. What are the constituents of its order and beauty? Once men thought the earth a flat plain; they thought heaven a hard roof; they dreamed their own country to be the center with all things revolving around it. But what has been the struggle of all modern scientific men? It has been to escape from this mockery of a universe, to find how the atoms that make up a universe are in every case distinct atoms, governed by one universal law, no atom convertible into any other, every atom with its own being, its own history, its own modes of action, but all dominated by one great power, governed and harmonized by one supreme law. So in the church there are three and only three postulates. There is, first, the Person who can attract, control, command. There are, secondly, the persons who can be attracted, controlled, commanded. There is, thirdly, the medium which brings the two together and through which the Supreme Person works and in which the subordinate persons live. But the third element, the medium, is only a form of the other two. The power by which atom acts on atom has its counterpart in the power by which person acts upon person. It is through persons that Christ reaches man; it is by persons that Christ's church is constituted.

And if you survey it, what constitutes the divine order and right of the church? They talk about apostolic descent; they talk about infallible orders, — what do they mean? The apostolic descent is the descent that represents the Life that came to men, and in that apostolic descent there stands many an obscure man, many an obscure woman, on whom no episcopal or priestly hand was ever laid, but who still had the apostolic life within and passed on the apostolic tradition. Run back through history and where do you find the great church of Christ? I see in an age later

than the apostolic, rising up at the beginning of the third century, two great fathers. There stands Tertullian — orator, jurist, great theologian, apologist for the Christian faith, whom all later ages do honor; and there stands the ascetic, the recluse, the sage and scholar, Origen, whom all ages recognize as the master thinker and blameless spirit of his time. They have been too good to be canonized. No church has called them saints. Yet Christ then acted through them and he acts through them to-day. Two centuries later, in the fifth century, I can see two other men. One is sainted, for he was a strong father in the region ecclesiastical, full of apologetic fervor, manfully resisting the heathen and the heretic. He bears the name of Augustine, and vindicates the sovereignty of God and gives us a view of depravity that needs a depraved man to believe in it. Over against him is Pelagius, believing in the freedom of the human will, in the excellency of virtue and the honor it has before God and ought to have within the great church of Christ. Who will now dare to say that the heretic Pelagius has not as good a right to be sainted as Augustine? Come to the middle ages and there you will find the great poet of Italy, driven from his home and wishing to make a city wherein he himself could dwell, and for want of a home on earth dreaming of the deep Inferno, dreaming of the divine and holy mount, that ended with the vision of God. And up in Holland at a later time you will find another, a monk and saintly man, who in his soul broods over the divine example, forsakes and forgets the world. But who would say that Dante, the strenuous thinker and poet, doing battle for freedom in his time, is not as perfect a saint, — nay, an even more perfect saint than even Thomas à Kempis?

In the period that follows, Luther preaches of the Babylonian captivity and the bondage of the will. Erasmus stands advocating man's freedom and his right to continue to make terms with error that distress may not come; but while he so pleads, who would say that there was not as much room in Christ for the sensitive and delicate Erasmus as for the buoyant and boisterous Luther? There is also Thomas More who fears God too much to obey his king and goes to death, losing his head rather than ruin his conscience. And there is Thomas Cranmer, who, having signed his recantation, burns the right hand that signed it at the stake. Who will say that Thomas Cranmer, with his right hand burning hot, is not within the same great ample fold that sheltered and enshielded Thomas More? Richard Baxter pleads for a church that is a commonwealth; Thomas Cartwright pleads for a church ruled by Christ and able to control its own affairs; but they meet and meet divinely in the one great loyalty to the Invisible Head. John Hales might bid John Calvin good-night at Dort, but was it not only to bid him good-morning when they met in heaven? John Milton and John Bunyan alike dreamed of an eternal city great enough to hold both. Richard Baxter and George Fox wrestled and contended over steepled meeting-houses, but greater than the steepled meeting-house was the devotion they had in common to him whom neither had seen, yet both loved. Jonathan Edwards speculated on high things, and John Wesley achieved great things. Each despised the theology of the other, but deeper than their contempt for their respective theologies was their enthusiasm for their common Saviour. And so, through all time, extending through all churches, realized in every one — in some more and in others less perfectly — there lives and penetrates the great church of Christ.

V. THE INVISIBLE CHURCH AND THE VISIBLE CHURCHES

Men say, "I believe in the visible church." I believe in visible churches. I believe in the invisible church as I believe in the invisible

God. A visible church taken as the synonym of Christ would be the visibility of the infinite, and what were a visible infinity but infinity bound and fettered with all the limitations of finitude? Unshackle the divine society; set it free from all the traditions of time and place; let it be master in its own eternity and through that in our time; and as it stands in that divine order all its own, supreme, infallible, it is the church of Christ.

But this raises a very interesting question, — the relation of these visible churches to the holy catholic and invisible church, the relation of the organizations which man forms and administers to the great structure built of living souls formed by the act of Christ. I would not undervalue great historic churches. Do you know, I never feel the greatness of Christ to be so great as when I face these churches and think that he made them, that they so fail of his service and that in spite of that failure he still loves and still condescends to use and bless them. A church constituted by accidents, emphasizing these accidents, fails of its chief function if it so prides itself on these as to forget the function of the Christ that made it and rules it.

That is a great panorama — the panorama of Christian churches. In the East there, stretching from the Mediterranean up to the Arctic Sea, from the Baltic east to the Pacific, reigns the old Greco-Russian church. There it is, proud of its patriarchal clergy, of its liturgy in the very speech of the apostles, of its abhorrence of the *filioque* and all the institutions that came with it into the darkened West. There at Rome sits one at the head of a church which is called infallible — which means the inability to confess to having erred where error is most manifest — a church immense, distributed everywhere, speaking every tongue, and in spite of its infallibility still continuing to live and to be believed. In Germany there is a church loving its fatherland, teaching the fatherland to love the dear God, and providing many a scholar for the investigation of things sacred and the enlightenment of Christendom. In England there is a historical church proud of its affinities with the Roman and the Greek — affinities which they are not so proud or prompt to recognize, — anxious to express its love of its stately homes, its ornate service, its high dignitaries in history and in state. In Switzerland, in Holland, in Scotland, there is a Presbyterian church, proud of its high ideals and its stern sons whose heroic virtues shine in the arena of public and social life. In all English-speaking lands there are churches of similar kind, though of a more independent spirit, facing the proud aristocracies of office and ritual in the faith of a prouder and a nobler manhood in Christ Jesus. Here on this free soil all these churches meet, reappear and grow, the one thing they cannot do being to part from man or lose their hold upon his immortal soul. Why are they? They are, for Christ is, and the power they have is power they owe to him. Think you the church could have stood in Russia in the strength of an imperial czar, in the strength of an abhorred *filioque*, if there had been no divine Consoler that could enable it to speak to the humble peasant and try even where it repressed his faith to feed his spirit? Think you the Roman church would have lived, spite of her sacraments and her priesthood, her altars and her music, her splendid history and her spacious cathedrals, had it not been for the saints Christ made, for the martyrs she honors, for not Mary the Virgin, but Mary's Son gives to her all her dignity and all her place. Think you there ever could have lived in the great fatherland a church had it not been for the faith that came through Luther and the gospel that he brought? And in the Anglican church, what is it that makes its power, its love for its orders and its place, but the desire to make articulate what it conceives to

be the person of the Christ? And in all our free churches, in all orders of ecclesiastical men, what is it that holds them together, that inspires them, that creates within them a conscious unity, that fills them with a great jealousy for doctrine, a noble jealousy for life, a diviner passion for men, but this: *Christ is*. They want to have him; they want to bring him in more and more. They fail when they emphasize their own accidents; they reign in triumph when they do his will and seek to accomplish his divine redemption.

VI. THE CONDESCENSION OF CHRIST

You see, then, that there is the magnanimity of Christ, — he consents to live in communities that vainly call themselves Presbyterian or Independent, Baptist or Methodist, and there is a still greater humility in his being ready to dwell in proud communities which speak of themselves as imperial, infallible or apostolic. Oh, I sometimes think that the hardest text in Scripture is, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh." If there be divine laughter, must it not often be at the follies of men who think that they hold God in their custody and distribute him to whomsoever they will? The last apostasy is to be insolent to the humblest member of Christ's body. His highest and most condescending grace is manifest in consenting to abide in communities too proud to regard the Christian brotherhood. There he reigns in them all, tolerating their very errors for the sake of the loving works they do. And yet how sad it must be when he who loves to see of the travail of his soul is forced to see this perfervid profanity of man daring to put time into the Eternal, to bind immensity to a little spot in space and to tie the holy and divine Infinitude of grace to some fallible doctrines of mortal man!

VII. FIRST CONSEQUENCE: CHRIST SOVEREIGN IN HIS OWN CHURCH

If this exposition of the idea of the church have any approximate truth in it, one or two consequences will follow. The first is that Christ as supreme is absolute, unqualified, sovereign, in his own church. He reigns, and beside him there is no second. Now here comes one of those great and extraordinary features that make his position and his action altogether singular, standing in sublime solitude. Ask any jurist or any student of political philosophy, what is the ultimate basis of authority in the state and he will tell you, force. It is the power to cut off a man's head that makes the state the ultimate arbiter of right and wrong for the community. The magistrate bears the sword and therefore the magistrate judges. Alexander becomes a world's king because he has been a world's conqueror. The might of Cæsar rested in his legions. A great republic — what is it but the *demos*, the people, placed on the throne with a will that must be obeyed whoever may resist? And even in religion, what did a man who founded a religious state like Mohammed do? Why, as one of the greatest of recent scholars and thinkers touching Islam has said, he formed a great federation of Arab tribes for the robbery of the world. Now here comes the strange and singular thing, that the supremest authority in time is an authority that uses no force. There is no parallel anywhere to the authority of Christ. He bears no sword. He has about him no armies. No multitudes come, as it were, treading behind him with banners unfurled and with crosses on their breasts. Where men have unsheathed the sword in his name they have left behind a solitude which they may have misnamed peace, and the solitude has been, as it were, a fruitful garden in which dragons' teeth were sown that have sprung up war-like and ravening men. Christ himself hath no sword; he leads no bannered

army; he has marshaled no mustering hosts behind him and summoned them into the field; he lives to faith; he reigns in conscience; and there, through ages when the emperor is no Christian either as man or as emperor, through ages when the emperor may have become a Christian man without becoming a Christian emperor whose worst deed to the church was taking it under his imperial protection, — there all through Christ has lived and reigned, the one person in all time whose authority cannot be disputed, yet with an authority which never rests anywhere on physical force. He is supreme, morally and spiritually, in the region of life through the supremacy of his almighty love. He holds men as the great law of gravitation holds the physical universe, and they circle around him, every planet in its place, every sun in its sphere, held in a glorious unity, moving in a glorious harmony by his supreme love.

VIII. SECOND CONSEQUENCE: THE CHURCH MUST BE CHRISTLIKE

But a second thing is this: As the church he rules is his creation, it ought to be like him, be as he is. As Christ is the incarnation of God, the church ought to be the incarnation of Christ. Every phrase used of him as the incarnate Son of the Father ought to be capable of application to the church as the incarnate or incorporate spirit of its Founder. If you take it in that form then it ought to be the brightness of his glory, the express image of his person; it ought to be accomplishing the things he most desired to have done; it ought to speak the million-fold voices of his word reconciling men to God; it ought to act as his million-fold hands, building up the ideal society and reconciling man to man.

IX. CHRISTLIKE IN ITS FUNCTIONS AND ACTS

Christ ought to be reproduced in his church as regards two main respects: first, functions, and secondly, acts. Take the functions. Christ has three supreme functions known of old in theology as priest, prophet, king.

1. The church ought to be Christ's incarnate priesthood. Mark you, no office in the church, no representative of the church, but the church as a whole. One of the great things (I speak for our side of the great water) we have been too prone to do is this: we have been so opposed to priesthood that we have tended to forget the supreme function of the great collective society. It ought to reconcile man to God. By its priesthood the church should enter into the passion of Christ. It ought to take up the conciliatory work of Christ; it ought to feel that man never can be reconciled to man until he be reconciled to God; it ought to feel that underneath all things that can be attempted in time eternal relations lie and must be vindicated. I have said that this belongs to the collective society. Certain things can be delegated; certain things cannot. Jesus might send forth apostles to preach in his name, to be his witnesses; he never could have delegated his passion to any person. He never could have passed on his sufferings to a second. He himself — and this was the essential part of his work — he himself was bruised, suffered unto death, was the only all-sufficient sacrifice. As with him, so with his people. The great priesthood ought to mark the catholic body of believers.

2. There is the function of prophecy. What may be common here I know not, but one thing that is marked on our side of the ocean is the way in which the prophetic function of the church is undervalued. Never was that prophetic function so needed as now. Men come to church and

they say they come to worship God, not to hear man. What do they mean? What is it to worship God? Is it singing a fourth-rate hymn to a third-rate tune? Is it offering a few unpremeditated and disjointed supplications in an unconnected prayer? What do you mean by worshiping God? Is it a dead God you worship? If he lives must he not speak to you as well as hear you speak to him? What is the sermon but God's speech to you? When I hear of the reservation of the sacrament and the awe with which men think of it; my soul grows angry at the utter sensuousness even of spiritual men; but when I think of the impatience of men in preparing to speak the word of God and in hearing the word of God spoken, I find that there is a harder sin than even the sin of sensuousness. The man who dares to stand up to speak for God ought to spend his days in God's company, ought to learn his secret, ought to think himself into the very inner mysteries of his truth. You laymen, you men in all our churches who think that there are societies to be administered, who like to see the minister on the street, and have him in the house, and meet him in society and appoint him secretary of this organization or president of that, and who expect him to be everywhere save where he ought to be — in the society of God — let me tell you that not until the churches know what to expect and demand of the men who are their prophets, and not until ministers know what to distribute, and give inspired thought in inspired speech, will the church rise to the height of her divine function. Think what she has to do. Oh, we are defending a church that ought to be above the need of defense; we are ever vindicating a faith that ought to be above vindication! There is a whole world waiting to be led. Where is the church qualified to lead it? Such a church must be free, it must be reasonable, it must have the inspiration of the divine presence and the divine thought. Fear not the exercise of the prophetic office. Know this, that to speak faith in a reasonable age needs a man of reason. Know this, that never can God's word embodied in man be contradictory to God's word outside man. He who fears the inward reason despises the work of God and will not hear what he has to say. Summon your men from their lethargy; summon your ministers from their service of the moment; summon your teachers from the street and society and say, "Dare to be alone, stand face to face with truth, find it, and then come out and tell us what it is." The awfulest calamity that can happen to an age is to be allowed to lie and rust in its error, or even rust in its truth. John Milton once said that the man who believes because the presbytery has told him or because the priest has told him is a heretic even though it be truth that he believes. We want not that manner of belief; we want so to live and learn that the truth may be inwardly joined to the mind of man.

3. The third function of the church is kinghood, and the form that kinghood takes in the church is freedom from all control save Christ's. By freedom I do not mean the right to do as you will, but liberty to do as you ought. By freedom I mean freedom from the restraints that hinder obedience. And, mark you, that involves another position. Freedom must come from within, it cannot be given from without. You remember in the last century, when France in the power of her own might shook herself free from kings that had ceased to rule, how European monarchs assembled and tried to force back upon her the king she would have nothing of. That was tyranny. You remember some years afterwards how an emancipated France mustered great armies and reared great generals that they might go over Europe and compel the nations of Europe to become free. That was a darker form of tyranny still. All freedom must come from within, the creation of Christ who is above.

Now we have two great hindrances to freedom and ever have had in the church — one is external, coercive, depriving us of freedom; the other is internal, debilitating, depriving us of liberty.

The coercive and external vary from age to age. Once kings were the great troublers of the church and they trouble in some cases still. We may not forget that great colossal empire of Russia, where the emperor is even more head of the church than of the state, — and a cruel head he is, for he is but the plaything of the ecclesiastics, and amid all calamitous rulers the monarch who is the slave of the ecclesiastic stands out as the preëminent calamity. But for the most part the churches of Christendom are emancipated from fear of the king. He belongs to the past. Other terrors arise more dreadful than he. For example, in all great modern communities there is the awful economic struggle. There is nothing so tragic to me as the great wars of industry. Commerce binds nation to nation; it makes the ocean a pathway between peoples; it is hastening the time when war between states will become a thing abhorrent to men. But side by side with that great peace-making way of commerce stands the awful power of industry to split our society into fragments and create war at home. In all our cities are there not bitter and inveterate feuds, growing bitterer year by year as capital counts its millions the more greedily and the more numerous, and as labor feels itself deprived of its power by the withdrawal of capital from its hands? And so we have in our societies the economic struggle, where poverty shows no mercy to wealth and wealth has no pity for poverty, and together what do they do? The rich man would fain enlist the church on his side by being its munificent patron, and the working man, met in his councils, organizing his unions, by threat of final alienation and departure, would fain enlist the church in his behalf. Never can the church be the servant of capital, doing its will; never can it be the servant of labor, obeying its bidding. It knows no power that can compel it to depart from a great beneficent mission. It is here as the representative of Christ, prophetic, priestly, kingly, to do everything for man that man needs to have done for him. It can tolerate no wrong inflicted by man or class on men or classes, but it can protect the weak only as it remains independent of the strong above him. It lays down the fundamental principle, "I belong to no class; I am the minister of no single order; I know man; I know no order of men whatever that order may be."

As the church is threatened by the great economic struggle, so it is no less threatened by various fashions, tempers and tendencies. It is threatened by the great desire for amusement, the great impatience of instruction. Men will be amused and churches organize themselves to amuse them, now by a processional, now by a recessional, now by a song, now by other things even more profane. There is only one thing possible. The church that lives for its Master knows him as its King.

As to the internal and debilitating hindrances to freedom, time fails to speak. They are represented by the offices and the officials who claim to wield as delegates an authority which the church never gave, and to fulfill functions which the church cannot delegate. They bear the names of pope, cardinals, bishops, presbyters and priests. The functions of the church cannot be alienated or appropriated to offices held by mortal men. The highest office Christ has given is to be like himself, a minister, and here he who is highest is the servant of all.

The church is to be Christlike in its acts.

As with the functions, so with the acts. Christ was the organized beneficence of God, here to bless man, here to help man to live as man ought, healing him, helping him, being his physician, friend, counselor.

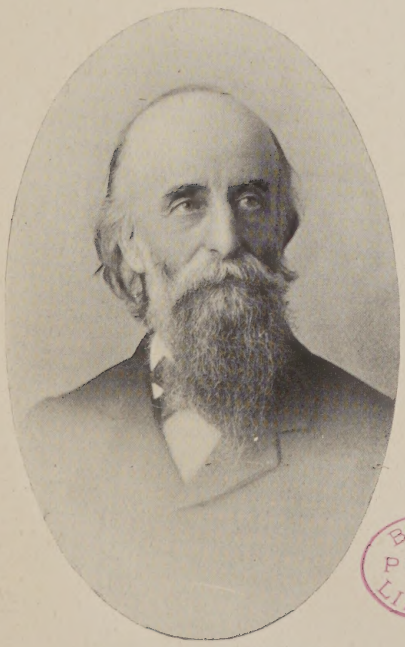
All these things must the church, as the incarnate Saviour, be and do. And how is the church to have power to do it? She must be the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit; God must dwell in her and be her life. She must be more governed by her ideals and less governed by her traditions; she must be freer from the bondage of men and more under obedience to Christ. There are great churches bound under laws they cannot break, in associations they cannot end without ending their own being. There are great churches proud of their wealth, so proud of their wealth as to turn it into their weakness.

The great and beneficent opportunity that comes to us is that we are churches in the largest sense free. We need not be bound by any past that conquers and commands the present. We need not be bound by any laws framed by man and administered by a priesthood. We stand face to face with our Master, right under our eternal head. He is our leader; we the led are to marshal our souls to follow in his steps wherever he may lead, marshal our ranks to speak in his name and to live in obedience to his word. Let us loyally, man to man and church to church, wherever our speech can carry us, wherever our lives can reach, live with no loyalty in conscience save our loyalty to him — Christ in man and the church the incarnation of Christ.

After the singing of the Doxology by the congregation, the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of Massachusetts, and the Council adjourned until 9.30 o'clock, Friday morning.

REV. PETER T. FORSYTH, M.A., D.D.,
Cambridge, England.

REV. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, M.A., D.D., LL.D.,
Oxford, England.



REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.,
New York, N. Y.

REV. TSUNETERN MIYAGAWA,
Osaka, Japan.

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Friday, September 22, 1899

MORNING SESSION

At the appointed time, President Angell in the chair, the Council came to order, and the hymn "Lord of all being, throned afar" was sung. After prayer by the Rev. Jacob John Halley, of Australia, the hymn "I love thy kingdom, Lord" was sung.

Tribute to Samuel Johnson

Samuel B. Capen, M.A., moved, and it was unanimously carried, that Rev. President James W. Strong, D.D., of Minnesota; Rev. William J. Woods, B.A., of England, Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; Rev. Michael Burnham, D.D., of Missouri; and Rev. James Wylie, of Ireland, Chairman of the Irish Congregational Union, be constituted a committee of the Council to bear a tribute of flowers to the grave of Samuel Johnson, so dearly beloved by us all, who, before his death, had invited the delegates of the Council, many prominent Congregational ministers and laymen, and representatives of other denominations, to a reception and collation at the Hotel Vendome.

Future of the Council

Secretary Hazen moved that the Nominating Committee nominate a committee of eleven whose duty it should be to confer with reference to the future of the International Council.

Address

Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., of New York, editor of *The Outlook*, delivered an address on International Relations and Responsibilities.

ADDRESS BY REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

To the believer in Jesus Christ as the Prophet of the future and the King of men, the goal toward which history is all too slowly conducting us is the fulfillment of the prayer: Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; the realization of the apocalyptic vision: The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. The ideal international relations are relations between independent nationalities in one kingdom of God, a brotherhood of nations embodying a brotherhood of humanity. The responsibility of the Christian nations and of all Christians in every nation is to guide the progress of humanity toward this consummation, to remove obstacles and to accelerate the process. Is it said that this is to idealize

the subject? The answer is that this is precisely the function of the religious teacher. The exact difference between the secular and the religious is the difference between the ideal and the commonplace. The secular spirit considers all life as purely human, a product of human judgments and human wills; the religious spirit doubts not that "through the ages one increasing purpose runs," and measures all movements by their relation to this divine purpose. The secular spirit looks not beyond the present horizon and considers only what can be accomplished within this generation; the religious spirit looks to the future, sees in this world a fragment of a universe, in this epoch a fragment of an eternity, and measures all movements by their relation to the ultimate effect. This it was that made the ancient Hebrew religious teachers, whose writings have survived to us, prophets. They looked beyond Palestine and saw the world; beyond the fashions and policies of their day, and considered eternal and immutable principles; above kings and priests, Jewish or pagan, to the King above all kings, to conform to whose purpose was wisdom, to resist whose purpose was folly.

In considering what is to be the relationship of the kingdoms of this world when they have become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, that is, when the kingdom of God has come and the will of God is done on earth as in heaven, we are aided by a survey of the history of the past. We can easily see, if we take that survey in a truly historical spirit, what the progress of the human race has been, in what direction it has been moving, toward what goal its feet have been unconsciously directed. History itself thus studied becomes prophetic; it illustrates and enforces the principles which prophets and seers have long ago seen and foreshadowed, though sometimes applied with too immediate hopefulness to their own times. The tortuous river, sometimes flowing so rapidly that it seems bent on destruction, sometimes so sluggishly that it does not seem to flow at all, sometimes seeming to turn back upon its track in a vain endeavor to retrace its course, nevertheless flows always, though with uneven current and much deviation, and over many an obstacle, toward the ocean which has always been its goal. So humanity, now wild with passion, now stupefied with inertia, now moving in unobstructed course and in direct lines, now turning upon itself and seeming to move in an opposite direction, now peaceful, now fretted by many an intervening obstacle, has flowed steadily forward toward that unity in diversity, that independence in brotherhood, that liberty under law, that supremacy of conscience expressing itself in an enlightened public opinion, which constitute the foundations of the kingdom of God.

The twofold question, then, I ask you to consider with me this morning is, What will be the relations of the nations to each other in the kingdom of God, and what can we of the Anglo-Saxon race and the Christian faith do to hasten the establishment and perfection of those relations?

1. When the Christian era began, the known world was only a hemisphere — scarcely that, since Africa and India were to the Roman unknown. The only means of locomotion on land were muscles of man or beast; on sea the fitful and often perilous winds or the weary labors of galley slaves at the oars. Paul was six months in his adventurous voyage from Cæsarea to Rome. Doubtless the length of the journey was partly due to his shipwreck and the sojourn in Malta, but such perils were incidental to voyage by sea, and the perils by land were greater. In 1778 John Adams, hastening as rapidly as the resources of modern knowledge then made possible, was between six and seven weeks in the voyage from Boston to Bordeaux. Now the voyage is made in as many days. The nations are no longer separated from one another by vast distances.

Steam and electricity have annihilated distance; the latter has almost made the mind of man omnipresent in terrestrial space. London is nearer New York to-day by far than Boston was to Washington when our first president was elected. One can get from almost any part of the civilized globe to any other part more quickly and far more comfortably than at the formation of our Constitution he could go from one extremity of our Union to the other.

A first duty of a Christian people is to push forward this work of mere material improvement which brings all nations into one another's vicinage. It is for us in America to advance such enterprises as the inter-oceanic canal, the transcontinental railway down the Pacific coast from Oregon to Chili, rapid inter-oceanic communication between our Pacific coast and the far East, equaling in speed and convenience that already established between our Atlantic coast and Europe. It is for England to advance the road from Cairo to the Cape with its branches to the west and east coasts of Africa, to open up with additional railways the still unpenetrated regions of India. It is for Russia, or Germany, or England, or America, or all combined to penetrate China with new highways, making by their swift communication the terrible food famines and the still more terrible mind famines of that unexplored and inorganic empire impossible in the future. How far this is to be done by government, how far by private enterprise, how far by a partnership between the two, it is not needful here to discuss. That is a question of political expediency, not of national or international resolve. Different nations, perhaps different eras in the same nation, will give to it a different answer. But let us have done with the idea that material progress is inimical to human welfare, that the opening of China and of Africa is to be looked on with suspicion because Russian, English, German and American capitalists are taking advantage of it to build great railroads and steamship lines as profitable investment. These are the very beginnings of international unity, because these annihilate distance and make every community neighbor to every other community.

2. It is of comparatively little use that we expend money and energy in opening lines of commercial communication between the several nations of the earth, if we straightway endeavor by legislation to prohibit or impair their free employment. Whenever the kingdoms of this world have become one kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, it is safe to say that there will be between the several parts of this divine empire a free interchange of persons and of properties. If we were to imagine for a moment that the conception of some of the poets is true, and that those whom we call dead have freedom to range among distant stars which serve as continents in the celestial kingdom, it is hard to conceive that a spirit transferring himself with the rapidity of thought from one star to another would find himself met at the boundary with a prohibitory tariff on his angelic robes. Whatever impedes the free interchange of life among the various members of the international brotherhood is an obstacle to that international unity which is the goal of human history.

Independence is much overpraised. The North American Indian is typical of an independent man. He builds his wigwam, kills his game, cultivates his corn, cooks his food, constructs his canoe, makes the bow and arrow which constitute his primitive ammunition, skins the wild beast which he has killed, dresses the skin, cuts and sews the garments for himself, makes and ornaments his moccasins. He depends on no one for anything, and in consequence is a barbarian. As we grow in civilization we grow in mutual interdependence. What is true of the individual is true of the community. The policy which would make each nation independent of all other nations tends to separation, isolation, self-service,

national selfishness. The policy which makes each nation dependent on other nations discourages war, promotes peace, develops brotherhood, binds nations together by that bond which, next to blood, is the strongest and most enduring of bonds — self-interest.

It may be said that a high protective tariff is necessary to secure the means required to carry on government; that in the earlier stages of national life it is indispensable to national development, and that measure of independence which is necessary to the highest self-respect; that it promotes diversification of industry, and that in diversification of industry the nation finds a breadth of human development obtainable in no other way. I do not stop to weigh these arguments, all of which are of a character that deserve weighing. It is enough to say that they all indicate that a prohibitory tariff is or ought to be temporary and exceptional, like the box about the young and defenseless tree, something to be taken down as soon as the protected nation has attained its puberty and can live without the protection. For myself, I believe that America has long since passed beyond the need of artificial protection for its industries or any of them; that it is abundantly able to compete with any nation in the world's market without fear and without favor; that international competition would increase its energy, lessen the dangers from monopoly, if it did not counteract them altogether, and diversify its industry by promoting its commerce, and would enlarge and diffuse its wealth. I should be glad to see America declare officially and at once that we would admit freely into our ports the products of any nation which would admit into its own ports the products of our industry. Whether the time is ripe for such a declaration is, however, a question of political expediency which I do not here discuss. It is enough to say that the free interchange of industrial products tends to promote that international unity which the railroad, the steamboat and the telegraph have made possible, and that England and America ought to stand together in insisting with firmness on what is called the open door — that is, on the principle that, while any nation may close its own ports to the rest of the world if it chooses to do so, it may not insist on the closure of the ports of any other people. All monopolies are bad. Commercial monopoly enforced upon one people by the cannon of another people ought to be deemed intolerable.

3. A greater cause of separation of the nations of the earth, one from the other, than either distance or commercial rivalry is war. Let me turn to the ablest and best definition of war when defended and even eulogized — that of Lord Bacon: "Wars are no massacres and confusions, but they are the highest trials of right, when princes and states, that acknowledge no superior upon earth, shall put themselves upon the justice of God for the deciding of their controversies by such success as it shall please him to give on either side." Based on this is Charles Sumner's famous definition of war: "War is a public armed contest between nations under the sanction of international law to establish justice between them." Let us accept this as a definition of war: "an armed contest between nations," each looking to God to establish justice between them. I shall not stop to describe the horrors of war, nor to point out the fact that war never settles a question of justice, but only a question of power, that it never shows which cause is the right, but only which army is the stronger. I shall not stop to depict the evils of war which socially are greater than those of famine or of pestilence, and which morally, while the war lasts, are greater than those of gambling or of drink. I shall not stop to dwell upon the fact that we have no longer the faith of Lord Bacon that God always gives the victory to the right battalions, and that the wager of battle is one in which we can trust to the wisdom of God to give the victory to the

right. It is enough for me to lay emphasis on the fact that the unity of nations is impossible in a state of war. What civil strife does in the individual nation, that war does among the nations. While Cavalier and Roundhead are fighting in England, England is not one; while Southerner and Northerner are fighting in the United States, the States are not united; and while nation is armed against nation, there is no unity of the kingdoms of the earth in the one kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

Poetry and history combine to point out the remedy for war. One of the oldest and greatest of the poets of the past has thus designated it: —

> Out of Zion shall go forth the law,
> And the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem.
> And he shall judge between the nations
> And give decision to many peoples;
> And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares
> And their spears into pruning hooks.
> Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
> Neither shall they learn war any more.

One of the greatest of the modern poets has taught the same lesson in a vision, when

> The war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle flags were furl'd
> In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.
> Then the common sense of man shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
> And the kindly earth shall slumber, wrapt in universal law.

Observe, these poets do not merely foretell a time when war shall cease; they point out the way in which war is to be stopped. "Out of Zion shall go forth the law"; "The kindly earth shall slumber, wrapt in universal law." The remedy for war is law; the remedy for force is reason, interpreted by a rational tribunal.

This remedy Christ himself pointed out nineteen centuries ago. "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone. If he shall hear thee thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouths of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he neglect to hear them, then tell it unto the church, but if he neglect to hear the church let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." What does that mean but this? The first step for the settlement of a controversy is mutual negotiation; the second step is conciliation with the aid of a friend; the third is appeal to the authority which both parties recognize. What is this but saying that in the relations of nations there must be, first, diplomacy; second, conciliation; and lastly, international law interpreted by a tribunal.

The conference at the Hague has not accomplished what the imperial invoker of it expected. It has not ordered the disarmament of Europe. It has done little toward the amelioration of war by providing for the lessening of its horrors. But it has done more than either. Before men knew of gunpowder they fought with bows and arrows; before they knew of bows and arrows they fought with fists. It would have been but little use to ameliorate the horrors of war and let the baleful and horrid thing go on. What the conference at the Hague has done has been to recommend what Christ recommended nineteen centuries ago. It has said to the nations of the earth, "First, settle your controversies by diplomacy; next, any nation may offer its friendly offices to adjust the diffi-

culty between you without being charged with impertinence; and lastly, we will create a permanent tribunal to which all questions may be submitted by the nations of the earth — a tribunal whose decision shall be enforced simply by the conscience of mankind." What is this but saying with the prophet of olden time, "Out of Zion shall go forth the law," for conscience is the Zion of the civilized world. What is this but saying, "The earth shall slumber, wrapt in universal law," because "the common sense of man shall hold a fretful realm in awe." If it be true that "he that ruleth his spirit is greater than he that taketh a city," then when historians in the future shall write of the present in the spirit in which the old Hebrew prophets wrote the history of Israel they will find in this story of the Hague the victory of reason over force, of the man over the brute, of the divine over the human, and will write the victory of the Hague as a greater achievement than the victory of Wellington at Waterloo or of Mead at Gettysburg.

4. Is then war to cease? Yes, when all the kingdoms of the world have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ. Yes, when "the common sense of man shall keep a fretful realm in awe." Yes, when out of Zion goes forth the law which the universal conscience recognizes. But how until then? Until then war will continue to be at times the necessary means of promoting and advancing the kingdom of God upon the earth.

This is the proposition which I suspect many of you will vigorously dissent from. In ten minutes I should despair of persuading you of its justice. Perhaps I can at least explain to you what it means.

All civilization rests on law. Without law no commerce could be carried on, no warehouses could be built, no ships could be sailed, no factories could be maintained, no schools or churches could be built and sustained. Law is the foundation of civilization. Law is the basis of liberty, for liberty is obedience to the divine law under the force of conscience and under the interpretation of reason. Where reason exists to interpret law, and conscience exists to enforce law, no force is necessary. But wherever there is law there must be something to enforce it, — either conscience within or a stronger arm than the arm of the recalcitrant will without. Otherwise what we call law is not law, but only friendly counsel, personal advice. There are those who think that Christ condemned all use of force. I respect their opinions while I cannot share them. I do not so read the precepts of him who said that he came to bring a sword on the earth, nor the example of him who drove the traders from the temple without waiting for the orderly process of diplomacy or suggesting arbitration. I sat once at the dinner table by the side of a man who said to me, "Of course, I never command my children." He was a consistent believer in the doctrine that force is never to be employed. But most of us hold no such opinion. The common judgment of mankind does not so interpret the precepts and example of Christ. We believe that the father is to compel the obedience of his child through conscience, reason and affection, if he can; but through whatever means are necessary to compel that obedience when reason, conscience and affection fail. We believe that the teacher must rule her pupil by respect and affection and conscience, if it be possible; but the teacher who does not rule in the schoolroom by such method as is possible to secure order is no teacher. In our civilized communities, we rely in the main on the reason of our neighbors to perceive what is right and on the conscience of our neighbors to enforce that right; but when we meet one of the criminal class who proposes to ravish our home and rob us of our property or injure our persons we do not hesitate to call on the policeman's

truncheon, and if we are strong enough we do not hesitate to use it ourselves. Now what the rod is in a family, what the policeman's truncheon is in the state, that is the army in the nation and among the civilized nations of the globe. It is the necessary means, until the universal conscience has been awakened and the universal intelligence has been educated, of enforcing obedience to law. It is in vain for the Armenians to appeal to law. It is law itself which has ravished their homes, murdered their wives and children and destroyed their property — law armed by the great lawgiver of the empire and acting, if not by his direction, at least with his connivance and assent. It is in vain for the Cubans to appeal to law; law holds them down with one hand and rummages in their pockets with the other. When we went to Cuba we found men in the prisons there who knew not of what they were accused, nor did any living man know of what they were accused, nor was there any record of their accusation. Yet they were imprisoned by law. I think the powers of Europe ought, by armed force, to have compelled the obedience of a lawless Turkish empire, and I thank God that America did by armed force give liberty to Cuba.

But it is not only despotism that is the enemy of law; anarchy is a greater enemy. It is not only under despotism that civilization is impossible; under anarchy it is even more impossible. Africa has been the dark continent ever since Moses, as an Egyptian prince, conducted that memorable campaign into Ethiopia. We have had four thousand years of that development on which a certain modern school depends for the progress of the human race, and it has not marched an inch. Shall it depend, then, on missions? We have sent our missionaries to that dark continent — brave men they have been, self-sacrificing and heroic men they have been. They have saved some individual souls from death; they have partly emancipated fragments of some tribes; but so far as the illumination and redemption of the continent of Africa is concerned, the mission stations in the dark continent are like glow-worms in the midnight darkness in a great meadow. No, if Africa is ever to be redeemed, first must come law, and on law the Gospel must be founded. When law reigns, when that British flag, which always carries respect for justice with it — though sometimes justice administered with a rough and ready hand — when that British flag has established law in the continent of Africa, when the railroad runs from Cairo to the Cape with its branches to the east and west coast, when the telegraph accompanies the railroad and the post office follows both, and the press follows the post office and commerce uses all, and when the school-house and the church are drawn after the railroad and after the telegraph, then, and not until then, will the dark continent become a white one. This is the divine meaning — not commercial exploitation, not tyrannous despotism — this is the divine meaning of the movement for the establishment of law in Africa; this is the divine meaning in the so-called dismemberment of China; and I should be false to myself if I did not add that this, in my faith, is the divine meaning of the American occupancy of the Philippines.

Do I then put law before the Gospel in the world's redemption? Exactly that, — in the order of time. And this is but the commonplace of theology. No man can by faith accept the Gospel of Christ until first by repentance he has acknowledged the wrong he has done in violating law and his purpose of loyalty to law in the future. The Hebrew nation was not ready for the revelation of Christ and his Gospel until through centuries of discipline they had learned this lesson of respect for law. It is a commonplace truth of history that the world was prepared for the great missionary movement of the first century by the fact that Rome had,

though with a barbaric and pagan despotism and a hard iron hand, established a reign of law throughout the civilized world. What Rome did unconsciously, that the Christian nations of the earth ought to do intelligently, consciously, deliberately and of set purpose — maintain the domain of law over all lawless communities, not establishing by the sword the Christian religion or any religion, but establishing law on which alone religious institutions can be built and on which alone any development of the human race is possible.

The history of Great Britain and of America points to the conclusion to which I have been trying to conduct you. We represent here two great empires: Great Britain, many kingdoms united in one empire on which the sun never sets; America, starting with thirteen colonies, now overspreading a continent and beginning to stretch her flag over the islands of the sea, — and these two empires united in one real kingdom, Anglo-Saxon and Christian. When all the kingdoms of the earth have become united in one kingdom, as the kingdoms of Great Britain are united in the one empire of Great Britain, as the states of this Union are united in the one American Republic, when the kingdoms of the earth come thus into one fraternal relationship, substituting for the settlement of international controversies an impartial tribunal in place of war, bound together by ease of communication, by self-interest, by liberty of exchange, and, above all, by a common international law interpreted by the reason of humanity and enforced by the conscience of humanity, then, and not until then, will the responsibilities of the Christian nations be fulfilled, and the relations of these kingdoms be to one another what they ought to be, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

Discussion following Dr. Abbott's Address

The discussion that followed was engaged in by Alfred J. Shepheard, Esq., M.L.S.B., of England; Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of Massachusetts; and Rev. Tsunetern Miyagawa, of Japan, who was interpreted by the Rev. Otis Cary, missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Japan.

The President: We shall be glad to hear from members of the Council. I am going to take the liberty, without having communicated with him in any way, to ask Mr. Shepheard, of England, if he will not respond in a word.

Remarks of Alfred J. Shepheard, Esq., M.L.S.B.

Dr. Angell and Friends: I have been on American soil now about ten days and I have been trying to find out something about your ways, but I confess that I have found nothing so extraordinary to an English mind as for the chairman of a gathering to call upon an unknown layman without a moment's notice to speak to an audience, such as I find before me now. Mr. Chairman and friends, I no not know what to say except that I reciprocate in the very fullest manner every kindly word which has fallen from the lips of the gentleman who has just addressed us. I am one of those Englishmen who would like to be a citizen of the United States, except that I do not wish to cease to be an Englishman. And I go farther, friends. I am inclined to think that if I could only live to double my age I might be both a citizen of Great Britain and of the United

States. The march of events seems to be like that torrential current of which Dr. Abbott has just spoken. We are being hurried on by a tremendous force, as if we were tumbling over a cataract, toward that end when England and America shall become one great nation. I do not care whether or not you put Great Britain as one of the stars upon your flag. I presume if you do you will make it rather bigger than the stars you have there now. I do not care whether you let all these stars come under the royal standard of England; I should be very glad if you did. But in some way, in any way, I devoutly hope and pray for that time when we shall not be two nations, but one nation.

Mr. Chairman, I think I have said as much as I ought to say, and I rejoice to have been able to say these few words without breaking down entirely.

The audience called for Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of Massachusetts.

REMARKS OF REV. DR. MOXOM

Mr. President: I have the profoundest interest in the theme which is discussed and I respond with the most entire assent to the argument of Dr. Abbott. Born of English blood, nursed in American air, with every fiber of my being baptized into the American spirit in the Civil War, I believe that in some sense in my own experience and consciousness I unite the two elements that have thus far been represented under the names Englishman and American. Perhaps I may be the missing link! At any rate, I feel that the day has come almost without our choice, and yet not without a greater choice than ours, when Englishmen and Americans feel the bond of a kinship that is deeper than the differences of geographical location or the slight differences of political methods. And I believe that contains in itself a promise, not of menace, but of the largest good to every other nation on this planet. I believe that it makes for the supremacy of law and the coming of a stable and beneficent peace more than any other event in the whole century.

One word with reference to a point raised by Dr. Abbott. There is a certain sentimentality that is mistaken for sentiment on this question. It crops up occasionally in the advocacy of the idea that true discipline actually dispenses with force. That is an ideal conception of what may be when the atmosphere of the world is changed, as it will be changed, and the conditions under which we now exist have been greatly modified. When a man says that he does not use any compulsion in the education and training and discipline of his children, I have only to say that he has an exceedingly happy family and is the exceedingly fortunate husband of a remarkable wife. But the homes which have furnished the blood and fiber of our noblest citizenship in America and England have been homes where love ruled and where law ruled with love. We do not give liberty to our fields and let them grow weeds *ad libitum*. We do not give liberty in that sense to our fruit trees and let them burgeon as they will. We apply reason and judgment and force and the pruning knife. Law has its place in every sphere of human life. It is just coming clearly into the consciousness of the nations of the world to-day that law has something to do with the administration of universal humanity, and that the day is passed when any nation can stand upon its sovereign rights and under that ægis commit outrageous crimes against humanity. The day has passed when any plea of the sanctity of an individual nation shall have any more validity in a course of wrong doing than the plea of the sanctity of an individual has validity as a plea for wrong doing in our social life,

and the sooner and the more clearly we recognize that fact, the better for all. And I maintain that this is Christian, from the center to the circumference, from the outside to the core; that it is not jingoism; that it is not brutality, as it has been characterized by some good and sweet-hearted sentimentalists, but that it is the sound principle upon which we must bravely and steadily and nobly and magnanimously act until we shall see, in the century upon whose threshold almost we stand, the blossoming into flower and fruitage of those tendencies and forces and impulses and truths which make the best of our great life in the last years of this century.

Suggestion by Rev. A. H. Bradford, D.D.

Rev. Dr. Bradford: We have had a representative of Great Britain, and also two representatives from our own country. We have in our delegation one of the most distinguished of all of the Japanese pastors. I wish that Rev. Mr. Miyagawa might come to the platform and give to us a few words.

Mr. Miyagawa, upon coming to the platform, asked that he might speak in his native tongue and that Rev. Otis Cary, of Japan, might be his interpreter.

Remarks of Mr. Miyagawa

(*Interpreted by Rev. Otis Cary*)

It certainly is a great pleasure to me and a great honor to appear before you at this time as a representative of Japan. It may seem to some of you that Japan is a nation that has been born in a day. And yet this is not wholly so, because Japan has had a civilization of its own dating back for many centuries. Yes, there have been men there who have had deep thoughts in their own hearts in regard to civilization, in regard to progress and in regard to education. And now, since the day that Commodore Perry went to Japan, the nation has indeed come forth into a newer life. It realizes that during the past centuries it had fallen back, because it had been shut away from the other nations of the earth; but now, since the day of Commodore Perry, it is coming forth with rapid strides in order that it may share in the great civilization of other nations.

In old Japan there was a military class, — men who were known as *samurai*. They were the men who had the control of affairs in that land, and afterwards when the country came to have relations with Western nations it was the *samurai* who were foremost in all efforts for reform and for advance. And yet in many respects the old *samurai* spirit has lost much of its power, the power which worked for the uplifting of morality and for all those things which were good, and in its place there is coming in a new spirit brought by the representatives of American and of English churches as those men have come to us and brought the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. That is the spirit that more and more is gaining power in Japan. Yes, and it is that spirit which we must trust in order that the nation may come forward into all the fullness of life.

We look back at the past history of this land. We read of the Pilgrims who landed upon Plymouth Rock amidst the snows and ice of this rocky coast as they came from their own land, and it is their spirit of which we have read which we would imitate as we know the Lord Jesus Christ and try to bring the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ to be a controlling power in

our own land of Japan. Not only that, but we look to the vast continent of Asia beyond, and we would have an influence going out from Christian Japan that would be for the uplifting of all that vast continent. At the time of the Chino-Japanese war we went over to that land, and at the close it was our hope that, having some small part of China, we would be able to bring into that great empire that which would be a help to its civilization; and yet, at the close of the war, through the interference of Germany and of France, we were prevented from doing that which we had desired. And now, upon the north of China is that great empire of Russia whose influence there we fear, and we wish that it might be kept from doing evil to China and to Asia. Yes, it is our great hope that we in Japan and others working in that part of the world may be able to carry the spirit of the old military men of Japan, the better part of that spirit, and more than that the Christian spirit, to the regeneration of Asia. Now that you of America have come to the Philippines it is our hope and prayer that we too may be one of the fountains from which influences for good shall go out to Asia. Thanking you for your kindness in listening to these things which I have said, my prayer is that we all together working for our Lord Jesus Christ may see the regeneration of Asia as it is brought about under the Lord Jesus.

Address

Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., of England, addressed the Council on the Christian Attitude toward War in the Light of Recent Events.

ADDRESS BY REV. ALEXANDER MACKENNAL, D.D.

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS

The second half of the century began with one of the most delightful of the visions which have enraptured the youth of the world. On May-day, 1851, the first International Industrial Exhibition was opened in London, and we looked on it as the symbol of an abiding peace among the civilized nations. Enlightened self-interest claimed to be a fellow-worker with the gospel; commerce wore the look of beneficence; the nations were going to learn their dependence on one another for the fruits of nature and of skill, and free barter was to displace fighting in an ever-enlarging intercourse of man with man. We thought we were on the eve of the fulfillment of Tennyson's prediction, when

> The war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle flags were furl'd
> In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.
> Then the common sense of man shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
> And the kindly earth shall slumber, wrapt in universal law.

It was a generous forecast, but it left human nature out of the account. The girders of the Crystal Palace were hardly removed from Hyde Park when the Crimean War broke out, and that war has left behind it fears and anxieties and a mutual distrust that have not since allowed Europe a tranquil year. The United States has entered the comity of nations with a war. Colonial enterprise has awakened ceaseless suspicions; out of it have come campaigns sorely wounding the self-respect of the best European peoples,

and an armed peace, scarcely more tolerable, in the view either of economic science or of morality, than war. The close of the century finds us in the midst of "signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity; men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth."

It would be wrong to say that the story of the wars of the last half-century has been wholly wanton; that they were all base in their conception, ignoble in their execution, unmitigatedly evil in their results. Some of them have been condemnable from beginning to end. It is impossible, for instance, to read the inner history of the Franco-German campaign without seeing the indelible stain it has left alike and equally, on the reputation of Bismarck and of the Emperor and Empress of the French. Craft, falsehood, wantonness and mean terror brought about the war and marked its conduct. Even here, however, we must distinguish between the courts of Berlin and Paris and the French and German peoples. The rulers would have been powerless for mischief if they had not deluded their subjects: appealing to their patriotism, their enthusiasm, their self-devotion, if also to their pride and ignorance and passion.

But the Crimean War, to take another instance, came out of a generous impulse. The partition of Poland, the betrayal of Hungary, the iniquity of serfdom, and the long agonies endured in Siberia, had awakened in France and England the deepest distrust of Russia, an honest and generous dread of the extension of her power. The cause of freedom, justice and humanity called out the war fever which has been followed by that restless debility in which Europe is found to-day.

The friends of Christian peace make no greater mistake than when they belittle and misrepresent the generous motives, misguided it may be and erroneous, but sincere and deep, which sometimes hurry free peoples into war. During the contest between the Northern and Southern States of America, not only did the Lancashire operatives show most pathetically that their sympathies were with one side in the struggle; what was still more significant, those distinguished advocates of peace, Richard Cobden, John Bright and Henry Richard, were, for the most part, silent until the conflict was over. They could not approve the battles, but they could not be indifferent to the cause. One of the painful incidents of those terrible years of Turkish misrule, when the only happy Armenian was the dead Armenian, was the fact that one sometimes heard Christian men attempting either to belittle the suffering of the Armenians, or to set over against it their restlessness and occasional rebellion. We must be reasonable in our judgment of a people's action, and tender in our remembrance of the oppression which makes a wise man mad.

Indeed, one of the severest condemnations of war as a method emerges when we have frankly acknowledged the generous motives out of which it sometimes comes. War squanders and degrades the noble impulse which gave it being. If the impulse could go at once to its object — as when a father boxes a troublesome boy's ears — there might be some justification for militarism in a civilized community. But this is just what never happens. Months and years intervene between the honest indignation and the declaration of war, and a still longer period drags on until the end of the fighting. Not many persons can bear the strain of a noble purpose, again and again thwarted, its fulfillment indefinitely, hopelessly delayed. History tells us that the martyrs can: it also tells us that the soldier cannot, the politician cannot, the people in public meeting cannot. We have seen the process of deterioration more than once.

The nation is sincerely enthusiastic, but the conduct of the war passes into the hands of men with whom war is a profession, and it gives oppor-

tunity to the unscrupulous speculator to make his gain. As the months go on, there is great searching of heart among Christians; with those who are not Christians, the generous impulse becomes an ignoble necessity of finishing what has been begun. Then, as the opposition is prolonged, the determination is come to, to use any and every means to put down the enemy; something like a malignant temper may appear where the original motive was so good. If there is a marked inequality between the combatants, or if one side has soundly beaten the other, the conquerors do not stop with righting the original wrong; they aim at punishing the beaten party. The cry *Vae victis* has a pagan sound: have we altered the fact when we talk of "indemnity"? If the nations are fairly matched, both are weary of the struggle long before it is ended; terms are proposed and accepted far less satisfactory to either than could have been arrived at without fighting; but there is no grace in the proposal or the acceptance, only a rankling sense of humiliation and necessity, forbidding concord between the nations.

There has appeared of recent years, in Great Britain, a marked antagonism between the awakened Christian conscience and the consciousness of the necessities of militarism. Although, since 1856, we have taken no part in European campaigns, and for a longer period there has not been any real fear of the invasion of our island, we have had an unbroken experience of fights on the Asiatic and African continents; there has not been a year, Henry Richard used to tell us, during which we have not had some "little war" on hand. The press correspondents have kept us acquainted with the details of the campaigns, with the result that national interests have been a burden and a pain to the sensitive soul. On the other hand, there have been the most open acknowledgments that, in military matters, the law of Christ must be disregarded. Lord Lytton, once viceroy of India, some of whose verses are deservedly admitted into a book of devotion, "The Cloud of Witnesses," told the Glasgow students, in his address as Lord Rector of the University, that between nations the word "morality" has no place. And Lord Wolseley's "Soldier's Pocket Book" has been more than once quoted from, extracts being given which teach young soldiers how to deceive when on spy duty. He has written that if a soldier is to succeed in this, he must lay aside the belief that "honesty is the best policy." We have given up the practice of praying in our churches for the success of our arms and keeping days of thanksgiving for our victories. There is here at least the merit of frankness; but we do not contemplate without distress the fact that, in a large part of our national life, which claims the bulk of our taxes and engrosses the time of our Parliament, we are obliged to forget that Jesus Christ is King of kings and Lord of lords.

Recent events, moreover, have shown us that war fails conspicuously where its pretensions have been the loudest. It does not inspire and sustain the loftiest courage. Bravery in fighting is one of the primary animal instincts: the tiger has it; so has the dog; so has the Norwegian lemming, a little creature you could cover with the palm of your hand, and which has not the sense to avoid drowning itself when in its migration it reaches the sea. This form of courage seems pretty equally distributed among the races of men. All say they have it. If we admire the fortitude which enables a few hundred British soldiers to await the onslaught of a host of Kaffirs or Nubians, we equally admire the resolution of the naked barbarian advancing against the irresistible fire from Maxim guns. There is a higher form of courage of which war knows nothing. If it were not so sad a spectacle we might find boundless humor in the fact that Europe has been for fifty years amassing armies, which to-day it trembles to behold, perfecting weapons

of precision until it is afraid to use them. History knows few more disgraceful sights than the "Concert of Europe"; civilization cowering before barbarism; the most contemptible monarch on the Continent allowed to work his wicked will, because the civilized and Christian governments were afraid of what might happen if any of them opposed him. Seven hundred years of martial training have destroyed the heroic temper of the Crusaders. The fancied necessity of militarism effaces that moral courage, that chivalry and tenderness of honor, which the gospel has called into being. Lord Kitchener is not brave enough to spare the Mahdi's tomb; the Emperor of Germany is not brave enough to discourage dueling, and bid his officers lay by their arrogance towards the civilian. A French court-martial is not brave enough to pronounce him innocent whom no one believes to be guilty. Even the Czar's rescript, noble as it was in its conception, and benignant as we hope it will be in result, had the taint of terror in it; the nations were called to consider the arrest of armaments which they had all provided and which they were all afraid they might have to use.

We may frankly aver that indignation is an honest impulse, that resistance of wrong, the determination to put it down, ought to have an abiding place in human action; that the call to war, because it is an appeal to common, not to individualistic, effort, may startle the selfish into warmth of heart; and that the discipline, of which the military system has been up to now the chief exponent, has trained men in the subordination of self to society. We may recognize that human sentiment has, from the beginning, tempered the sufferings and the humiliations of war; and that, under Christian influences, regard for the wounded and tenderness towards the vanquished individually have come to be prevailing sentiments. And we may wish that this pitifulness may have full play when whites are in conflict with colored men, as well as in what is called "civilized warfare." But it has become conspicuously clear that war is no instrument in the accomplishment of the highest ends; and that involves — since the highest human ends are always in the consciousness of the true follower of Christ — that it has become hard, and will become impossible, for Christian people to employ it. War may be a fitting instrument for men inflamed with the lust of possession; it fails us when we invoke its aid for unselfish uses. French and English statesmen were aroused to prompt action when Major Marchand was reported at Fashoda; those same statesmen had been pitifully powerless when the Sultan was breaking the Treaty of Berlin.

What we have seen during the last fifty years has been the simultaneous development of the military system and the Christian ideal of life and conduct. It is the growth of the Christian sentiment which has raised the standard of courage, putting the grace of consideration for others into the foremost position once held by nerve; which has made men so sensitively truthful that the system of espionage and the secret service have become intolerable; which have taught us the brotherhood of man, so that we feel as if in war we incurred the guilt of fratricide, and brought home to us the truth that, as death hushes all strife, so should life, of which death is but the solemn consummation. And while the churches have been learning to feel all this, governments have been frankly pagan. Now and then there has been a war in which the specific end has seemed to commend itself alike to churches and to nations. In reality, the ultimate purpose in view of the churches and the nations has been radically different. Moreover, the churches and the nations do not acknowledge the same sanctions in their conduct, nor obey the same motives; and when you change sanctions and motives, you alter the whole ethical system. The Christian law is this: "So is the will of God, that with well doing ye put to silence the ignorance

of foolish men. It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing." There is not a cabinet in the world where this law is accepted, even dreamed of as a possibility in national action. No statesman, not even he who withdrew the British forces after the defeat of Majuba Hill, because he had learned that he had begun an unjust war in ignorance of the facts of the case, has ever thought of exposing national existence to such a strain. Yet, until this law is accepted for nations, as it is loyally and obediently accepted by many individual Christians, there will be no security against war. Commercial necessities give us no pledge of peace; enlightened self-interest is not to be trusted, the self is sure to dim the light; the fear of war will not prevent war. And God will not give us peace in any other way than that which is revealed to us in Christ. We cannot enter into alliance with God on our own terms. The suspicion that it is so — I speak not for other nations, I speak for that I know the best and love the most — the suspicion that this is so has checked the military enterprise of Great Britain, and made the wars in which we engage the heaviest burden on patriotic hearts. That is the reason why we have not had for many years a royal proclamation inviting us to prayer for success in war and thanksgiving for victory; why millions of our children have never heard such services, and it is a forgotten art among us how to pray that we may win battles. Instead, there has come to us a great yearning, a continual cry of the heart: —

> Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,
> Lest we forget, lest we forget.

The story of the Transvaal difficulty is full of instruction. It was a Christian action, so far as it went, to make concessions to the Boers. It was by no means a declaration of the policy of non-resistance; it was an acknowledgment that, as the war was now seen to have been under a misconception, nothing, not even the shame of defeat, could justify its continuance; it was the endeavor of a strong nation to make amends to a weak one. But a noble deed can never stand alone; it must be followed by a noble course of thinking and of action, or the last end may be worse than the first. If both the English and the Boers had been Christian people, as many individuals are so, abiding brotherhood would have been the result. But neither of the nations understood the grandeur of their opportunity. The Boers traded on the consideration which had been shown them; the majority of the English people thought their government had been weak. And when the valorous heart which conceived this new departure had ceased to beat, and the stately voice was heard no more, which said, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace to men of good will" — when again the heresy that "gain is godliness" asserted itself, the old passion was rekindled, and reason and justice were unheard. Not for a moment have I regretted that the great experiment was made; it will be followed, even if it seem to have failed. But I do not wonder that men who have not learned the secret of the religion they profess regard Mr. Gladstone's policy as something to be repented of.

There will be no end to the liability of war until nations are Christian in the sense that many men and women are so; and in this sense there is not, and never has been, a Christian nation. But there are nations in which many are troubled about what they tolerate, and asking how war can be stayed. The Hague Conference has brought us light, more than a gleam; it is like the dawning of the day. The original proposal has been rejected; humane suggestions were made only to be voted down; but the Congress has ended more successfully than most of us could have

dreamed. The body of the rescript lies moldering in the grave, but its soul goes marching on. The nations have been told to look to arbitration as a means of preventing war, and methods by which to make it effective have been suggested. Arbitration is a method of law; and as it is true that "*inter arma silent leges*," it is also true that "*inter leges silent arma*." One great cause of war is this: neither men nor nations will believe they are wrong when they are judges in their own cause. The hope of peace through arbitration is this: civilized men and nations may believe they have made a mistake if impartial authorities tell them so. There have been some international arbitrations: in few of them has either side been satisfied with the award; in none have both sides been satisfied. Nevertheless, the awards have been accepted, wars have been prevented, and arbitration has been resorted to again. So has dueling disappeared in states where the law can be trusted. It is not that wrong is never done, even wrong which law knows not how to rectify; but the habit of appealing to law takes away the desire to resort to arms.

Arbitration is law, is reason; and where law and reason are, Christ's words may be spoken and will be heard. Arbitration will not destroy greed, the lust of possession and the pride of power; but it will provide the conditions in which better influences may prevail. We shall not be released, by the acceptance of arbitration, from the duty to proclaim the Christian way of overcoming international evil with international good. We shall indeed have better opportunities of preaching this, and we ought to use them. Unless we do so, we must not complain that this truth cannot be received. All truth is received by some when it is set forth; very often received by most unlikely people. Some faithful sons of the Pilgrims have criticised John Robinson for censuring Myles Standish in that matter of the "poor Indians," some of whom Robinson wished had been converted before any had been killed. We do not read that the "choleric captain" himself resented the admonition. It is always the idealist who leads, the practical man forever trots behind. Myles Standish is sure to listen to John Robinson, if only John Robinson will speak, and speak in time.

Discussion following Dr. Mackennal's Address

The discussion that followed Dr. Mackennal's address was engaged in by the Rev. Albert H. Plumb, D.D., of Massachusetts; William Crosfield, Esq., J.P., of England; and President James B. Angell, LL.D., of Michigan.

In response to a demand from the delegates, the President called upon the Rev. Dr. Plumb, of Massachusetts, who spoke as follows: —

Remarks by Rev. Albert H. Plumb, D.D.

Mr. Chairman and Friends: The principle of authority of which we heard yesterday seems to be in exercise now. I regret very much that you should have been so bold as to press me to this occasion. We were told yesterday in that masterly address by Dr. Harris, which will be an imperishable addition to our literature — although some of us may have thought that what was omitted in that address was happily supplied by Dr. Forsyth in the afternoon — we were told in his review of human acquirements or possibilities that man was an animal capable of speaking and of keeping silent — some men, he said. I imagine that that faculty

of keeping silence is what keeps so many of us silent after these wonderful expressions to-day.

But, friends, I remember in my early days in the West, in one of the country stores where the philosophers of the village were gathered together, an aged citizen of wide renown was expatiating on authority in household government. "Oh, no," he said, "my ideas have changed. All my grown-up children I used to whip, but," pointing to a little fellow standing by, his youngest son, "there is my George; I never struck him a blow in his life." "No," said young George, "*and you dasn't.*" I imagine, dear friends, that many pastors here have been enabled to bear the same witness that I do. While young America has great enterprise and while we are delighted at many of the exhibitions of national character which we see in our young folks, we find that those English families which have been in our parishes have shown a reverence for authority, parental and governmental, which has added a wholesome element to our parishes and our society.

I am very deeply impressed with the honor you have given me in calling me to this platform at this time; but I have had all that I wish to say so admirably expressed by my honored friend Dr. Abbott, who so heartily and thoroughly discussed this whole subject and presented it in a fashion that approves itself to me, that I cannot feel that it would be wise for me to trespass upon your indulgence at all. I feel very much as our honored friend from London did; I am exceedingly happy to have said what little I have said without altogether breaking down.

The chairman next called upon Mr. William Crosfield, of Liverpool, England, a former member of parliament.

Remarks of Mr. Crosfield

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: I cannot plead as much strangeness to America as Mr. Shepheard did, for I have a memory which carries me back forty years to an earlier visit to this city of Boston. I stand here with amazement, as he does, but not wondering at the same things. I stand amazed to see that that which was a tract of water on the occasion of my first visit now holds some of the most magnificent sections of this City of Boston. As I go about your country I see that great things have been done on every hand. Magnificent buildings which were beyond the conception of the people of forty years ago, now — may I say it? — ornament your city. At any rate they occupy it. I speak now as a pre-historic visitor to your country. I have been in Harper's Ferry, but it was a few days before John Brown made his historic visit to that place. I have visited Havana and Cuba before they were yours. I came from Havana to one of the Southern States in a small steamer which was then called the *Isabel.* Within a few months of my acquaintance with that vessel she became the *Sumter* — a historic name among you. These years have brought great changes. As a young man, and nursed very largely in the lap of Quakerism, taught the principles of peace at my mother's knee, I was one of those who stood wondering to see your great nation fighting its way to peace. We saw the great achievement which you accomplished and which made you the great nation that you are. I speak as an Englishman, and I bow my head when I remember that this past summer has been spent debating the question of arbitration, — we are told, and we as Englishmen desire to believe, that our representative at the Hague was the man who introduced and who pressed to an accom-

plishment some of the greatest measures that resulted from that conference, — but I bow my head when I remember that no sooner are the doors of that conference chamber closed than we immediately begin to talk of war, of war with a small nation, which cannot pretend to be our equal, although she has been one of the few nations which has accomplished a defeat of English arms. In the face of this nation we are occupying the position which I think is not becoming to a great nation, certainly not to a Christian nation, and I desire to express my hope that the sentiments which we speak may accomplish the results which we desire.

I have had an individual part in sending to your President during one of the years that I was in parliament a request that arbitration might be adopted between us as two nations if it could not be accomplished as a universal measure, and there was a time for a few days — I was at that time visiting the colony of Australia — when we were all rejoicing in the accomplishment of what we thought was this great step in the history of the world. We have not yet adopted as two peoples this measure of arbitration; but when I remember the great things which you have done, the material advantages which you have brought about in your country, I cannot but hope that so great a people with so great power can accomplish this great measure of peace without the arbitrament of arms.

Dr. Lyman Abbott suggested that there was no man whom the audience was more anxious to hear from on this subject than the president himself, and Dr. Noble, as vice-president, introduced President Angell as the President of the University of Michigan.

Remarks of President Angell

I feel stricken in conscience that, as presiding officer, I should violate the first rule of parliamentary law, namely, that the chairman should not speak himself. It is his business to hear everybody else speak and to say nothing with his own lips. I cannot but respond to this call, however, by saying that the subject of arbitration, as Dr. Abbott well knows, is one in which I have had occasion to be especially interested and which I have taken some part in endeavoring to promote in this country. For one, I have not lost one particle of faith in it as a means of ameliorating the difficulties between nations. I cannot hope, nor can any of us, I suppose, that wars are to be altogether avoided. The millennium has not yet arrived. But when we look at what arbitrations have already accomplished, especially between this nation and Great Britain which are now the leading nations in all these ameliorating plans and purposes, I am sure we have much reason to be encouraged. This nation has been, directly or indirectly through its government, engaged in nearly a hundred arbitrations, either as a party to the arbitration or as an arbiter. Every one knows that we have had some most important arbitrations with Great Britain. Although it is said that there is nothing to compel assent to an arbitration and therefore that it is fruitless as a means of compelling the adjustment and settlement of international disputes, the facts show that in no case have we ever retreated from the result of an arbitration with Great Britain nor has Great Britain ever retreated from the result of any arbitration with us. There was one arbitration on the Maine boundary line in which Massachusetts men were much interested where both sides retreated. Old Andrew Jackson, of all men in the world, that brave old fighter who liked fighting as well as any of that Irish race from which he came, declared that

we ought to have accepted the decision since it was the first time we had had an opportunity to settle questions in that way. That was the only time I think that Andrew Jackson ever desired to avoid a fight. Every one remembers the arbitration which we had a few years later in respect to the fisheries' valuations with Canada, in which, if ever there was a time when the United States had reason to be dissatisfied, that was the occasion. And yet we accepted it as gracefully as we could. Great Britain, as we know, in that still more trying arbitration after the Civil War accepted the result with even better grace than we. With such records as these before us, I think that even the perfervid language which comes to the lips of all of us upon such occasions as this, and which perhaps serious and sober men outside sometimes assume needs to be discounted somewhat when we go out into the cool air of practical life, is not extravagant. We have every reason to believe that the examples of these two nations in settling these great questions by arbitration have not been lost upon the world, but rather that the result of these arbitrations has been felt in this great conference at the Hague and will be felt in all subsequent international discussions of this mode of avoiding war. I suppose that no one expected, when the conference at the Hague was called, that the immediate result would be the diminution in any serious degree of the armaments of Europe; but I for one already feel that our hope has been fully justified, namely, that the result would be to clarify public opinion in Europe and to prepare the way for the result which is really coming. For every time that the representatives of these great powers gather together and declare even that it is desirable that peaceful remedies shall be substituted for war, and this declaration goes on solemn record before the world, something is gained in the change in temper of public opinion if in nothing else. It is like the good old Quaker meeting which no doubt Mr. Crosfield used to attend, where testimony was borne by the brethren that bore fruit in the lives of all that were there. And it is a distinct gain for the world every time that the great powers that are furnished with these enormous armaments which, as Dr. Mackennal says, are so enormous that they dare not use them, — every time that they come into council and solemnly confront each other and record the opinion there for all men to read that arbitration is a great desideratum, something positive is gained for humanity and for God.

And there is where we stand to-day. Every such gathering as this, by the expression of such sentiments as are cherished here, does something to forward the great consummation to which we all look. Words are not mere empty air when spoken in such a strain. Words carry the thoughts, the burning desires and aspirations of men to other hearts, and so the whole world to-day is vocal with the friendly and peaceful echoes from the conference at the Hague.

At the close of the discussion, the Council adjourned promptly at 12 o'clock, in order that the members and friends might attend the reception at the Hotel Vendome at noon, and in the afternoon participate in the excursion down the harbor offered by the City of Boston.

RECEPTION AT THE HOTEL VENDOME AT 12.30 O'CLOCK

An opportunity for social intercourse for delegates to the International Congregational Council and for ministers and laymen of Boston and its neighborhood was afforded by the thoughtful liberality of the late Samuel Johnson, who provided the means and planned the arrangements for a reception and collation at the Hotel Vendome. His plans were liberally and successfully carried out by the members of his family.

Over thirteen hundred invitations were sent to state and city officials, ministers and laymen of all denominations, — including Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish, — prominent educators and leaders in the different professions. The number present was more than one thousand. Assembling in the spacious hotel office and corridors, the company was introduced by ushers to the reception committee consisting of Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., pastor of the Old South Church, who represented Mr. Johnson as host, and the chairman of the Council committees, Mr. Samuel B. Capen, Rev. Daniel W. Waldron, Mr. William F. Whittemore, Rev. Edward S. Tead, Rev. Howard A. Bridgman, and Rev. Marshall M. Cutter. The reception was entirely informal. After being presented to the committee, the guests passed into the hotel parlors for introduction and conversation, and thence to the large dining hall, where an elaborate luncheon was served. The mingling of groups, the greetings of friends, and the extension of acquaintance filled up the social hour. Thought of the absence of the generous friend who had provided the feast was in the minds of all, but without casting a shadow over the general pleasure of the occasion. There were no speeches, but at the close of a season of gracious hospitality the company dissolved as informally as it had been gathered and entertained.

EVENING SESSION

The evening session of the Council convened at the usual hour, 7.30 o'clock, Vice-president Shepheard in the chair.

Hymn, "Stand up, stand up for Jesus."

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Albert E. Dunning, D.D., of Massachusetts.

Hymn, "How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord."

Address

Rev. John Daniel Jones, M.A., B.D., A.D.S., of England, pastor of the Richmond Hill Congregational Church, Bournemouth, delivered an address on Distinctive Characteristics of Christianity.

ADDRESS BY REV. J. D. JONES, M.A., B.D., A.D.S.

DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF CHRISTIANITY

Mr. President and Honored Brethren: I knew our age was an age of haste and hurry; I knew that "time is money" was one of its favorite mottoes; I knew that it required men to do their work and say their say in the briefest possible time. But how eager it was in this matter of time saving I never quite realized until I was asked by the committee of arrangements to discuss the distinctive characteristics of Christianity in a paper of twenty minutes' length. Verily things have suffered "a sea change" from the days Dr. Brown so charmingly describes in his "Pilgrim Fathers of New England," when at the founding of the church at Woburn in this state the worthy brother, Zachary Symmes, gave proof of his endurance and godliness by preaching between four and five hours! In these bustling days we are expected to discuss the entire scheme of Christianity within the space of twenty minutes. Every college has its legends of famous sermons preached — where all the greatest sermons *are* preached — in sermon class. But the most wonderful sermon I ever heard of was the sermon which was the glory and proud boast of my Alma Mater. The preacher divided his discourse into three heads. They were these: 1. Christianity what it is. 2. Christianity what it is not. 3. Christianity in its relation to social problems, and in five and twenty minutes the preacher had discussed these points to his own infinite satisfaction. But ability of that kind is granted only to a few geniuses. The ordinary preacher is constrained to confess "such knowledge is too wonderful to me, it is high, I cannot attain unto it." Ever since I knew that I had to speak upon the topic assigned to me I have been wishing I possessed the unique and marvelous powers of compression and condensation which enabled that good brother to write his memorable sermon. But those powers have not been conferred upon me, and so, Mr. President, recognizing my limitations, instead of taking the whole range of distinctive characteristics as my sub-

ject, I have decided to confine my attention to one — the one which in my opinion most sharply differentiates Christianity from every other religion, namely, *the unique place occupied by the person of Christ in the Christian faith.*

When we begin to speak of distinctive characteristics we are at once in the domain of comparative religion. Now in one sense Christianity refuses to be compared with any other faith. The worshipers at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, London, adorn their place of worship with busts of Confucius, Socrates, Jesus Christ and Voltaire side by side, as if Jesus were only one teacher among many and the faith he taught on much the same level as the Confucian ethics or the Socratic philosophy. That is to do insult to Jesus. That is a false liberalism utterly repugnant to the teaching of the New Testament and repudiated by all true Christians. Jesus is not one teacher among many. He is the supreme teacher. Christianity is not one religion amongst many others, competing for the favors and suffrages of mankind; it is the *only* religion, the one absolute religion. It refuses to be classed with other faiths. It acknowledges no rival. In this respect it is narrow, exclusive, intolerant. "There is none other name under heaven that is given among men wherein we must be saved" is its magnificent but stupendous assertion — but the name which it alone proclaims to men — the name of Jesus Christ.

But while as the absolute religion Christianity stands solitary and alone, on another view of the case, we see it to be but one among other religions. Side by side with it there exist other systems of faith which command the allegiance of numberless millions of men. These cannot be ignored. They demand to be considered and considered sympathetically. For while they do not and cannot satisfy the religious needs of men, at any rate they give expression to them. One of the things we have learned during the past quarter or half century is to appreciate more truly the meaning and significance of the non-Christian faiths of the world. I can remember the time when missionary audiences looked with horror upon the hideous gods of wood and stone that missionaries brought back with them from their scenes of labor. We thought then idolatry was of the Devil. We are beginning now to realize that even idolatry is religious. We are beginning to see that there might be something worse than the worship of gods of wood and stone and that would be the worship of no god at all. We are beginning to understand that all the idols and temples of the world bear mute but pathetic testimony to the human instinct for God. God has left himself nowhere absolutely without witness. Everywhere we see men groping after God if haply they might feel after him and find him. And who shall dare say they have sought utterly in vain? In heathen lands God has had his elect souls to whom he has revealed at any rate parts of his ways. The light that lighteneth every man was in Confucius and Gautama and Zoroaster, and in their measure these great teachers have played the part of school-masters to lead men to Christ.

Now the very existence of these other systems of faith compels us to compare and contrast them with the Christian faith. We ask ourselves, "Wherein does Christianity differ from all other religions?" We ask, "What characteristics belong to it which justify us in regarding it as the absolute religion?" As soon as we begin to ask these questions a multitude of answers suggest themselves. Max Müller finds the distinctive characteristic of Christianity in the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. Goldwin Smith finds it in the fact that of all religions Christianity is the only one which can be said to be truly catholic. Freeman Clarke finds the distinctive characteristic of Christianity in its fullness of life. Other faiths contain but fragments of truth, the pleroma is in Christianity

alone. His view of the relation between all other religions and the Christian faith would find accurate and fitting expression in Tennyson's couplet:

> They are but broken lights of thee
> And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

Bishop Boyd Carpenter gives much the same answer. Defining the essential elements of religion as consisting of dependence, fellowship and progress, he finds these more fully developed in Christianity than in any other faith. Others again find the distinctive characteristic of Christianity in the superiority of its ethical teaching, the ethics of Christianity being positive, the ethics of other systems for the most part negative. All these distinctions are valid and useful and true, but I purpose passing them by with this bare mention and calling your attention to another distinction much more fundamental and important, and that is the place given to the person and work of Christ in the Christian faith.

Freeman Clarke, in his work on "Ten Great Religions," discussing the question of the origin of organized religions as distinguished from the origin of religion itself, asserts that religions come into being in two ways. Some are slowly unfolded out of the life of the race. Others proceed from the personal influence of some inspired soul. The former he calls ethnic religions, the latter prophetic religions. The prophetic religions, he further asserts, are immeasurably superior to the ethnic religions in dignity, purity and power. Amongst the prophetic religions he counts Judaism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism and Christianity. Now it is perfectly true that each of these religions owed its beginning to a great creative personality. But there the resemblance between Christianity and the rest ends. Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism were all of them founded, originated by great men, but not one of them is based upon the person of its founder. The essential element in all these religions consists in the precepts communicated, the doctrines inculcated, the teaching given. Judaism is absolutely independent of the person of Moses its founder. Whatever virtue there is in the Buddhist system will remain there though Gautama be left wholly out of account. The personal history of Mahomet may even be removed out of Mohammedanism and still leave its essential principles intact. In all these cases the religion is independent of its founder. But it is wholly different with regard to Christianity. Christianity was not only founded by Jesus, it is based upon him. You cannot separate Jesus from the faith he taught. You cannot remove the personality of Christ without destroying Christianity. For Christianity differs from every other religion in the world in that, as Prebendary Row puts it, "its inner life consists not in a body of moral precepts or of dogmas, or in a ritual or a system of philosophy, but in a personal history."

Let me for a minute or two further amplify and illustrate this statement. Christianity professes to bring a revelation to men, to offer salvation to them and to provide them with an inspiration sufficiently strong to enable them to fulfill the great demands of the Christian life. The revelation, the salvation and the inspiration are all inseparably bound up with the person of Christ. (*a*) *Revelation.* Christianity professes to bring a revelation to the world. *That revelation is made in the character and life of Jesus.* Personally I feel I cannot confine the term "revealed religion" to Christianity alone. God is the fountain of light, and only in his light do men see light. In so far as Buddha and Confucius and Zoroaster and Mahomet saw and recognized the truth, they owed it to the illumination of the Spirit of God. The difference between Christianity and all other faiths is not that one is a revealed religion and the others are non-revealed. The dif-

ference is rather this — that in all other religions the revelation is partial and given in words; in Christianity the revelation is complete and given in a life. Other teachers were the media of revelation — Jesus was the revelation himself. The consequence is, that while other teachers emphasize their teaching, Jesus emphasizes himself. For the revelation consisted not so much in what he said as in what he was and did. He himself was God's everlasting yea. That accounts for the self-consciousness of Jesus as the Gospels reveal it to us. His greatest and most startling utterances were utterances concerning himself. He did not simply preach the truth, he preached himself as the Truth. To the crowd who cry out, "Evermore give us this bread," he announces himself as the Bread of Life. To the heart-broken Martha weeping for the dead Lazarus, he declares that he is the Resurrection and the Life. To the disciples wondering as to the road that led to the Father's house he proclaims that he himself is the way. To Philip appealing to him to satisfy their souls by showing them the Father, he gives them the answer, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." "I and my Father are one." That is the distinctive characteristic of the Christian revelation; it is a revelation in a person and by a life. Christ, as some one has said, did not come to preach a Gospel, but to be a Gospel. He came not to tell us facts about God, but to be Immanuel, God with us. Herein lies the power and the subduing charm of the Christian revelation. We look at the gentle, compassionate, loving Christ, and we see God.

> The very God! think, Abib; dost thou think?
> So, the All Great, were the All Loving too —
> So, through the thunder comes a human voice
> Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
> Thou hast no power nor mayst conceive of mine,
> But love I gave thee, with myself to love
> And thou must love me who have died for thee."

(*b*) *Salvation.* Christianity professes to offer salvation to the world. It is a salvation made possible by Christ and offered to men on condition of trust in Christ. The most terrible and obtrusive fact in the world is the fact of sin. Wherever man is found, he carries upon his soul this burden — the burden of sin, the consciousness of demerit and guiltiness in the sight of God. Any religion that seeks to be universal, any religion that seeks to meet the deepest needs of the human heart must recognize this terrible fact and deal with it. This question of deliverance from sin is indeed the cardinal religious problem. Now the only two religions that frankly recognize this fact of sin and seek to deal with it are Buddhism and Christianity. They are both of them redemptive religions. They both offer to the world methods of deliverance — plans of salvation. But there the resemblance ends. When we come to examine their respective "plans of salvation" we find Buddhism is separated by a whole universe from Christianity. Max Müller has said that all other religions preach salvation by works, while Christianity alone preaches salvation by faith in a Person. That is the radical difference between the Buddhist and the Christian plan of salvation. The Buddhist plan of salvation is salvation by self-control, by the observance of rules, by the discipline of a lifetime. As the famous verse of the Dhammapada expresses it,

> To cease from all wrong doing,
> To get virtue,
> To cleanse one's own heart —
> This is the religion of the Buddhas.

I will not stay to discuss what the salvation amounts to when it is obtained. It is sufficient for me to call attention to the fact that the Buddhistic idea of salvation is that held by a brilliant but eccentric London preacher who entitles one of his published sermons, "Self-improvement is Salvation." It is what the Apostle Paul would call a salvation by the works of the law.

The Christian "plan of salvation," on the other hand, is salvation by trust in a Person. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ" was the constant and reiterated Apostolic appeal, "and thou shalt be saved." This appeal is based on the assumption that, as Professor Denny puts it, "Jesus has done something for men which they could not do for themselves"; and because of what he did there is pardon, deliverance, life for sinful men. We may not be ready with theories of the atonement, but there is no denying the fact that the New Testament connects the forgiveness of sin with the death of Christ — that in some wonderful way the passion of our Lord is the ground of our pardon. As our child's hymn puts it,

> He died that we might be forgiven,
> He died to make us good,
> That we might go at last to heaven
> Saved by his precious blood.

Salvation in Christianity is inseparably bound up with the person and work of Christ. It is not by the works of the law, but by humble trust in Jesus and what he has done. Therefore it was that the Apostles wherever they went preached Christ and him crucified. They went to Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, not primarily to proclaim a more exacting ethic or a more stringent law. They went to preach a Gospel and their Gospel centered in the Cross. And multitudes of sin-burdened men and women, whom the moral demands of the Gospel by themselves would only have plunged into deeper despair, found deliverance and release in a glad acceptance of the message of the cross that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning their trespasses unto them.

(*c*) *Inspiration.* Christianity professes to provide men with an inspiration sufficiently strong to enable them to fulfill the demands of the Christian life. That inspiration it finds *in love for the person of Jesus Christ.* Every faith has its dynamic. If it makes demands, it must also furnish motives. It may trust to the inherent reasonableness of its statements and dogmas; it may enforce its commands by a doctrine of rewards and punishments; but motive of some kind it must have. The distinctive characteristic of Christianity is that it trusts to the inspiration of a great Love. Moses gave a code of laws to Israel, but trusted to threats and promises to secure obedience. Gautama preached a life of discipline and contemplation, but trusted to the attractiveness of the salvation at the end of it to win adherents for it. Mahomet imposed a religious system upon his followers, but trusted to promises of unlimited delights in a sensuous Paradise to gain their allegiance to it. Neither Moses nor Gautama nor Mahomet dared to say, "Obey this law, live this life, do these works — for love of me." But Jesus makes loftier demands than they all and with magnificent self-confidence says, "Do this — for my sake." He trusted to the moral attractiveness of his personality. He threw himself upon the love of human hearts. He believed once men loved him they would do his commandments. It is quite true that Christianity has its doctrine of rewards and punishments. It has its heaven and its hell. But that doctrine is not the compelling motive. It is always kept in the background. Indeed, the fear of hell or the desire for heaven is an insufficient dynamic. It may suffice to produce the prudent, calculating religionist, but it can never produce the true Christian. Love alone is equal to that. When

Jesus lived in Palestine, he said to one and another, "Follow me." But he made little mention of rewards. He spoke rather of deprivations, self-denials, crosses. "Whosoever would come after me," so ran his reiterated appeal, "let him take up his cross, deny himself daily and follow me." It was not to the attractiveness of the service, but to the attractiveness of his own character Christ trusted. The inspiration to the Christian life was not hope of reward, but a passion for the person of the Saviour. "Lovest thou me?" said Jesus to the penitent Peter. There were days of stress and storm in front, and he well knew that only in a passionate love for himself would there be a dynamic strong enough to enable the unstable Peter to stand without flinching before governors and kings, and at last to die in Rome for his name's sake.

"This passion for Jesus," says Dr. John Watson, "has no analogy in comparative religion. It has no parallel in human history." But it has justified itself by experience. It has proved itself a sufficient inspiration. It has been the secret of the holiest lives the centuries have witnessed. It has been the spring of the noblest heroisms. There has been in it force sufficient to uplift the lowest, so that the weakest, basest, meanest of mankind have been converted into heroes, saints and martyrs by the constraining power of the love of Christ.

In this way the person of Christ is the central thing in the Christian faith. The Christian revelation, the Christian salvation, the Christian inspiration, are all inseparably bound up with him. It may be, as some assert, that every precept in the Sermon on the Mount can be paralleled from other sources — though that does not affect the fact that the Christian morality is loftier and more spiritual than any other. But those who laboriously search the ancient books of the East in the hope of discovering precepts similar to those in the Sermon on the Mount, and who then print the result of their researches in parallel columns in order to damage Christianity, might just as well spare themselves the pains. They only show themselves utterly ignorant of what Christianity is. Christianity is not simply a morality, but a Gospel. It centers not in the Sermon on the Mount, but in Jesus, in what he was and did. This is a matter which, perhaps, we too, as ministers of the Gospel, need to remember. We are living in the days of the ethical revival. That revival was needed, but the Evangel must not be sacrificed and Christianity must not be treated as if it were simply an ethical system. To suggest an ethical creed, as a well-known minister did not very long ago, is to empty Christianity of everything that is distinctive and to reduce it to the level and impotence of other faiths. What makes Christianity a Gospel for the world is that it proclaims Jesus — Jesus the revelation of the Father; Jesus the Saviour from sin; Jesus the inspiration of the life of holiness. We are going to prevail not by eliminating from Christianity what is distinctive, but by emphasizing it. "Give us your Christ," said the people of Japan to the late Henry Drummond. "Sirs, we would see Jesus," is no longer the cry of a few Greeks — it is the cry of the whole world. It is that Jesus we have to preach. He is the secret of power. It was he himself who said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

Address

Rev. Charles Reynolds Brown, of California, pastor of the First Church, Oakland, addressed the Council on the same topic.

Address by Rev. Charles R. Brown

DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF CHRISTIANITY

Our study of comparative religions has brought Christianity into a world-wide temple, where it must ask and answer questions. The doctrine of evolution, so universally accepted as furnishing the appropriate method for considering any phenomena, forbids our brushing away all other faiths as meaningless. If we are therefore to assert the unique and absolute character of our faith, the claim cannot justly be grounded upon any dogmatic assertion made either by the founders or by the followers of our religion; the claim must rest upon the supreme excellence of what it has to offer, and upon its demonstrated ability in serving the needs of men.

In making comparison between Christianity and other religions, the method has somewhat shifted. The claim to superiority does not now rest so much on contrast as upon the *comprehensiveness* of the religion of Jesus. We have grown taller and can see farther: we have made excursions over boundary fences and have met the other sheep which are not of our fold; and through all this, we have gained in appreciation for the original purpose of Christ, which was to bring them also, that in the consummation there might be one flock and one shepherd. The One whom we call Master and Lord is more frankly recognized to-day as the true light that has lighted all the pure worship and genuine devotion that has ever come into the world. Other faiths have been broken lights, but whatever radiance has been thrown upon the path of human duty and upon the divine help that lends its aid to those who walk that path, has come from that same true light that has lighted every man, so far as he had eyes to see. Christianity, therefore, stands to-day on Mars Hill, to deliver its message to the best or to the worst of non-Christian minds, and its uniform assertion is, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, him," not some other Being totally out of line with your hopes and aspirations, but "him, declare we unto you." The truth as it is in Christ is offered as the synthesis and completion of all the broken fragments of truth that have yielded partial satisfaction for human need.

The religion of Jesus, then, is religion universal, coming to clear self-consciousness and to the effective vigor of definitely realized life, in that nation which had been providentially prepared for it. As it emerges into this self-realization, it discovers increasingly that it does embrace and offer satisfaction for all the aspirations of those who are near and of those who are afar off. It asserts its unique and superior claims not by crushing and destroying all other religious movements; it follows rather the method of its Master, in that it finds room within its field for all the yearnings and discoveries of those non-Christian lives and then rejoices to fulfill their incompleteness. The true method for the conversion of pagan races to Christianity becomes, then, the one observed in the case of the Greeks and Romans who were brought into Christian faith in the days of its original simplicity and vigor. They "were not overpowered and enslaved by the new religion" — they rather found in the religion of Christ the final interpretation of their own moral needs and the perfect consummation of that which their want had impelled them to seek in their native beliefs. Therefore the greatest of all distinctive characteristics, and the one which in a way includes the rest, is the fact that, like the Roman Empire where it was born and where it won notable victories, the method of Christianity is that of comprehension rather than of subjugation and destruction; it declares the way of eternal life more perfectly, and in declaring it with the fullness

of its own thought and life, loses none of the notes which have solaced and cheered those who began their lives of aspiration beyond its borders.

But when we examine its specific claims, we find also certain qualities where it not only includes and exceeds, but also differentiates itself from, all other faiths. These distinctive characteristics which I am to name are the more significant in that they are founded upon a definite historical basis. Our faith from the first has rested upon a personal confidence in a historic but divine Saviour who was to come, who came, and who, in the realized fullness of his power, is yet to come. The testimony of Jesus has been and will remain the spirit of prophecy. Therefore I shall refer each of these distinctive characteristics of Christianity back to Jesus of Nazareth, where they find their warrant and basis.

First. The perfection of its ethical conception of God, with the revelation of the divine in Jesus Christ as a historical basis for its thought.

The fundamental distinction of Christianity in its very beginnings in early Judaism was its insistence upon the fact that it owed allegiance to a God of character. Abraham conducted his argument touching the fate of Sodom upon the then bold assumption that the Judge of all the earth must do right. And Moses was peremptory in his insistence that any impatient abandonment of the wayward Israelites by Jehovah would be in the eyes of Egypt and of all the world a blot upon his moral goodness, and even to his mind that seemed impossible. Their Hebrew thought was blurred and contracted by the cramped and crude conditions under which they lived, but ever coming into clearer view was the perfection of the moral life of him whom they served.

We seek in vain to find such a vision of the ethical nature of God in other religions. The rude stone images and hideous idols with their grotesque faces and forms reveal the tendency of certain races to adore something which stood before them, merely as non-human. The gigantic statue of Nebuchadnezzar, the huge figure of Buddha in Japan, and the pantheistic identification of the solid material universe itself with God, all testify that men have also been disposed to prostrate themselves before that which was simply colossal. The Mohammedan worship of Allah, who was seen as Absolute Will but in such hardness and isolation as to lack the necessary traits for moral perfection, illustrates the adoration of sheer Force. All these earnest but misguided, pathetic efforts are symptoms and expressions of the human thirst for the living God, and yet in what bold contrast do they stand to the conception of the divine offered us in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! Jesus has perhaps rendered the race his most conspicuous service in that he has shown us the Father.

In the teaching of Jesus, eternity, omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence, and other natural attributes of God are named or assumed, but always as the normal accompaniments and instruments of his moral nature. The one great thought that obtains and in the light of which everything in heaven and on earth must find place, is that God is a being of Holy Love. The material creation and the stately habits of his providence are but expressions of the purpose cherished by this Holy Love. The intense displeasure with which he regards and punishes sin is the inevitable attitude of Holy Love, toward that which harms the objects of its affection. His gracious, gradual and progressive revelation of himself to the maturing gaze of man is the necessary action of Holy Love, intent upon the moral well-being of those who grow pure in heart through seeing him. The very crown of his moral nature as interpreted in our doctrine of the atonement, his readiness to suffer and make sacrifice for the moral recovery of the guilty, is that same Holy Love in its farthest, deepest,

tenderest reach. These are the main elements in the thought of God brought to us by Jesus, his well-beloved Son; and this Christian conception of an Eternal Father whose moral nature is the embodiment of Holy Love is harmonious, absolute and satisfying. Every religion must of necessity seek as the first great objective fact for its sustenance a definite thought of God as an object upon which reason, conscience and affection may rest. For the enlightened and progressive portions of mankind, the Christian conception of God is the only one that meets and satisfies this fundamental need. "To us there is but one God the Father," a Being of Holy Redemptive Love and this conception unmatched in any non-Christian system, I put forward as the first distinctive characteristic of Christianity.

Second. The conception of salvation as the complete enrichment and perfection of human personality with the life of Jesus as a historical basis embodying this perfection.

The ascetic idea of salvation as the deliverance of a certain part of the life at the expense of other normal interests which were prudently sacrificed to the greater good no longer stands. It found place with some of the forerunners of Jesus, but the Son of Man came eating and drinking. He indicated that his purpose was not to destroy men's lives, or any of the legitimate interests those lives held, but to save them. Therefore the true conception of salvation, according to his words and according to his announced ability to impart himself, that of his fullness we might all receive, is that of saving men by giving them life and by giving it more abundantly. In the words of Westcott, "The person of Christ includes all that belongs to the perfection of every man, and the Spirit of Christ brings the power through which each one can reach this true end."

This is characteristic of Christianity and of no other system of religious thought. Buddhist salvation means the lopping off of human interest and desire until peace is found in a sort of eternal swoon, where definite personality is either surrendered or so overborne by the ocean of life in which it floats as to be no longer capable of self-knowledge or self-direction. It is consequently the very opposite of the life abundant offered in Christ. Mohammedan salvation is in great measure the satisfaction of earthly tastes and appetites from a treasure-house supernatural in the quality and abundance of its sensuous opportunities. The conceptions of salvation, where they exist at all, in other non-Christian beliefs are so far removed from the salvation portrayed and offered in the New Testament, as to require no detailed comparison. Nowhere outside our own faith do we find the clear offer of a salvation which ensures a moral personality enriched and ennobled according to the measure of the stature of full manhood in Christ Jesus.

According to the teaching of Jesus, the men who are being saved are those who have faced toward this life complete and who are steadily gaining on it. In proportion as all the powers and faculties that God has given are called into play, trained, organized and used in worthy service, men glorify God who created them for that high end and become able to enjoy him forever. Religion, therefore, after Christ is no part of a man's life, to which he may prudently give occasional attention or in the interests of which he may ascetically sacrifice normal interests; it is rather the right relation of the total life to God and to society. The men who believe on Christ and who consequently stand in the process of salvation are intent upon gaining a rich, full, entire humanity; they desire to be perfect, complete, round even as the life of their Father in heaven is round.

The sad and terrible fact of sin in the world is never overlooked nor

slighted. It is strongly held that the guilt and stain of sin result from ethical choices; they are not mere indications of a natural condition of inferiority to be eliminated by normal growth. Men universally have done wrong, and before a holy tribunal they stand guilty and corrupted by their own acts. Any religion that takes life seriously must bring these hard facts into account. Christianity meets them face to face, and not only offers an adequate conception of genuine salvation; it also brings the requisite power for deliverance. Christianity *is* the presence of a supernatural force in the world, able both to proclaim and to accomplish this thorough work in human redemption.

The capacity of the human soul for personal fellowship with the absolute Spirit of the Father; the vision of the finite spirit growing into the likeness and image of that Father; the knowledge of the permanent significance that the individual moral life has for a universe controlled by a Father for moral ends — all these are the very commonplaces in the Christian thought of salvation, and yet they stand unmatched in the religious thought and aspiration of the world. To become an adept in the use of occult powers of mind and body, while allowing the weightier matters of justice and mercy in humane service to be neglected; or to secure through slavish resignation to the will of Allah, the coarser delights and narrower ethical attainments of a Moslem paradise; or to sink into that Buddhist calm which lies so near the brink of death, are conceptions of salvation which, offered as the goal of human hope and endeavor, utterly sink and fail in the light of the Christian anticipation.

The Christian believer makes his way toward this complete self-realization through complete self-devotement; he loses his life in the service of human need and of the divine purpose, that he may find it. There is no wanton abandonment of any natural human interest. The losing of the life is like the death of the seed; it is the loss of a present and limited form, that the true life principle may find its chance to manifest itself in a form more adequate. Whatever is yielded is restored in another and higher form. "There is no man that hath left house or brethren or sisters or father or mother or children or lands, for my sake and the Gospel's, but that he shall receive a hundred fold now in this time, houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life." Jesus here pictures salvation not as the destruction and abandonment of legitimate human values; he rather proclaims their consecration and enrichment in a world redeemed. In the words of Caird, "The charities of social life which are renounced shall come back multiplied in the tenderer and purer ties of Christian brotherhood and even the outward goods of this life will be enjoyed in a higher way, by those who have learned their spiritual meaning." The Christian therefore in his self-surrender becomes incorporate with a True Vine; he lives in the care of the Father who is the husbandman of human worth; and through this self-devotement he abides as a divinely privileged branch, bearing his own appointed fruit and gaining the perfection of his personal life. This conception has elsewhere no parallel, and I name it as a second distinctive characteristic of Christianity.

Third. The hope and confidence in the work of establishing the perfect kingdom of God upon the earth, with the words of Jesus and the record of human redemption accomplished through him thus far, as a historical basis for such confidence.

As a simple outline that might serve to indicate the appropriate direction of our prayer and effort, Jesus gave his followers the Lord's Prayer. Prominent among its requests stand these significant words, "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is done in heaven." They

are to be addressed to the perfect and absolute God in the firm expectation that at the last they will not be left unanswered. They indicate that no paring down of the world's evil to more respectable proportions, no easy compromise with the passions of men is contemplated; they anticipate the transformation of earth, until by the holy sway of the divine Spirit, it has become a part of the Father's perfect kingdom.

It has been characteristic of Christianity and of the Judaism that prepared its way, to steadfastly refuse the acceptance of evil as an ultimate fact. The older Hebrews maintained that evil did not stand in the original purpose and thought of God — it crawled into the garden of the divine good pleasure from without, and consequently could be expelled as an intruder. The Persian, confronted by the pain and sin of the world, felt it imperative upon him to choose between a god of limited power and a god who intentionally created or permitted evil. He chose the former, enshrining in the temple of his thought two gods, one evil and one good, each limited by the power of the other. The Buddhist saw the evil that is everywhere entangled with human life; he entered sternly on a course of surgery, cutting off right hands and plucking out right eyes, hoping by such surrender of power and interest to find deliverance from the guilt, the stain and the unrest of sin. The Mohammedan religion, facing the vice of the East, made bold, relentless war upon certain evils, idolatry, polytheism, intemperance in drink, and then weakly compromised with other elemental passions, transferring them without the seal of consecration to the wider opportunities for satisfaction in its Moslem heaven. It thus left its devotees one of the most sensual races on earth.

But the Christian, in his conception of the outcome of the moral processes set on foot by Jesus Christ, has refused to either surrender or compromise. His cry was at the beginning, is now and ever shall be, until the fact is perfectly realized, "the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The kingdoms of this world, commerce, education, domestic life, art, science, music, and all that enriches human existence, shall by renewal and consecration become kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ. The field, the place where religion is to grow, is the world. The soil, out of which the great plant which the Heavenly Father has planted is to draw material for the wide branches of the total organism that is to be, is no small portion of earth carried within the church or cloister in narrow vessel; it is no section fenced and barred against districts where other natural human interests are at work. The soil for religion includes all the material in that field which is the world. This is where Christian faith is to find its opportunity and win its total victory.

This confident expectation is elsewhere unmatched. The universal brotherhood of the Buddhist, the only social vision that at all approaches in moral worth that of the kingdom of God, is a community of interest based on the recognition of the inevitable and common necessity of bearing the evils and vanities of this world; it is to be gained through flight rather than by victorious battle. The universal kingdom of God, on the other hand, is based on the recognition of all men as common claimants of their eternal inheritance as sons of God, and of their capacity, through divine grace, for carrying the entire range of human interests over into glad and loving harmony with the will of that common Father.

This expectation of cosmic redemption includes even the physical universe. If certain philosophic and scientific minds are no longer able to look with Peter for the "restoration of all things," they can say with another apostle, perhaps, that the whole universe is consummated and crowned in Christ and that in him it is to attain the summit of its evolution; that in the dispensation of the fullness of times, God will gather

together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, thus reaching "the one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves." The hostile and destructive elements in the world about us are through the unfolding processes of earthly redemption to give place to the kindly and useful, until the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. This is the great thought Paul has in mind where he speaks of the whole creation groaning and travailing in pain until now, waiting for a higher type of human character to occupy and control it, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God. He saw that the natural world could not display its higher meaning and finer usefulness, until through human regeneration it became the servant of a nobler master. God, the Father Almighty, the constant creator of heaven and earth, is waiting until the new man in Christ Jesus can be sent into the garden to dress it and to keep it. Thus the first heaven and the first earth will pass away, and there will come a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth the righteousness of the sons of God.

The field, then, which our religion claims and tills is both extensively and intensively the world. Christianity recognizes no territorial limits to its mission; it knows that God has made of one blood all nations of men that dwell on the face of the earth, and it goes out upon its Messianic career of world-wide usefulness, that it may baptize all nations into the total helpfulness it has to offer. It also interprets the word of Christ intensively; it knows that in the human constitution and in human society, God has made no natural interest common or unclean, but that in every department of life, whatever honors him and worketh righteousness may stand in all the privileges of his favor. It therefore labors and prays for the coming of the all-embracing kingdom of God.

The Persian said the world is full of evil and the evil was created by the wicked one of our two gods; we must therefore submit to it. The Buddhist said the world is full of evil; we must seek deliverance by leaving the world and living detached, by sinking gradually into the calm and peace of self-extinction. The Mohammedan said the world is full of evil; we can conquer part, but we must make terms with the rest; and the sensuous life was allowed here and was carried forward in his dream of heaven. The Christian says the world is full of evil, but the world is also the subject of redemption; God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world — not merely a few choice spirits out of it — but that the world itself should be saved. Certain souls may by voluntary transgression detach themselves from this movement for cosmic redemption, and thus fail to share in the blessings it offers, but it lies within the divine wish and purpose that the world should be redeemed. The Christian, therefore, has meat to eat which the rest know not of; his meat is to do the will of him that sent him, knowing that he and those who stand after in the Christian succession are to finish the work of establishing on earth the final kingdom of righteousness and peace and love.

The importance of sound and reasonable convictions as to the unique character and the absoluteness of the religion of Jesus can scarcely be overstated. It is not enough that our acceptance of Christianity rest on the accident of birthright or the good fortune of early training; it should stand also upon that intelligent comparison and rational selection which has proved all things, and therefore holds fast with reinforced tenacity that which is good. If its exponents are to go out to victorious effort at home, and still more abroad among the non-Christian races, they must be borne along by the inwrought conviction that they bear the supreme word of God to man. They must go as confident ambassadors, knowing that the government of human affairs is to be upon the shoulder of him whom they

proclaim. They must go assured that Christianity includes and fulfills all the true and vital elements that other religions have partially embodied; that in it "all the wanderings of the religious instinct in its effort to provide objects for its own satisfaction" may find the sure guide that will bring them home into that Father's house, where all the varied needs of men discover bread enough and to spare.

This lofty conception of our Christian faith, as being the synthesis and completion of all fragmentary truths that have been wrought out elsewhere by the stress and strain of human need, yields stimulus and tonic for the most heroic endeavor. When the returns are all in from the most exhaustive comparative study, the hard fact remains that the Christian religion alone is furnishing the necessary moral impetus for a steadily advancing civilization. Its power to render this service springs from the strength and the breadth of its convictions, and from the divine helpfulness in which they enable the believer to stand. These convictions are no mere dream of some brighter hour; they rest upon the words and life of Jesus Christ as an historical basis. Therefore, because our faith can show men the Father, can offer them a Saviour who delivers from sin and completes the human personality, and can lift them into fellowship with the Holy Spirit who guides the forward movement of mankind to the consummation of the perfect kingdom of God on earth, Christianity holds the future in its hands.

Hymn, "Hail to the Lord's anointed."

Address

Rev. Andrew Martin Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., LL.D., of England, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, delivered the following address on the Influence of the Study of Other Religions upon Christian Theology.

ADDRESS BY REV. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE STUDY OF OTHER RELIGIONS UPON CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

In beginning the discussion of the subject which has been allotted to me, this preliminary remark may be allowed: So much depends on the intellectual attitude of the student, both toward religions and theology, that the term study ought to be qualified by "scientific." The scientific study of religions will be at once critical and comparative — *i.e.*, will scrupulously sift out the true from the false, and carefully appraise and compare only what criticism has made sure of.

A study of religions which is intended only to be an apology for our own will educate no theologian, conserve and enlarge no theology. The student who goes to other faiths simply to find out what is evil in them, in order that he may compare it with the idealized good he professes to find in his own, will come back worse than empty-handed, with gifts that soil rather than cleanse the mind of the bringer. This is not to be construed as applying simply to the formal or official Christian apologist; it may apply to him, but it has a much wider application. We have but to see it practiced on our own religion to discover its futility.

To find all the scandalous tales of the Old Testament, from Cain onward, through Noah and his sons, Lot and his daughters, David and his adul-

teries, Solomon and his wives, the spoiling of the Egyptians and the massacre of the Canaanites, to the apostasy of Peter and the betrayal by Judas, set out as characteristic of Christianity over against an ideal Hinduism, abstracted from the Vedanta and the Bhagabadgita, without any reference to the religion of the temple and the street, of the festival and the fair, of the ascetic and the social life — is to learn a lesson in the rudiments of the justice which the spokesman of one religion owes to the ideas and the histories, the men and the institutions, of every other. The man whose eyes are not open to the best in other faiths will be blind to the real good in his own, and be quite incapable of enlarging and clarifying what he has received by what he has discovered.

The most general effect which the comparative study of religion tends to have on theology is in broadening and, as it were, humanizing the thought on which theology builds. Our apologetics has been too critical and defensive, and has suffered from the want of positive and constructive ideas. It has, on the speculative side, tended to make itself the opponent of the scientific interpretation of nature, fearing now the atoms and the architectonic forces of the physicist, now the epochs of the geologist, and again the biologist's mutation and evolution of species; and, on the historical side, it has been ineffectively suspicious of the criticism which has already handled now documents, now events and now men dear to the religious imagination.

But the study of religions places us as regards both of these tendencies in a higher and more advantageous position. On the speculative side, it makes man rather than nature the ultimate problem of thought. Its constructive ideas may here be said to be two: —

(1) Nature is not the interpretation of man, but man of nature. There is no problem nature raises which he does not raise, and in addition one which underlies all others: How did thought come to be? Without thought there were no men, and without it there were no nature; it is the essence of his being, and holds within it the key to the whole mysterious system to which he belongs.

(2) Man is the interpreter of religion, but religion is the interpretation of man. He is never without it, and everywhere it is the measure of his progress, the standard of his civilization.

We do not think of arguing in the old way; there are no tribes without the idea of God, for God is an elastic idea, and it is easy for man so to define it as to exclude whole peoples from the ranks of its possessors; but we do not argue, we affirm as a simple matter of fact, which no competent anthropologist will now dispute, there are no tribes without religious ideas and customs. They do not grow into them, they do not grow out of them; but the tribe, the ideas, the society, and the customs grow together in indissoluble unity. So integral are the ideas that man does not become man or realize society and civilization, law and order, without them; and so powerful are they that they govern his progress and determine the kind of culture, the quality of the character he realizes.

And so the speculative falls over into the historical problem: To study the religions is to read the process by which society has been formed, states have risen, and man in the course of his historical existence has constituted a unity, and an order by reaching out toward some invisible and ideal end. But history cannot be so conceived and man remain an isolated unit; he must stand related to some cause that works through him and that achieves by means of him its order and its aims.

Thus out of the study of religion comes a philosophy of man which relates him as though to an eternal Thinker, and as a living will to a larger Will whose organ and minister he is. From this point of view theology

can enter on a richer inheritance than ever it knew in its palmiest days, and become the philosophy of all the philosophies, the science which holds within it the reason of all the sciences. If only it can prove itself an heir worthy of this splendid inheritance, it will prove itself, as the solvent of our most mysterious mysteries, the master of man's reason, commanding it by the only authority it can obey without losing dignity or suffering deprivation, the authority of the truth.

Of course, as a comparative science the study of religions may fulfill a more direct and immediate apologetic purpose: it may become a finger-post indicating the religion which experience has proved to be in structure and ideal the highest. The thing the study makes evident at the outset is the necessity of religion to man; it does not lie in his choice to be without it: it holds him in spite of himself. He may divert himself by thinking that when he has denied one religion he has denied all; but as a simple matter of fact his very denial undergoes a sort of apotheosis and comes out a form of worship, a belief according to which he must try to order his life.

But when we pass from the freak of the individual to the law which fulfills itself in history, what do we find? That a tribe or people or society is as its religion is, that the higher its ethical ideal and the stronger and purer the authority by which it is enforced, then the greater the place the people will fill, the nobler the part it will play in history.

And what does this principle not only allow but require from the comparative study of religions? An indication of the highest, and of the qualities and characteristics by virtue of which it stands where it does. What may be accomplished let an older and more rigorous science tell.

Comparative anatomy examines, brings together, and classifies the multitudinous organisms that make up the wondrous world of life; and with what result to man? Has it not placed him first in the order of sentient beings, most beautiful and perfect of living organisms? And may it not well be the last result of comparative study in our field to prove the religion of Christ the apex of the world religions, the end to which all the others have pointed, the perfect type into which the virtues and truths scattered through all the rest have been gathered, yet only to be harmonized, sublimed, transfigured by a light all its own, the true divine reason which everywhere works in obedience to divine love?

And so it is possible that this study may yet become the basis of a new analogy, more comprehensive, more appropriate to these days than Butler's. He assumed premises that the skeptical thought of his own century conceded, but the skeptical thought of our century denies. Its method, too, hardly satisfies the more critical spirits of to-day. We do not make our belief more credible by loading another belief with incredibilities. We may simply persuade to the renunciation of both.

Two darks do not make a bright. It is not good to relieve Christianity by deepening the shadow on the face of nature till both stand, as it were, under a common eclipse; it were better to burnish and brighten the light in the heart and on the face of revealed religion till its sunshine penetrates all nature and her very shadows become radiant with the silver that sleeps above and behind the cloud.

And, if comparative study can be used to show that the highest religion is the most credible, a glorious center in which all excellencies have converged, and where have been combined and harmonized the truths man as a religious being most needs and best loves; and if binding the comparative to the philosophical question we can show how that religion as native and necessary to man has an indefeasible right to be, that that right is most absolute in the perfect religion, which, as such, at once explains and supersedes all imperfect religions, may we not have an apology, the very apol-

ogy our generation needs, for religion in general and the religion of Christ in particular?

The study of religions has also enlarged the conception of religion and made evident the unity of its several parts. It has made it impossible to think of theology in isolation from worship and polity, institutions and conduct. The thought of a religion is as much expressed in the behavior as in the speech of its votaries, as much in the customs it sanctions, the laws it enacts, the ritual it observes, the practices it follows, and the social or class distinctions it approves and maintains, as in the creed it subscribes or in the confession of faith it makes. In no way may we so utterly misinterpret a religion as by confining our studies to its systems of theology or its higher philosophies. The thought that organizes the life is what we have most need to reach and to understand.

Now, this enormously widens the range and enhances the worth of theology. It means that with a church or people as with a man, as the heart thinks, so the character and the conduct are. Hence the function of theology becomes the highest possible; it is not the mere exposition or vindication of a creed, it is the creation of a vital religion, the codification, as it were, of the ultimate law of life, individual and collective.

And this enlarged idea of its function gives a heightened value to its several parts as well as a sure measure of proportion or balance. We look at each doctrine in relation to the whole of thought and action, and see the idea or question of the hour, not through the hour, but through its bearing on the complex organism which the present is building up for the benefit or injury of the future. A little bit of autobiography may illustrate what I mean.

There is no question that so moves and agitates the churches to-day as the priesthood of the minister, and we have had it discussed under almost every possible relation, historical, literary, theological, ecclesiastical.

But years before I had occasion to study the priesthood in the Anglican or the Roman church I had tried to understand its rise, its character and action in the religion and history of India. I had there endeavored as an earnest, but I hope dispassionate and critical student of religions, to read the forces which had governed the destinies of a people, organized its society, determined the forms of its worship and the modes of its thought, and had regulated the evolution of its ethics and its conduct, and it seemed to me as if the most potent of those forces was the sacerdotal and sacrosanct claim embodied in the Brahmin family. To have seen what the priesthood had done in one country and for one religion was to have one's eyes opened to it in other lands and religions, to be compelled to study both its generic and its specific qualities, to analyze its roots and reasons, its effects on character, on society, on thought and conduct wherever it rose to power.

And it was from the priesthood of India that I came to the priesthoods of Europe, and came not with a fixed judgment as to their identity in tendency and idea — that would have been the act of a fanatic or a partisan, not of a student and inquirer — but with a standpoint from which to view them, a method of research as to their rise and growth, their history and claims, and a habit of analysis which forced one to examine their antecedents, their consequences, and their action on church and state, on Christian thought and institutions, on conduct and worship, personal and collective.

This is an illustration, given not for the purpose of fixing a fictitious value to a personal opinion, which in itself may be worthless enough, but only to indicate that the study of religions, by compelling the student first to look at the parts through the whole, gives to each part some of the

significance and dignity of the whole, and then to conceive each as a living member of a living organism, and not as a mere isolated dead atom, a doctrine to be logically defined or exegetically proved, but not to be related as a real factor to the life it helped to create and qualify.

But it is in the interpretation of the highest religious beliefs that the most decisive influence has been exercised. There is a remarkable difference between an idea regarded as a religious belief and as an intellectual conception. This difference relates not so much to the greater note of conviction which marks the religious belief, as to the greater reality which belongs to it and the immediacy with which it bears on life. Religion in dealing with its beliefs has an audacity and a vigor of logic quite unknown to philosophy, and this is the more emphasized by its logic being expressed even more in conduct and character, in action and institutions than in dialectic.

Now, it is in its ultimate ideas that the constituent and differentiating elements in a religion are to be found, and by the comparison of these we may discover and determine the qualities that give to our beliefs their highest intellectual value and religious force. The action of our study may in this region be represented by the cardinal ideas of our Christian theology: Man, God, the Godhead, the Incarnation and the Atonement.

1. In studying the religious man, who is the subject and vehicle, assumes a new significance. We gain a new idea of the unity of the race, of the solidarity or reciprocal responsibility of its members, the being of each for the other and all for the whole. Neither in any single science nor in the collective sciences can we get as sure or as deep an insight either into the homogeneity of the families of man or into the unity of their history. The first impression here of the inquirer is as to the bewildering diversities of religious belief and custom; the last conviction of the thinker is the similarity or even identity of underlying idea and impulse, notwithstanding the infinite variety of form and expression. Now, this has come to fortify theology in one of its weakest places, and to make it sagacious where it was wont to be neither sane nor wise.

The doctrine of original sin has during most of this century been slowly dying, partly because of the irrational and impossible forms in which it had been stated, and partly because there was wanting a solid intellectual basis on which it could be built up. But this basis is precisely the thing the study of religions is promising to supply. It is bringing us back with opener eyes to the Pauline conception of the ethnical and the ethical, the spiritual and the intellectual unity of man. It is showing us how he has in his religious development passed through certain stages, used certain forms, followed a given order, how his mind has been under what Paul would have termed a law, has conformed to it and obeyed it.

We may conceive fear and ignorance as potent factors of religious ideas. Observances may explain the organization of worship and society through the customs of totem and taboo, may dwell on the influence which dreams and sleep and death have had on beliefs and ceremonies, but what we mean in all this is that the noblest impulses and loves of the human soul have had to struggle upward to the light through the superincumbent strata of the most ignoble terrors, barbarous ways, and childlike passions.

We have here, then, the material and means for reconstructing a dissolved yet cardinal doctrine. A development which has been so marvelously uniform, not in time, but in process and in order, supplies us with a conception of man's organic unity, of the moral quality of his nature and state, of the law or laws that govern his growth, the flesh that ever lusteth against the spirit and the spirit that ever warreth against the flesh, of the connection and coherence of his present with all his past, and of each unit

with its parent and coexistent units — such as a theologian who is capable of taking occasion by the hand may yet build into a doctrine of man that shall eclipse the feats of our most valiant systematizers and restore even in an age of criticism theology to more than her ancient power.

2. What constitutes a religion is a man's belief in a god or in gods; what differentiates religion is the sort of god the man believes in. No religion can civilize unless it be moral, and the kind and quality of its morality will depend on the character of its god. But without monotheism we can have neither an ethical deity nor an ethical religion; for wherever gods are a multitude you can have no sovereign law, only the passions, lusts, rivalries, crimes, which are born from the strife of jealous and colliding wills. And the one God must be personal and concrete, not neuter and abstract.

We live in a day when pantheism has made a peculiarly impressive appeal to the imagination of the poet and the reason of the man of science; and has appeared as a sublimer and more reasonable belief than monotheism. But this is an opinion which the history of religions refuses to justify.

Hinduism is here signally significant. It shows us, as an historical matter of fact, how pantheism has been used to vindicate the most extravagant polytheism and the grossest and most debased cults. It can make a deity out of a man or a monkey, a snake or a tree; it can find a reason for the apotheosis of the most elemental of passions and the most rigorous virtues, for the worship of the hideous and fierce Kali as for the practice of the severest austerities. And in all this its logical consistence is complete, for it has no ideal save the definition of the actual and its ultimate truth is the right of what is to be.

But monotheism cannot admit a multitude of unethical deities and the legitimacy of their worship, nor can it justify an actual which is in conflict with its ideal of truth and justice, *i.e.*, the moral character of God. Hence it has within and behind it a force which seeks to compel the actual to become as the ideal, and so it must operate forever as a factor of moral amelioration and progress.

On this ground the doctrine of the divine unity assumes a new significance for theology, because it defines the highest function of religion, and stands in a more satisfactory relation to thought. It appears as the basis of our whole view of life, makes it rational in its source, moral in its nature and issue, immortal in its potency and promise. It ceases to be a personal opinion and becomes a judgment of history. The thought that starts with it and builds on it feels that what lies behind it is not simply an inspired text, but a divine reason unfolded and verified by the collective life of man.

3. But we must find a higher category for the divine than unity and personality. It is, indeed, a mistake to think that the process which simplifies the conception of God makes him more credible and intelligible, for the more easily he can be packed within a logical formula, the more he becomes a mere physical unit or metaphysical abstraction.

And here we may find Mohammed as significant as we have already found the Hindu. Islam believes in the unity of God with a transcendent force and fury of conviction, but it is in a physical rather than an ethical unity; God conceived as will rather than as light, life and love. He is an Arab chief magnified into the omnipotent, irresistible, pitiless to foes, indulgent to friends. This idea determines the character, the worship, the politics, the history and the fortunes of Islam. It knows conquest and submission, but not redemption and obedience; it knows victory and despotism, but not grace and freedom.

But to Christianity the ethical qualities are all in all to deity. He is not

so much power, as reason and righteousness, truth and love. But the peculiarity of these attributes is that they cannot live in solitude; society is necessary to their being. Power may make a solitude into a world which will may govern, but love can be only where life is, for we cannot conceive a God who is essentially love as eternally alone. Love is as impossible where there is no object as where there is no subject. Egoism does not cease to be self-centered by becoming infinite; an eternal, eternally absorbed in self, could have nothing to spare either for the making or the remaking of a world.

If, then, we are to avoid the frigid almighty will of Islam, we must not fear so to conceive the divine unity as to find within it an ethical manifold, the distinctions and differences which turn deity from an inflexible will or contemplative intellect into the home of grace and truth, the affections and virtues which unfold into a living world. To save ourselves from intellectual difficulties by surrendering those ethical qualities which are the very God of God were the last unwisdom; and Islam has come to save us from it, and teach us to affirm that society is of the essence of God, that we have the more ethical religion because we have the only ethical deity, a godhead whose beatitude is the unity of righteousness, truth and love.

4. But the person and priesthood of the Redeemer have received another and higher significance from the study of religions. On this point one illustration must suffice. In old discussions on the atonement much, indeed, too much, was made of the universality of sacrificial rites, for such rites are by no means universal, and their real import was as a rule overlooked.

For they do not represent the highest, but rather the coarsest and most depraved acts and elements in religion. Man shows his intrinsic baseness nowhere so much as in his efforts to propitiate deity; in the things he offers and seeks, in his mode of offering and his manner of expecting there is expressed a notion of God and what pleases him which turns him into something less and worse than a vindictive man.

If there is any one lesson more than another which the religions teach us, it is this: Leave man with something to do to propitiate God, and he will devise rites and follow practices which will at once lower God in the eye of reason, deprave his own conscience, undignify his own nature, and transform the main instrument of his elevation into the main agent of his deterioration and decay. This is no rash generalization: it is simple, stern, indubitable fact. The rites of appeasement or propitiation are in all religions the focus of the forces that materialize and deprave.

But how does this affect Christian theology? It brings out the contrast of its one sacrifice to all sacrifices. God takes it out of the hands of man and offers it himself. Its qualities are all ethical, for they are all of him. And he offers it once for all. It can never be repeated, man can never share it, it stands in its divine solitude an object of faith, capable of acceptance, incapable of repetition. And so there is satisfied man's deep need of reconciliation with God, while he is saved from the evils incident to buying the reconciliation on his own terms and in his own way. To have made evident the gain to religion by the abolition, through God's own act and his Son's obedience of all propitiatory rites and sacrifices, may be classed as the last and most noble achievement of our comparative study.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., of Massachusetts.

OVERFLOW MEETING AT PARK STREET CHURCH

A well-attended overflow meeting was held in the Park Street Church at 7.45 o'clock. Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D., of Australia, one of the Council Vice-presidents, presided. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Albert H. Plumb, D.D., of Massachusetts. After a few preliminary remarks, Dr. Bevan introduced the Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of Massachusetts; Rev. Charles Silvester Horne, M.A., of England; and the Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell, of England, as the speakers of the evening.

Address by Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D.

I shall take the liberty, Mr. Chairman, of telling some of the audience, who may not know, that our chairman this evening is one who has long been widely famed in America. More than a score of years ago New York city enriched itself by drawing to one of its chief pulpits a minister of Christ from across the sea. It was, I think, about eighteen years ago that New York was impoverished by the stronger attractions of Australia. Dr. Bevan, whose fame still lingers not only in New York but throughout the country, and who has created for himself a new fame by his work in Australia, is our chairman to-night.

I may be permitted, perhaps, to say a personal word, the reasons for which will appear in the course of my remarks, and will, I trust, justify me. More than a year ago the executive committee of the National Council of Congregational Churches requested me to represent them at a meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales that was to be held in May of that year, 1898. I went gladly to fulfill that mission, overcoming some considerable difficulties on the voyage. We had nearly eleven days of passage and eight of them were solid fog. When we reached St. George's Channel, the pilot, who came on board and who somehow had got the fog into his brain, greeted us with the news that the American fleet at Manila was blown up, that the *Oregon* was captured, and that the American blockade of Havana and the island of Cuba had been raised. There was a very glum-looking company of Americans for a little while on that steamer; but the first reliable news we got on reaching the dock was of the victory at Manila, and our minds and hearts were relieved with reference to the *Oregon* and the Cuban blockade. It seemed as if there was some malign spirit in the air, for on my way home, after two weeks spent in England, when we were within three days of port and still a thousand miles out at sea, in the midst of a deadly fog that had enwrapt us continually for two days, we rammed the nose of our ship into an iceberg, smashing the bow and taking in enough water to sink any ordinary ship; but this was a good stout English ship and so at last we were able to reach port. I did not mean to tell you all this, but as a man gets on in years he becomes garrulous. If I were as young as our chairman I should speak more to the point.

And the point immediately before me is this. With very great courtesy and very great consideration I was introduced to that magnificent meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in the City Temple, on Holborn Viaduct, London. There was an audience present numbering hard upon two thousand, every available space in the City Temple apparently being filled, and very largely made up of men. The proportion of men was extraordinary; at least, it would be considered extraordinary

in this country where the women — God bless them — take their rights of assuming fully half of the seats of any building that is occupied for public speaking, and none are more welcome than they. I speak of this because you might think that if the audience were composed predominantly of women there would be more than the usual proportion of sentiment. Therefore I say the audience must have been fully two thirds of men — sturdy English men, not boys or weaklings, but such men as you have seen gathering with us during this week. It was there given to me to speak some words, earnest, passionate, and yet with a deep reasonableness behind them, — for our own beloved country and for the new relation between the old country and this which was swiftly coming into the public consciousness. The response to my remarks, by its generosity, by its seriousness, and by its tremendous power, lifted me from my feet and made me feel the mighty inspiration of a great body of men whose hearts were beating as one heart and that heart was beating in mighty throbs responsive to the beating heart of our own land. I pleaded then as well as I could for this council which is now in session. I besought our British brethren to come to Boston, urging them to send at least a hundred delegates. I told them we wanted two hundred if we could get them, but at least a hundred. It was a great deal to ask, but after the meeting many of them kindly took me by the hand and said, "Well, I think you will get your hundred," and here and there one said, "Well, I mean to go," and here and there a good woman said, "I shall go and you may be sure my husband will go if I do." The result was that I came away very much encouraged. It was with peculiar satisfaction that I learned, as I did yesterday, from one of the English delegation, that we have more than one hundred and fifty delegates from the British Isles. Therefore I take peculiar pleasure in this event.

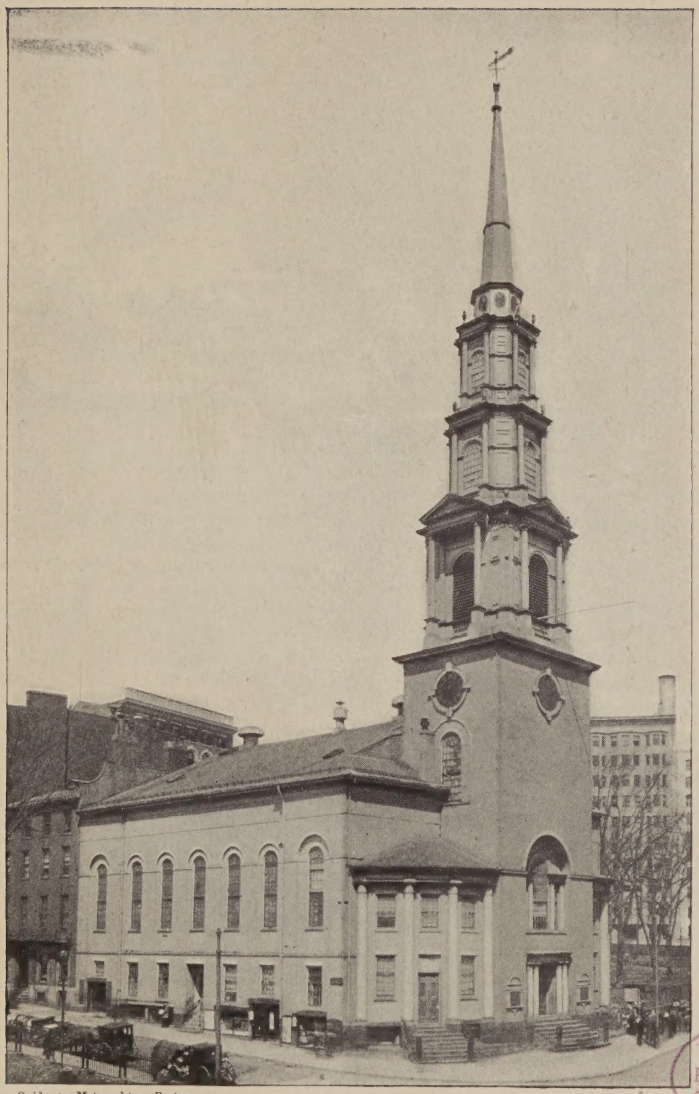
This is personal, but I am sure you will pardon it for the reasons which are transparent in the course of my remarks. We are minute men here to-night, of course, accustomed to obey orders, and ordered to come to the firing line and discharge our pieces at you. One of the things that impresses me first of all with reference to this meeting is this. Mark you, there are many people in the City of Boston, many people I doubt not in the great congregrations which have crowded Tremont Temple day after day, who do not fully grasp the significance of this meeting. May I remind you of this: that in this meeting the sons of the men who planted their feet on Plymouth Rock and who here in the old Bay State laid the foundations of civil government and nourished and spread abroad those principles which have formed and qualified our whole nation, are meeting in joint convention with the sons of the men on the other side who sent their brothers to found this country. There are no aliens here.

We belong to one stock, spiritually as well as after the laws of the flesh. We have the same great traditions of liberty and justice, and the principles of our faith are the same. If you study the program of this meeting and if you have listened to the addresses which have thrilled the hearts and inspired the minds of the hearers during these few days, you will observe this: that the great volume of lofty thought which is poured out at this meeting is thought that is qualified in marked degree by the spirit in John Robinson's prophetic saying, "There is more truth to break forth from the word of God." It is with the wider outlook and the larger grasp, with the same central fundamental truth of the supremacy of Christ and the same fundamental and elemental passion of loyalty to Christ, but with a horizon as wide as the circle of human vision, and it is in the direct line of spiritual descent from John Robinson and from the men who were molded by his preaching, that these sons from America and from England

and from the colonies and from the world which English genius has planted have come together here. This is what they represent. That is the significant thing which first of all impresses itself upon my imagination and my heart.

Then again, I am impressed by this. There are moments in our lives when we learn something new, when some truth flashes upon us with all the force of a revelation. But that truth blends so quickly with our consciousness, it becomes so surely and so rapidly of the very substance of our knowledge and our thought, that we forget that it was once a new thing. It has lost its strangeness and has become portion and parcel of our very life. Within a little time we have come into a new, swift, deep consciousness of the essential kinship of the great English-speaking peoples throughout the world. It has come in some sense as a revelation. There were adumbrations of it or glimmerings of it before. There were men and women here and there who apprehended it. But as peoples, as nations, we have just come into this consciousness. What does it mean? Is it the sense of a common physical kinship? There is that in it; it is true that blood is thicker than water. Perish the arm that will not be raised in defense of one's own blood, of one's own kin! Perish the arm that will not spend its energy in labor for those who are bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh! But that is only the lowest element in the fact that is before us. For generations we have been nourished by the same great spiritual truths; for generations we have been brought up to hold the same great convictions of liberty and justice; the same essential moral atmosphere has enveloped our life and quickened it with power. It is this which has brought the fuller and higher and clearer consciousness of our common kinship, so that we have come together, as two drops of water upon touching rush into one. It is a marvelous thing, and it marks a great point in the history not only of our republic, but of civilization, when a stalwart and loyal son of England stands upon the platform in Tremont Temple and speaks with enthusiasm of the day when there will be one nation; whether it shall carry the Stars and Stripes or the Union Jack or both blended, whether Great Britain be represented by a star in the corner of our flag or the United States be represented by a bar in the Union Jack, did not matter to him; there is to be one great people with oneness of law, oneness of loyalty, oneness of faith, oneness of ministry to the world, oneness of divine destiny. There is no blatant sentiment in that. Those are not the enticing flatteries of a politician who is looking for votes. That is the prophetic utterance of a Christian heart imbued with the great sentiment which rules the hour.

And what does this mean? Let me go one step farther. What does it mean that there is coming about, in the various and multitudinous branches of the English-speaking race all over the world, this development of a consciousness of common kinship, common interests, common ideals, common labors, common responsibilities, common hopes and a common destiny? Does this mean simply the fusion of the different members into one body in order that it may be a great and dominant power, that it may stand with authority before the world and command war or peace, and rule commerce for its own advantage? Perish the thought, — I had almost said perish the mind that conceived the thought! It is the beginning of a new era. It is the result not merely of blood, not merely of a kinship according to the flesh, but of the development of that consciousness which comes from a common training in the great thoughts and hopes and inspirations and faiths of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is the beginning — visible now to the eye, reaching far back into the past, but now at last coming into consciousness — of a process which is not only to



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PARK STREET CHURCH.

draw into one great family the Englishman and the American and the Scotchman and the Irishman and the Australian and the Canadian and all the rest, but is also to possess, little by little, one by one, circle after circle, the races and nations of the earth until they shall all come into one great kinship and one great family whose head and Lord is Jesus Christ, with the same faith, the same instinct for liberty, the same lofty ideals, the same loyalty to Christ, the same apprehension of spiritual truth. This is bringing into realization the substantial and lasting unity of the human race, which is the realization of the Brotherhood of man under and in the blessed and eternal Fatherhood of God. May the day soon come when nation shall no longer look upon nation as they have done in the past; when through the unity of sentiment and conviction and ideals the monstrous perversion of justice which we have witnessed so dramatically presented upon the stage of French history shall be for evermore impossible; when the ruthless partition of nations by sheer power shall have passed away from the earth forever; when even the necessities of international police-duty will be reduced to the lowest measure; and when men shall love righteousness and be helpers one of another, irrespective of race or color or geography or language or any other of the accidents which now divide us, for they shall be joined in the consciousness of a common Brotherhood under a common divine and eternal Fatherhood.

Address by Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A.

My Dear Dr. Bevan and my Dear Friends: I count it a very high privilege and honor to be permitted to stand on this platform to-night and address this large and most interesting meeting in one of the most famous cities in the modern world. And I confess that since I have been asked to take part here I have been very much reminded of the way in which they say in England that a certain minister was in the habit of concluding his sermons. He used to say, "My dear friends, there are a great many very beautiful and very precious and very noble things that might be added about this text, only they do not occur to me at the present time." I confess that it was very much in that way that I began to feel after the invitation so kindly offered to me to stand on this platform and speak here to-night.

But I will confess this: that every Englishman coming to America for the first time and penetrating even as far west as Chicago must have certain impressions in his mind which will make him feel as if he desired to speak to so great a people and a people which in the providence of God has so large a place to occupy in the future of the civilized world. I have sometimes heard people say in England that they could not live in a country which has no past. Well, personally, if I had to choose between a country that had no past and a country that had no future I certainly would not choose the country that had no future. Nobody can go through your wonderful land, catching something of the spirit which prevails here, and not feel that you are those who believe in your future and who are determined that by the grace of God, you will make a history which the world shall be proud to learn. The first Christian church was the only Christian church that had no history. It was the greatest of all the Christian churches, and its history began, as the history of every people must begin, as soon as it had faith enough to make it. It is a great thing to have history to learn, but it is a greater thing to have history to make. Oh, I wish—and I do not hesitate to say it on this platform—there were some of the history of the world that we could unmake. There are certain stories of English history which the most loyal Englishman would like to

blot out of the book of English history. They sometimes used to say in England that the men who fought and won Lexington were disloyal to the English king; but every true Englishman knows that if they were disloyal to the English king they were loyal to the English spirit and the English race. John Hampden was not too loyal to the English king. Oliver Cromwell had a strange way of showing his loyalty to the English king. John Milton was not exactly the man who was notorious for his loyalty to the English king. But these men stood for the English race and for the English temper and for the English spirit, and the nearest in kin and kith to John Hampden, John Milton and Oliver Cromwell were the heroes who, for the sake of liberty and for the sake of true manly English independence, laid down their lives at Bunker Hill and at Lexington.

Mr. Chairman, I am carried back in thought to what I always regard as one of the most interesting incidents in my own life. I happened not so very long ago to be a member of what I suppose is the most famous debating society in the world, the Oxford University Union. It is an interesting society because of the consistent way in which it has always pledged itself to theories and customs which an unkind providence has insisted were certain to pass away. Having for three years steadily voted in the minority in that assembly, as a parting shot I ventured to propose upon its august floor "that this house deplores its past history." In searching for material to justify that amiable resolution in the records of the house I came upon this resolution: "That this house anticipates the speedy decay of the American Commonwealth." The resolution was agreed to without a division. I looked a little further through this interesting record and I found later a motion entered which showed that the members were getting a little uneasy because the American Commonwealth did not begin to manifest more signs of decay, and a little further on there was another resolution which practically amounted to deploring the fact that, despite all the encouragement from the Oxford students, the American Commonwealth declined to decay. Then I turned back to the first of those resolutions and I happened to glance at the date. It was the year 1864. I am very bad at dates, but there is one date that I have cause to remember — April 15, 1865. On that night Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, and on that night I was born. I remember distinctly that my father used to tell me when I was a lad that Lincoln passed away on that night and that he trusted that the spirit of Lincoln, his spirit of liberty, of patriotism, and of devotion, would shine out in the boys that were born to him. When I turned to that date, 1864, I could not help reflecting that at the very moment when the young men of England were glibly prophesying the decline and the decay of the American Commonwealth, the young men of America were responding to the call of Lincoln and coming out in their hundreds and in their thousands to die for the country that was so dear to them. I knew then, what I have been learning ever since, that the decline and the decay of no country — and, thank God, of no church — is possible so long as its young men are ready to make such sacrifices for the welfare and the well-being of the Commonwealth.

Ah, yes, it is an old story to you who are here; no doubt there are many veterans in this hall who will recollect those days. You know perfectly well that it was the divine love in your sons and in your daughters, who stood by them, which has made America a nation and written the grand story in letters of gold as well as letters of blood upon the pages of history.

Well, what is all this leading up to? It is, if you will allow me to say so, leading up to one of the great central principles that this Council rep-

resents. If any one were to ask me what Congregationalism especially stands for, I should answer without hesitation: it stands for the supremacy of the Christian people. You know what a battle we have had in England about the final authority in the state. There were people who said that it was the king, but Cromwell settled that business once for all. Then there were those who said that it was the parliament, forgetting that unless parliament refreshes itself at the true source of authority it ceases to be parliament, and Cromwell settled that business once for all. And so, descending from the king to the House of Lords and to the House of Commons, the English people at last made up their minds that the final authority in the state was the people. To-day we are fighting out the question of the final authority in the church. There are some who say it is the Pope; there are some who say it is the bench of bishops; there are some who say it is senate and various conventions; but the Congregationalist says, and will stand saying it until men believe it, for they have got to believe it, that the final authority in the church is the Christian people. You remember the old hierarchical idea. They used to say that the clergy existed to keep the people in order. Of course that was very nice for the people, but what about the clergy? Oh, was the reply, that is all right; the bishops exist to keep the clergy in order, and in our country they have their hands full all the time. That is all right, but what about the bishops? Oh, the bishops are provided for because the archbishops exist to keep the bishops in order. Well, but how about the archbishops? Oh, that is all right; the cardinals exist to keep the archbishops in order. And how about the cardinals? Well, the Pope exists to keep the cardinals in order. And how about the Pope? Well, you see, you must get to the top sometime. I have the conviction that if the Pope only had a wife to keep him in order the whole system would be very much improved. But he is the one man in all Christendom who can be disorderly at pleasure, and he has not been slow to take advantage of that position.

Now the Congregationalist believes that it is a great simplification of the whole matter when once you begin to recognize that the body that God has authorized to stand in this world for righteousness, peace and truth is the Christian people, and that the power and authority of the Christian church is intended to be the great authority on the side of the kingdom of God in this world. It is very interesting to many of us who are here to-night to see how all sorts of denominations to-day are beginning to call out for the Congregational principle. There is a large section of the English church to-day that is saying, "All our present difficulties and troubles arise from the fact that the Christian laity has not been given the power and position that it ought to have." There are all kinds of churches that are calling out to-day for the same great recognition of the rights of the Christian people. It reminds me of that beautiful little poem which our late great laureate wrote, which I have no doubt is familiar to every one in this audience: —

Once in a golden hour
  I cast to earth a seed.
Up there came a flower,
  The people said a weed.
To and fro they went
  Through my garden bower,
And muttering discontent
  Cursed me and my flower.
Then it grew so tall
  It wore a crown of light,

And thieves from over the wall
  Stole the seed at night.
They sowed it far and wide,
  By every town and tower,
Till all the people cried,
  Splendid is the flower.
Read my little fable, —
  He who runs may read:
Most can grow the flowers now
  For all have got the seed.

We have no objection to their having the seed. The more of the seed that is sown, the better; but we think they ought to say that they got it out of our garden. Nay, for my part, I think they ought to have the common honesty to say that they got it from the men whom they burned at Ipswich and hanged at Tyburn and drove across the Atlantic in the *Mayflower*.

But is it worth preserving? Well, I think it is, and I am going to give you two or three reasons why it is worth preserving. And first of all, I do not know that it is at all necessary here, but for my own satisfaction I should like to put in just one plea for what I would call Christian simplicity. I think we still need to-day to stand true to our primitive Christian simplicity. I am one of those personally who greatly rejoice that the old cumbrous and complex forms of doctrine are disappearing and are giving way to a very much simpler and very much plainer, and as I believe very much truer form of faith; and with the simplicity of Christian faith I think we need to stand very sturdily by simplicity of Christian life — Christian life in the church, simplicity of Christian worship.

Many of you will recall what is to me a wonderful story of the olden days of that Pope who was the first Pope with whom Martin Luther came into contact — Pope Julian. He was a very distinguished and remarkable man. He had one great virtue — I think it is a virtue — in that he was able to acknowledge and to detect talent in all sorts and conditions of men. One of the proofs of this was that he was among the first to distinguish the particular artistic power of Michael Angelo, and he persuaded Michael Angelo to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at Rome. When Michael Angelo's work was done, the Pope, who was exceedingly fond of display, came into the chapel and looked at it. At first he was very much impressed, but soon he turned to the painter and commanded him to gild it. "Gild it?" said Angelo, in sheer terror. "Yes," said the Pope, "they look very poor." "Your Holiness," said Angelo in words that can never be forgotten, "they were but poor men that I have painted there. They had no gold upon their garments." It was a great reply and it was a great rebuke.

I do not know how you feel, but I sometimes think that this movement which we call ritualism is very largely only an attempt to gild the apostles. Unless you dress a man up in this kind of thing and in that kind of thing he does not look like an apostle — he looks so poor. You have to give him a coat and a miter and you must have something for him to hold that is bejeweled, or else he does not look right; we cannot trust him with the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and the story of his life and work. Now I say we have had too much gilding of our apostles. We want to come back to Christian simplicity. We want to dare to believe that it is not what men wear that matters, it is what men are that matters in this world. Nothing can make a man an apostle of Jesus Christ except the mind that was in Christ Jesus. Oh, believe me, men and women, the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ is of that character that it makes every man

into a minister and it makes every minister into a man — a man who does not think what apparel he wears, but who knows that it counts in the eternal valuation what kind of mind and spirit he is of, how far he conforms to the life and teaching of Jesus Christ.

Take a second thought. I think that we want to stand very firmly and truly by catholicity as a characteristic Congregational tenet. I hope you have most of you read that very interesting book of Dr. Fairbairn's on Catholicism, in which he revises one of Cardinal Newman's most characteristic and most offensive sayings. Cardinal Newman, in the days when he belonged to the Church of England, once wrote these words: "There is a certain sect which denies both baptism and the Lord's Supper. Every churchman must regard all its members as external to the fold of Jesus Christ. However benevolent they may have been, the church regards them as mere heathen except in doctrine" — an amazing sentence! You have your sins to repent of in connection with the Quakers, but I think of all the sayings that I ever read that of Newman's is the most insolent. The idea of condemning a man like John Dwight or a woman like Elizabeth Fry as mere heathen is something almost too intolerable to think of. For my part, much as I love and honor the sacraments, when I read those words I felt as if I wanted to stand right out by the side of the Quakers for the sheer glory of daring the ban of Newman and owning them as among the most illustrious Christian heroes and heroines that this world has ever known. Why, I could not go through my work or live my life or bear my troubles if I did not believe, as in my heart I do believe, that all who love the Lord Jesus Christ are my brethren in him. I could not endure the torment and the torture of such limitations of Christian catholicity as are involved in that position of Cardinal Newman. Nay, let us stand, I pray you, by the catholicity which Congregationalism always vindicates and believe in the grace of God bestowed upon all who come unto him by faith.

I wanted to say just one word in conclusion on Christian certitude as one of the great things which Congregationalists hold to-day. That is to say, we are not merely negative; we are in the strongest sense positive in our testimony and witness. I do not know whether you remember that Mr. Lecky in his history tells us the story of a certain church in Scotland which put forth a very extraordinary manifesto. In that manifesto it described its position thus: "This is the Anti-Popish, Anti-Lutheran, Anti-Prelatic, Anti-Whitfieldian, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, Presbyterian Church of Scotland." You know you cannot have anything more than that unless it is anti-Diluvian. No; I am sure of this, that not all our negations put together are going to save the world. It is not what we don't believe, but what we do believe that is going to save the world. We do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Fatherhood of God, in the Brotherhood of man, and in the Saviourhood of Christ, and by those three propositions we stand. Those three propositions we preach and mean to preach.

I have read that story of Walt Whitman in which he describes one of your American hospitals during the time of war, and how, in those terrible scenes, there stood a fair, delicate, gentle American girl. It came the turn of one of the wounded men to undergo an operation, and the physician stood near him with the instruments of pain, and the soldier said he thought he could bear it if the lady would come and hold his hand. She went to him where he lay and held his hand during the operation. She watched the cold dew gather on his brow; she felt every tremor of his fingers; she gathered up into her heart his sorrow and his pain. And, as I conceive it, by the bedside of a suffering world down all

these Christian ages there has stood the figure of the Christ, and he has held its hand, gathered into his immortal heart its suffering and its sorrow. If we could make men see it, it would melt the coldest and break the hardest heart. It is because we believe it, and with all our souls believe it, that we stand to-day within the Congregational membership, and intend for that person of Christ to fight and to live, and if God will, to die, so that the kingdom may come.

Address by Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell

Dr. Bevan, Ladies and Gentlemen: It must be evident to all of you who have sat during the speech which has just been delivered that you have lost nothing by overflowing into this sanctuary. We have all had a rich overflow of the principles which make us free churchmen and free churchwomen, and, what is even better, an overflow of that indescribable spirit of grace and love which belongs to central and universal Christianity. I have listened to so many speeches that have constrained my admiration and emotion within the past few days that I am getting quite exhausted and at the same time quite excited. If I go on for a week longer listening to such speeches I fear I shall become unendurable and unintelligible. I find a certain thickness and confusion of utterance at times coming upon me, and I am almost moved to talk like the preacher who was suffering from similar confusion when he said, "My friends, as I look upon the hundreds of faces before me, as I gaze upon the hundreds of people that accupew those pies," etc. To add to the excitement from which we are all suffering — I mean the English contingent — I took part this afternoon in the capture of Boston. We ran a ship right into Boston Harbor and at once took possession of the city. But I do not think any of you will be alarmed at our arrival. The fact is, the coming of the British to Boston at this end of the nineteenth century is the coming of the truest and stoutest friends that you have anywhere in the world.

I have only one son, and about a year ago he ran into Manila Harbor on board the biggest British ship ever seen in Eastern waters. He tells me in a letter that he found Admiral Dewey and your American soldiers there, and he says, "We had hardly anchored before the volunteers of the United States who had gone out to do difficult service at Manila swarmed into our ship. They spoke to everybody and they saluted nobody!" He went on to say that the British sailors and marines looked on in silent amazement, expecting to see some of your volunteers drop on the deck. When their interviews were over and cigars had been passed around by the Americans to the British he says, "To the astonishment of our men, these volunteers put their hands into their side pockets and pulled out their visiting cards — they only came from neighboring regions like Oregon and Pennsylvania — and said to our men, handing their cards to them, 'Be sure and call on us when you are around our way.'" Well, the men to whom those cards were handed and by whom they will be treasured have not been able to come; but we have come in their name. We have come to visit you in the name of a great united Christian-conquering Anglo-Saxon race.

I do not know where the difference is between the British and the American; I shall have to go back to England to find it. It is nowhere visible in this charming and learned and wonderful city. I have heard of sectarian differences, but I cannot see where the international differences come in. There was once a young lady in England — of course this could only have happened in England — who told her young gentleman that the engagement must be broken off, however bitterly he might resent it, for reasons the nature of which she could not disclose. But as he pressed her

for an explanation, she said, "My dear John, I am sorry to tell you, but I have discovered that I am a somnambulist." The poor creature walked in her sleep. "Oh, my dear," he said, "don't let that come between us; don't let that separate us. I am a Presbyterian." I dare say you think I am telling this as an illustration of our English education. Nothing of the kind. Well, as there was nothing of any substantial difficulty between those two young hearts, there is nothing between these two great nations. We cannot help being one. I passed one of your ancient — for relatively they are ancient — burial grounds the other day, and there, upon a tombstone close to the street pavement, I saw two names which made my heart beat faster. It was only a coincidence, of course, but it was one of those coincidences which almost overwhelm a man. There upon a half-sunken gravestone was the name of my mother and the name of my father — that is, the same names that they bore. I said to myself, "If I am in a city where I can read on a gravestone the names of Mary Hollowell and William Hollowell, the same names that my father and mother bore in Northampton, England, I must be among friends and kinsmen." I am glad to think that Northampton, England, had a little hand in the planting of Massachusetts. There was a Northampton man named Sherman who kept the four Pilgrim ships waiting fourteen days. They were all ready to set sail, but this man Sherman had forgotten his grapevines, and it is recorded in that history of yours that the whole fleet of the Pilgrims coming out to found Boston waited two weeks while Mr. Sherman went back to Northampton, my birthplace, and fetched up his grapevines. No wonder that this colony and this state and this city have flourished if you got your grapevines from Northampton.

We cannot be separated because of the many essential links that bind us. I do not dwell upon the identity of language. That identity may not be absolute. I spoke, for instance, at Salem the other night, and a most able reporter on one of the Salem newspapers stated that I spoke with a slight accent, and that I can well believe. I remember once in Paris asking one of those polyglot waiters who turn up at every point how many languages he could speak. He said five. I asked him what they were, and he said, "German, Italian, French, English, and American." I do not therefore base my argument upon identity of language. But we can say to each other that we hold the same faith in God the Father and in Jesus Christ and in a church which is free to govern herself because she is governed at her center by the Christ of God. We can say, too, that we are one people in our attachment to constitutional liberty. And there is something further than that that makes us one, especially on the occasion of this great International Council. The remarkable thing is that the constitutional liberties of both these peoples have been created by free churchmen and largely by those of the Congregational order.

Then, we are one people because we have both put down slavery within our dominions. We did it first, but we did not have your unparalleled difficulties. We cannot forget the fact that from British dominions and from the United States the curse of slavery has been wiped out. We are both two great nations in the initiation and the conduct of foreign missions. I do not exaggerate when I say that the English and American peoples are the greatest missionary pioneers in the world. How is anything to separate us when we meet together at all these points? But when, the other day, I opened the report of Dr. Harris, your famous Commissioner of Education, and found that in that report it was stated that you had 136,000 Sunday-schools in your republic, I felt that that was another point of gracious contact and sympathy between England and America. We boast of our Sunday-schools, and you may boast of yours. And yet, as

sure as I go back to England and begin to advocate there what you possess here, universal public education, education under public control, I shall be told by some of the clerical gentlemen to look at America, — a godless people as the result of the popular control of education. We are constantly told that your education is secular, and yet I saw the other day in some of your normal and high schools the Bible lying on the school desk. I went into that beautiful Public Library at Cambridge the other day and as soon as the doors had swung open I saw, what I had never seen in England in a public library, the Ten Commandments inscribed upon the wall. Yet this is a "godless" republic! You must not believe half that the clerical party says about you. The difficulty is, as Dr. Johnson said when a man advised him, "Doctor, you must n't believe but half that man says." He replied, "Ah, my friend, but which half?" These accusations of godlessness made by the enemies of popular institutions remind me of the curate who was baptizing a child and who chose to adorn the occasion by a short speech. Addressing the parents, he said, "Look at that child" — which they had been doing ever since it was born. "That child may lead armies into the field. That child may address a wondering senate" — many people do address a senate that wonders how they ever got there! "There is a climax," he said. "That child may rise to be the Archbishop of Canterbury! Look at that child" — and then, turning to the father he said, "What is the child's name?" and the father replied, "Mary Ann." A more delightful rhetorical edifice was never built. The unfortunate thing was that it rested upon a sandy foundation. When they say that you are a people with a godless and secular education, when they preach their sermons and write their articles, and their leaders make their speeches in England against America and say that public education is a godless education, they make very fine speeches; only all their denunciation is vitiated by the fundamental lie that is beneath it.

There may be differences between your nation and ours, but thank God there will be no bloodshed any more. The greatest difficulty of an international character that ever emerged between us has been settled without strife and without bloodshed. There can never anything happen in our mutual relations that will touch your honor to the quick and touch our susceptibilities to the quick so much as the Alabama difficulty did; but, thank God, when that difficulty arose you had a Lincoln on this side and we had a Gladstone on that side. These men were strangely unlike, and yet at many points they were strangely akin.

Now we want these two great peoples to stand together for all righteous causes against the unbelief and cynicism of mankind. What difficulties confronted Lincoln when he was elected President of your republic? Long before he became President he saw the Alpine ramparts of difficulty frowning upon him in the future that was so close at hand. I shall never forget reading that life of him which told me that once a poor negro woman came to him, long before he was President, and poured out her woes to him. She told him that her boy and herself had been set free by a kind-hearted Kentucky master, but when they entered another state and the lad became a deck-hand on a Mississippi steamer, as soon as the boat touched at New Orleans the lad was seized and sold under the auctioneer's hammer at the slave mart back into the bondage from which he had come. She pleaded with Lincoln that he would do something for her, and he went to the State House and saw the secretary of state, who said, "I am sorry to tell you, Mr. Lincoln, but under the Constitution of the United States nothing can be done for that woman." "Then," said Lincoln, "by God we will have a twenty years' agitation in Illinois until something can be done for that woman and her boy." They had the agitation;

something was done, though it had to be done in blood and fire at Fredericksburg and Gettysburg. But it was done, and in spite of all the hatred and the bitterness that are lingering in the breasts of many men, the thing once done is irrevocable, and on this broad continent from east to west distinctions of color shall one day completely vanish as causes of difference between men.

There is a certain story that we like to tell in England. I do not care whether it is true or not. A good many of your stories we consider a little apocryphal on our side of the water, but that is only the impertinence of the old Anglo-Saxon in doubting the accuracy of your stories. But this story is a favorite. It is about a lad who went down Broadway, after emancipation had been declared, throwing up his hat into the air and shouting, "Hurrah for Old Abe! He has set the slaves free! Hurrah for him!" and up went his hat still higher into the air. A man who had trafficked in flesh and blood hastened across the pavement to him and said, "Hurrah for what?" "Hurrah for Old Abe! He has freed the slaves!" said the boy. "Hurrah for the Devil!" "Very well," said the lad, "you shout for your governor and I will shout for mine." Ladies and gentlemen, do not imagine that it was an easy thing in England in the sixties for public men to speak in favor of Abraham Lincoln. My friend, Mr. Horne, and myself both had the honor at different times of having a certain deacon in our church in London who was the only newspaper editor in England who remained true to the cause of the North during the tremendous Civil War in your country. We are not going to forget his name on our side, and, as the only wreath which I can lay upon his bier here in Boston to-night, I ask you not to forget his name — Thomas Walker, editor of the *Daily News*. Three times the proprietors of a newspaper came to him, teasing him like gadflies in the summer, and telling him that it would never do to run the paper on abolition lines, and three times he showed them the editorial chair and told them to occupy it if they wished, but he would never surrender the right of free conscience and free judgment in regard to this question. I come from Rochdale in England where there lies buried the dust of John Bright, who, more than any man outside of America, pleaded the cause of the North and the cause of the slave.

May we not ask you to do something for us in England? We should have been able to do it for ourselves long ago, only you took away our best blood in the *Mayflower* and the ships that followed. The draining of the Huguenot blood out of the veins of France brought upon France the calamities of which we have just seen one of the last. If there had been more Protestant blood left in France, more non-conformist religious life in France, the Dreyfus scandal would never have occurred. They either exiled or they massacred the Huguenots and they kept the Jesuits, and the Jesuits are trying to purge all the highest offices in the French army of the last remaining Protestant. I thank God that the Dreyfus case has called universal attention to this Jesuit plot against the liberty of nations. We came within an ace of losing Oliver Cromwell. His luggage was all packed, I believe, for this coast, and if you had taken Oliver Cromwell as well as the Winthrops and the Cottons and the Endicotts and the Bradfords and the Brewsters, I believe to-night that we would be living under some political tyranny. There was left us the only man who believed in God more than he believed in royal titles, and he had combined with his irresistible faith irresistible genius and prowess. If it had not been for Cromwell I do not think we would have been allowed to land for this International Council. As for quarreling with you for upsetting our tea-chests, that was the grandest day's work you ever did for England. You did not do it for yourselves, though you meant it for

yourselves. When Boston claimed the right to make her own cup of tea, Boston put an extra teaspoonful of tea into the teapot of old England. If you had been willing to live under George the Third, we would have been living to-day under George the Thirty-third. I have only one thing to say against that amiable and defunct monarch and it is a thing which Talleyrand once said of a celebrated person. "I do not see why you speak so much against that man," said a friend to him. "I do not speak much against him," said Talleyrand; "I have only one objection to him, and that is that he is insufferable." That was your objection to George the Third.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, it is no wonder that your fathers had to come out from old England, for while you have got 240,000 day schools in your republic, every one of them free, every one of them graded into a complete system from the primary to the high school and the college, every one of them without sectarian instruction and without sectarian test for the teachers, — while you have these immense privileges, where are we in old England after the two hundred and more years since the *Mayflower* cut her moorings and left us? We have only 20,000 day schools — not half enough; we ought to have 40,000, — and 13,000 of them are absolutely under the control of the ritualist and the Romanist priest, while their entire income for education is voted out of the public exchequer. That is where we are, and it is quite likely that there will be another Puritan emigration unless things can be altered by the agitation in which some of us are engaged. Dr. Bevan says we had better come over to Australia. I am glad to say that where he lives they have a system of public education like your own. What does this system mean in England? It means that in 8,000 towns and villages there is not a school for any Protestant Evangelical scholar to attend except a school of the Church of England or the Church of Rome. Most of these Church of England schools in places where there is no public school at all are in the hands of the ritualists and Protestant Evangelical teachers are boycotted. I know of one village in Nottingham where four young people, non-conformists, have been refused appointment as teachers or turned out of appointment because they were non-conformists. What kind of teaching have we in many of these schools? Here is a lesson that was given one morning in one of these schools and I am prepared to produce scholars who heard that lesson. The teacher said, "All of you, my dear children, ought to be baptized at church." In England "church" means state church, although you won't find that word so defined in the dictionary. The teacher went on, "Unless you are baptized at church you cannot say, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' for God is not your Father until you have been baptized at the parish church." That is a lesson in religion given within the last three years at a school in England, every penny of whose income is drawn from the taxes of the citizens of England. And if they do these things in the green tree of Queen Victoria, what must they have done in the dry tree of the Stuart dynasty? Why, sir, we have cities of 40,000 inhabitants where every non-conformist's child is compelled by law to go either to a Roman Catholic school or a high Anglican school. There is a city called Salisbury where Oliver Cromwell once got off his horse and made some people go helter-skelter over the plains, and it would be a grand thing if Oliver Cromwell would get off his horse to-morrow and walk up and down those streets. Every school in that city is a priest's school. Every non-conformist child in the city who goes to an elementary school is bound to go to a school that is atmosphered in sectarianism. The other day the Bishop got up on the platform, wearing a crimson cross on his breast over what is supposed to be his heart, and said, "I will

spend my last sixpence to prevent a public school, a board school, ever being introduced into the city of Salisbury." By the help of God, we will help him to spend that last sixpence. He shall have little peace in the precincts of that ancient cathedral until the children of Salisbury in old England can get a primary and a high school education such as the children of Salisbury in Massachusetts enjoy.

Oh, they tell us, but we have got the conscience clause. The English law gives us the benefit of a conscience clause which is a sort of educational rat-trap into which I beg no child to put his hand. That is to say, you can withdraw the child from the religious teaching if you object to it. Yes, but when the child is to be withdrawn the parent is not there, and the child has to fight the battle all alone. The child has to claim the rights of conscience before it knows the meaning of the word. A workingman, when they told him in 1870 that he would have the benefit of the conscience clause, made a most delightful blunder in construing the meaning of that word. "Conscience clause?" he said, "do you suppose I would put my child's conscience into anybody's claws?" I say that man had the right end of the word. Under the conscience clause a little girl in a priest's school in Northampton one day kept her seat, and the reverend gentleman who had come to examine the school in godfather's and godmother's and baptismal regeneration and other forms of Anglican religion noticed this little spot of Protestantism silent upon the benches, and he said to the upstanding school, "Why does n't that child stand up?" A forest of hands was raised — the children throw up their hands to indicate that they can answer any intellectual or theological question. "Well?" "Please, sir," they replied, "she don't believe the Bible, she don't." "Oh, dear," said the good reverend gentleman. He was not a bad man, though he was administering a bad system. "Oh, dear, poor thing! Sit down, children. Stand up, little girl. As you say she does not believe the Bible I will ask her some questions about it." Unfortunately he did confine himself to the Bible. Instead of asking her questions about the Church of England prayer-book, he asked her questions about God's Holy Word. Instead of asking her about Canterbury or Rome, he asked her about Bethlehem and Nazareth and Capernaum and Jerusalem and Bethany, where Jesus wept. To every question which he put to the little girl there came back a swift, clear, correct and ringing answer; for though her little feet were strangers to the wilderness of catechisms and dogmas, they were at home in the green pastures of the New Testament. When he had finished, he said, "Sit down, my dear. Stand up children." And up they stood. "You said that this child does not believe the Bible. She knows more about the Bible than you do."

That is how the little non-conformist is treated in England, and we do not intend to rest until, on that ancient and beloved soil of our country, which is your country, there shall be a system of education like what we can see in Boston, in Brookline, in Cambridge, in Salem, — every school free, not only free from pence, but free from superstition and persecution. And we want you, in payment of the debt under which you stand in having drained into the heart of this republic the purest and the noblest blood of old England, to lend a missionary hand and a missionary voice and a missionary example in securing for us on the old shores a system that shall be like yours. To-night we take to our hearts the words which were spoken by one of the noblest of our poets. We are not despairing, but we are going forward to win; and in his words we say to ourselves, and we want you to say to us: —

> Press bravely onward! Not in vain
> Your generous trust in human kind.

The good which bloodshed could not gain
  Your patient zeal shall surely find.
Press on! The triumph shall be won
  Of common rights and equal laws,
The glorious dream of Harrington
  And Sydney's good old cause,
Blessing the Cotter and the crown,
  Sweetening labor's bitter cup
And plucking not the highest down
  But lifting the lowest up.

Address

The closing address at the overflow meeting was made by the presiding officer, Rev. Dr. Bevan.

Address by Rev. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D.

I have learned one lesson to-night, and that is, that whenever I take the chair I had better follow the usual example and make the chairman's speech at the start. I made a few introductory remarks, supposing that time would enable me to say perhaps a few words at the close of the meeting; but it is now half-past nine and I dare not venture to keep you much longer, — though I believe trains can be caught a good deal later than this when good Christian people go to the theaters.

But, friends, I ought not to close the meeting without expressing the great satisfaction which I have felt in the splendid illustrations we have had of the deep and very real union which is coming about between the English and the American peoples. Why should we talk about such a union between them coming about — the union exists! We are not separate peoples. Our brethren here to-night have shown the unities that bind together these great nations.

I have always made a protest against the expression, the Anglo-Saxon federation. I do not see why you should always call it the Anglo-Saxon federation, because "Anglo" and "Saxon" are very much like repeating the same thing over again. You must remember that there is a great element in this federation which has not been without its advantage. The English-speaking people would have lost something if it had not been for that strain which runs even farther back than Anglo or Saxon, — that old British race to which some of us belong and from which we are proud to have sprung. Ouida says, "What is the use of your talking about aristocracies? There are only two aristocracies in the world — the Jew and the Welshman." Seeing that I am a Welshman, I agree heartily with Ouida. I claim that we Celts have a right here, and if you are going to give a name to this federation I protest against any other name than Anglo-Celtic. You must not shut out this great Celtic race — Celtic in much of Scotland's blood, Celtic in that Emerald Isle. What would you in America have done if it had not been for the gentlemen from Ireland? And I should like to know what the London pulpit would do, barring one or two specimens such as we have had here to-night, if it had not been for the Celtic Welshmen who have invaded that pulpit. It is the Anglo-Celtic race to which we belong, — that old British stock, civilized and Christianized by Roman influence, then flung back again upon the strong and stern natural life that the Saxons brought in, wrought upon by Danish invasion, hammered under Norman rule, and yet losing not one single fiber of the older or earlier race until at last it has been formed into this mighty force

which promises rather than threatens to cover the world and to rule it for humanity and for God.

No doubt, friends, this great alliance of England and America is going to manifest itself throughout this world. Have you ever thought of the dominance of your speech? We pride ourselves so often upon the things that are of least value. A lady admires her jewels, — ah, if she only knew what a jewel is hers in this English speech when it drops from the lips of a gracious, sweetly speaking woman! Men are sometimes proud of their millions, — ah, I would they were prouder of the words they might use! I believe verily that there is no gift from God to man, next to the gift of grace, richer, more bountiful, than this gift of English speech. There is nothing more musical, nothing more vigorous, nothing more sweet. And think of its masterfulness. One hundred and forty millions of people to-day speak it as a mother speech. There was a time when Spanish was the *lingua franca* of the world. They spoke it in the old states of Europe; they spoke it up and down the Spanish main; but that speech, great and rich and strong and lordly as it is, alas! was not the speech of freedom. We Englishmen smote them on the Spanish main in the olden days and drove them off the sea, and you have done it in the later time. Our English speech is the speech of empire to-day and not the speech of hidalgo and of don. French, with its tripping gracefulness, with its delicate courtesy — French, the language of diplomats and ambassadors as well as the language of coquettes and courtiers — even French cannot stand against this English speech. They have had Corneille and Voltaire, they have had the great masters of the drama and the great masters of the pulpit; but they have never had the organ tones of Milton and they have never spoken in the great wide language of Shakespeare; and the English speech to-day, stronger for commerce, wider for empire, larger for philosophy, more passionate for religion and more true for human righteousness, has beaten the French language over all the world. Oh, this speech of yours — treasure it, my friends! I wish men regarded it a little more. I wish they would speak it more carefully than they do. I wish they would not leave out some of its finer syllables. I wish they would not think it well spoken when they speak it curtly and sharply. Be faithful to this speech of yours, for it is a great trust that God has given to the world. Nearly one hundred and forty millions of people speak it and five hundred millions bow beneath its empire. Think of the power that you wield when you speak a speech like this!

There are other forces also which belong to you and us besides our common speech. There is our common law. It is worth a moment's pause to think of this great law of England that is yours and ours. Remember the custom of English law obtains in your courts. Remember that a man may plead before your judges the common law of England unless it has been repealed by direct statute. It was a great thing when it was determined for this continent that English law should be the law of this wide land.

You are very proud of Bunker Hill. You were brave men to set up a monument to a defeat. You Americans are the only people in the world who have set up your proudest monument in honor of defeat. Bunker Hill was a defeat, but it meant a triumph. But I think there was a greater fight than even that of Bunker Hill. I mean greater because in it were involved greater issues, not for you here in New England or for those in the Middle States, but issues for this wide land. It was a battle fought and a victory gained by your great first President. He was still a young man in the service of George, king of England. It was at that famous fort at the junction of two rivers — I need not repeat the story. There

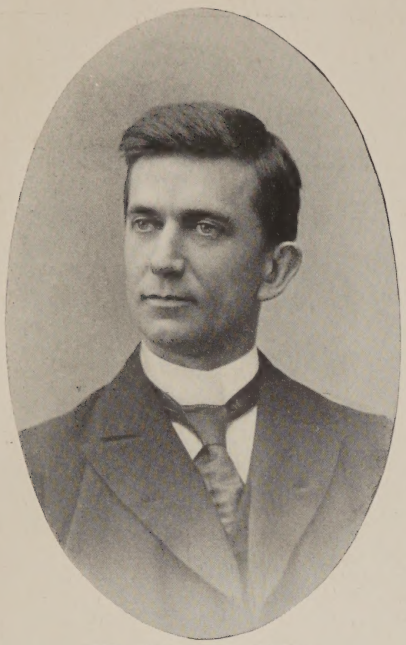
was established at that earlier victory of George Washington the great question as to what should be the essential, necessary, ultimate rule of law upon this land. In Northern America, throughout Canada, and in Louisiana there were French forts located. It was the policy of France to bring together that great line of forts, and by these well-garrisoned to keep back English advance entirely upon this eastern slope. The policy of France was that this great continent should be brought altogether under the power of French rule. There was the French speech, the French law, the French faith. But your great President, as I have said, then a young officer serving the English king, smote the French power, broke down those forts, and breaking them made the way free — I will not say for English or British law, but for American law, to be established over the whole of this wide continent, and thus to lay deep the foundations of that common liberty which is the glory of the English and the American people.

Then, further, we have a common faith in God and Christ. Here it seems to me that we as Congregationalists have our duty. Poets, philosophers, statesmen who hardly know our name, may utter the music of this English tongue. Lawyers, judges, constitutional writers, legislators, who sometimes forget that there is such a thing as the Congregational church polity may observe our law and guard it. But we have to satisfy the conscience of the world. If we have a common destiny, as two great nations, it is not a destiny of common gain, it is not a destiny of common triumph, it is not a destiny of common empire, but it is a destiny of universal righteousness for universal man. We have to teach the conscience of the world. We have to bring the authority of the Master Christ to rule in human hearts and human lives. Here is your service, here is ours. It matters not how wide or how wild an ocean may divide us. It matters not whether interests may clash. Here at least we are together. There is no difference in blood, there is no change in the common inspiration that is ours; and as children of the Pilgrims and of the Puritans, as descendants of the non-conformists, as ministers and members of Congregational churches, we are set to teach the world the law of Christ by voice and still more by life, by a consecration that shall cover the world, nay, that shall take unto itself the possibilities of death or the infinite possibilities of the life that he has given us.

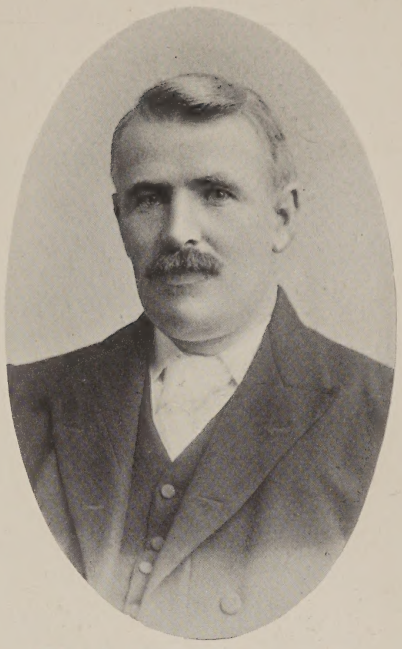
I hope our Council, friends, may result in making you stronger in this purpose, and that some of us who come from the farthest limits of the world may carry back a fresh inspiration and a new consecration to him who is our only Lord, our only Law, our only Life.

The overflow meeting was concluded with the benediction.

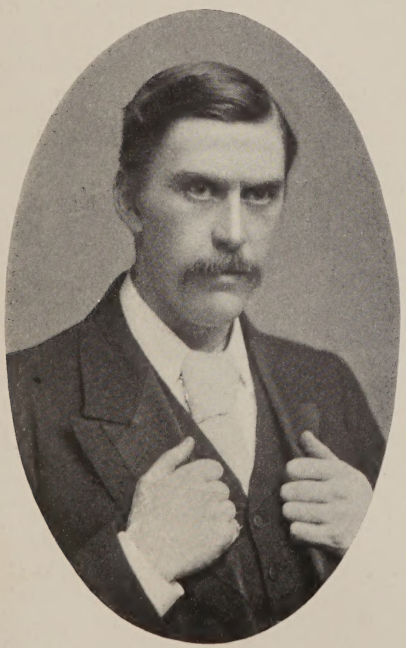
Saturday, September 23, 1899



REV. CHARLES R. BROWN,
Oakland, Cal.



REV. J. D. JONES, M.A., B.D., A.T.S.,
Bournemouth, England.



REV. C. SILVESTER HORNE, M.A.,
London, England.

REV. JAMES HIRST HOLLOWELL,
Rochdale, England.

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MORNING SESSION

The fourth day of the Council convened at 9.30 o'clock, with President Angell in the chair.

Hymn, "Hail to the Lord's anointed."

The Scriptures were read by the Rev. Stephen C. Pixley, of Africa, who also led the congregation in repeating the Lord's Prayer.

Hymn, "Blest be the tie that binds."

Address

Albert Spicer, Esq., M.P., of England, delivered an address on the Church in Social Reforms.

ADDRESS BY ALBERT SPICER, ESQ., M.P.

THE CHURCH IN SOCIAL REFORMS

Two words of explanation and apology are necessary at the outset. In the first place, I realize that in dealing with the subject that has been allocated to me by your committee, I can only do so from the standpoint of an Englishman. I do not know sufficiently either of the conditions of our sister churches in the United States, or of the acuter social problems of this country, to enable me to speak for you. I can only hope that any of my suggestions, if applicable to your churches or to your country, may receive the consideration of our friends on this side of the Atlantic. Secondly, it will be remembered that at our first International Council in 1891, I was then invited by your committee to address it on a subject also relating to one side of the social question, namely, The Land and National Prosperity. Under these circumstances, therefore, I should not have felt justified in again accepting the invitation of your committee, were it not that since 1891, I have been for seven years a member of the British House of Commons, and there I have been continually watching social questions from a double standpoint, namely, from that of a member of a Congregational church, and also from that of a member of Parliament. Under these circumstances, I did not feel justified in refusing the task laid upon me; whilst, at the same time, I am only too conscious of my inability to do justice to the subject.

I need not linger on the necessity for social changes. We are none of us satisfied with the existing state of things. We long for the day when there shall be more equal opportunities for all to exercise their powers and to live their individual lives to the best advantage. We are also aware that whatever our personal attitude may be on these social questions, these questions are with us, and with us to stay—they cannot be evaded. The reason is not far to seek. The present century has witnessed a great change—a constitutional revolution has been carried through; the center of gravity of the state has been shifted; the fabric of government has increased in stability and become wider and more enduring. 1688 saw the power of absolute monarchy destroyed. During the eighteenth century, England was ruled by the Peers and the great families. In 1832, the upper

classes of the people became the dominant party. Finally, the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 put the reins of government in the hands of the English people themselves.

As a natural result, the last fifteen years have growingly witnessed a new voicing of the wants of the people that can neither be silenced nor misunderstood. Each year sees an increase in the demands that are made in many directions. Amongst others — for a system of national education that shall fit every boy and girl for undertaking the work of life; the popular control of the drink traffic; shorter hours of labor; greater protection to be afforded by the state for the worker; better homes for the people; suitable provision for the aged poor, and a living wage.

Assuming, therefore, the necessity for changes, and the justification of the people in asking for them, the question that I have to try and answer to-day is: What part our churches should take in the movement?

Here let me say that I am not going to assume the attitude of an unfriendly critic of our church's work in the past in regard to social questions. I believe that they have played by no means an inconsiderable part in obtaining for the people the position that enables them to ask to-day for further changes. From our churches have come forth some of the stanchest reformers — men who have worked and sacrificed that the people might have a voice in the management of their country's affairs, and freedom to use it according to the exercise of their own judgment; and it is because I am thankful and proud of the work that the members of our churches have accomplished, that I am anxious we should still be ready to take our proper place in the new discussions. The reforms already won in the present century have been directly beneficial to the great mass of those forming our churches. The reforms of the future — though I believe, in the end, they will also benefit the same people — will be intended, in the first place, for the advantage of those who, I fear to a large extent, are outside our Congregational churches.

I would venture to say next that I think the members of our churches are ready to consider seriously these difficult questions. Look, for instance, at the intense interest displayed in the works of the Rev. Charles E. Sheldon. We are told, by competent authorities, that their sale in Great Britain alone amounted to something like three millions of copies. That of itself is an indication that in the minds of multitudes there is a feeling of unrest and of willingness to be led in the direction of higher social ideas, with a view of ascertaining how they can carry out more truly Christ's command to "do unto others as we would they should do to us."

What, then, is the part that our churches should take? I admit to the full it is only a part, and in some senses a subordinate, though I believe it may be made a very important part. What are the objects of a Christian church? May I state them as (1) the maintenance of public worship, that the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ may be proclaimed, and men and women urged to accept him as their Saviour and Redeemer; (2) that, having accepted Christ, not only as our Redeemer, but Leader, we should unite in fellowship, that we may be taught in Christian truth and duty, that we may propagate the Gospel at home and abroad, and that in the fellowship of a Christian church we may be of mutual help one to another and be ever ready to render service to our fellow-men. Surely in these objects, and especially in the last object to which I have referred, I may claim some share for the consideration of questions relating to social reforms.

I now ask: In what direction can help be best rendered? and in replying to this, I would quote two passages from the pens of two very different men. In the preface to the volume which contained an account of the

work of our first International Council, our late revered friend and President, Dr. Dale, used these words: —

> The church should create in its members an eager desire to lessen the sorrow, the suffering, and the injustice, as well as the sin of the world, but it is not yet clear to my own mind that the church, as a religious society, should take part in political, social and economical agitation.

And in a recent number of the Mansfield College Magazine, our friend, Percy Alden, the respected Warden of the Mansfield College Settlement, wrote: —

> But before long the great majority of the religious teachers of England will have to face the question: What is my relation to the Labour Movement and the organized workers of the country, and how far am I justified in insisting only on spiritual truths and neglecting the hard facts of social environment?
>
> Knowing as I do, all the difficulties of such a situation, I cannot feel it in my heart to condemn a man if he refuse to take any active share in the working-class movement, but neither can I forget the remark of a great German, who once said: "The decision as to which church will gain the greatest influence over the life of the people will not be in the field of learned deductions nor in the domain of dogmatic polemics, but the social question is the field on which the decisive battle must be fought." No, the religious man who thinks cannot escape the social problem. It follows one as closely as the black Care of the Roman poet. It is seated close behind us; it never quits us, and it never will quit us until Christianity is not only preached, but applied, until we have learned the lesson that man is his brother's keeper, not merely from the spiritual, but also from the economic point of view. The duty of the church, it seems to me, is very positive; it has not come to destroy, but to fulfil; its policy is a constructive one; it must have a clearly understood and defined moral tone for politics, for industry, for poverty and for all the social inequalities and miseries of the age.

Surely, in these two utterances, there is a good deal of agreement. They each insist upon the duty of the church as a whole to make its influence felt on all the questions that affect the social well-being of the community, as well as upon the truly sympathetic spirit in which that work should be undertaken.

Now, are we doing all we can in these two directions? There are many outside our churches who tell us plainly that we are not doing so; that in our church life we are willing to help one another; that we are prepared to do something for the spiritual advantages of our fellow-men at home and abroad; that on the social side we are also prepared to help in the direction of charity, but that we are unwilling to interest ourselves in trying to solve social questions by remedies which propose the application of justice rather than that of charity. I am bound to say that I think we are not altogether guiltless in this matter, either in the pulpit or in the pew. Let me try to justify this opinion by one or two illustrations.

A recent return was presented to Parliament, giving the number of children attending elementary schools, who were known to be working for wages during the term of their school life. The circular inviting this return was admittedly very much misunderstood by a large number of the managers of the 20,000 public elementary schools in England and Wales to whom it was addressed; but, at any rate, 9,433 schedules were returned containing the names of 144,026 children — children, remember, all at school and yet working for wages out of school hours. I will mention a few cases: —

> A boy aged 12, in the Fourth Standard, is employed as a knocker-up and newspaper boy. His wage is 9*s.* 6*d.* a week, and he is employed 37 hours a week.

This boy rises between 3 and 4 every morning, starts out at 4.30 A.M. to waken up 25 working-men, each paying him 3*d.* a week; returns from his rounds about 5.30, but does not go to bed again, as at 6 o'clock he has to go around as "newspaper boy" till 9 o'clock, when he comes to school. He is a very regular boy, but is often half asleep, especially in the afternoons of hot days.

A boy of 11 years of age, in the Sixth Standard, who goes to a butcher every day at 5 P.M., and works till 10 P.M. On Saturday he begins at 8 A.M., and works till 10 or 11 P.M.

A boy who works for 56¾ hours a week, selling papers, is employed as follows: Monday to Friday from 7 to 8.45 A.M., from 12 to 1 P.M., and from 4 to 10 P.M., and on Saturdays from 7 to 11 A.M., and from 12 to 2 P.M., and from 3 to 11 P.M.

Some boys are kept working on the Saturday for as much as 12 or 15 hours. One boy said he worked on the Saturday from 7 in the morning till 12 at night.

Now, when we read statements like these, may we not ask ourselves, What have the churches been doing in failing to call attention to this state of things? With the thousands of Christian workers going in and out amongst the homes of the people, might we not have expected that some of these facts might have been brought to light and remedies sought at a much earlier date?

About the same time, another return was also presented to Parliament, showing the occupations to which a large number of the boys attending our elementary schools had gone during the first year after leaving school. That return showed that, so far as regards the towns, there was a large percentage, amounting in some cases to 40 per cent., where the boys leaving school in any one year drifted into the three occupations of errand boy, hawker or newspaper boy. These employments, as you know, mean unskilled labor; and the danger in connection with unskilled labor is, that it leads nowhere, and means throughout life, in the great majority of cases, the lowest rate of remuneration. It also means that the wage-earning capacity of these workers practically reaches its highest between the ages of 22 and about 26. If, after that, there is the least failure in character or breakdown in health, there is a constant and lifelong struggle to obtain a livelihood, and it is common occurrence that amongst such workers, fathers and mothers of 40 are being supported by their own children.

Again, I ask, if the members of our churches generally had been interested in and informed about some of those questions, might not many of our visitors, in their daily rounds of visitation, have helped to minimize this state of things?

Once more: Have we considered our obligations, as employers, to our older employees? One of the social difficulties of the day for all employees who lose, or have to change their employment after 40, is extremely serious, and leads to untold misery.

A short while ago, the editor of one of our most influential weeklies stated that he had ascertained that the very large consumption of cheaper hair dyes is caused through the demand of a large service class who are afraid to show signs of gray hair. It is also affirmed that the recent act passed in England for the compensation of workmen when injured by accident has led to the dismissal of many of the older workmen, as well as the refusal to take on new men who were not in the very prime of life. Have we sufficiently looked at this question as Christian men and women? If only all Christian employers, large or small, private, commercial, or professional, would stand by their own old employees, and show some consideration, in case of death, to their widows — I do not say entirely support them, but stand by them, ready to assist in times of special need — the burden thus scattered would prove but light, and would mean that many

more homes would be maintained and families kept together to their own advantage, as well as to the advantage of the state. In whatever light the question may appeal to others, it surely speaks with a powerful voice to all Christians.

It is in connection with subjects like these that I think our churches want to be led and taught to consider seriously. Might we not utilize, at any rate, a share of the strength of some of our organizations for this purpose? I refer especially to the Literary, the Young Men's, and Christian Endeavor, Societies, who could collect and summarize information for the benefit of their own church — a work which, in itself, would be distinctly informing, and would lead, I am convinced, to new work in other directions. I must confess that during the last seven years, when I have had the opportunity of seeing the many state papers and Blue Books that are issued from session to session, I have been amazed with the amount of interesting and useful information they contain, and I have regretted that in some way or other we cannot make more use of this material for informing the members of our churches of the actual conditions of the people.

Another point I would venture to make is, that I do not think that our members have been sufficiently encouraged to take their part in, at any rate, the public life of their own locality. We have not earnestly striven that the spirit of our church life might be such that, being members of a Christian church, we were irresistibly compelled to undertake work for others. The opportunities for usefulness in our local public life are ever widening. It has been mentioned recently, that during the last seventy years, 30,000 local governing bodies have been created. These local bodies employ 400,000 persons and directly administer four hundred millions sterling. Membership of these authorities implies possibilities of usefulness that are far-reaching, but to use them aright we want our churches to send forth from their midst men and women who will look upon these positions in the light of trusts to be used for the benefit of all, especially of the most needy. For, is it not too often forgotten in public life, especially in the department of administration, that if that work is inefficiently or carelessly performed, the results are to the detriment, in the first place, of the most needy of our fellow-men and those who are least able to help themselves. The comparatively well-to-do are often in the position of being able to counteract the effect of maladministration by extra and individual expenditure on their own account, but this is not the case with our poorer brethren. There is, therefore, the greater call to our church members to take their proper place in this field of work. Need I add, that what applies to the public work of the locality, applies with equal, and even greater force, to the work of the nation?

One other point: Have we, as churches, done what we could in calling forth the personal service of the members of our larger churches for the working-class districts of our towns and cities? Some of our churches have done something and our settlements are also helping nobly, but might there not be groups of churches united for similar purposes? There are many with insufficient strength to do much alone, who, if united with others, might accomplish great things. In this way we should open channels for personal service that would afford an opportunity for many of our members to come into personal touch with those who are feeling the pinch of existing conditions.

These are, at any rate, indications of the direction in which I believe our churches can usefully help in social reforms; for whilst I agree with Dr. Dale that, as churches, it is not their place to conduct political, social, or economical agitations, it is the duty of the church, as he puts it, to create

in its members an eager desire to lessen the sorrow, the suffering, and the injustice, as well as the sin of the world.

The appeal for this work comes with greater force to our Congregational churches, because, after all, we represent a large proportion of those who are amongst the comparatively well-to-do of their respective classes. We have, I am thankful to say, a large number of the working classes within our ranks, but as a whole, I maintain they are rather above the average of their fellow workers than below, in social position; and we must never overlook the fact, that to improve the existing conditions, those who are at present more or less well-to-do must be prepared to sacrifice something for those who are not in that position. For example: one of the last reports presented to the House of Commons was that of the select committee appointed to "consider and report upon the best means to improve the condition of the aged deserving poor, and of providing for those who are helpless and infirm." The committee have proposed a plan for giving pensions to a certain number of men and women aged 65 and upwards, and it is estimated that if this report is carried out in its entirety, it means an increased charge upon rate and tax payers of about ten millions per annum. If the proposal, therefore, stands the test of examination, who is to provide the extra ten millions? To place the increased burden on existing tax and rate payers in similar proportion to that borne at present would, I believe, only get rid of one injustice to create another equally great. But I can conceive of a plan whereby the burden might be borne fairly by those who may not be bearing their full share to-day. Some of that class are in our churches. It is of importance, therefore, that the spirit of our churches should be such that those who may be called upon to bear the heavier burden will be willing to bear it, because they realize that it will be for the best interests of their fellow-men, and that it is in harmony with the injunction to "Bear one another's burdens."

My limit of time has, however, passed and I must conclude. I ask only that our churches may not put aside these questions from their thought. I appeal to our ministers to give some portion of their time to the consideration of social reforms, so that when the occasion demands an utterance they may make it with knowledge coupled with sympathy.

I ask the religious press to utilize some of their ablest writers in keeping their readers correctly informed on social subjects, and to throw the weight of their great influence on the side of those changes that will make for the greatest good of their fellow-men.

I ask my fellow employers to realize the trust that has been committed to us, and use it as stewards of our Lord and Master, to whom we must render our account.

I ask my fellow members to consider how much we can all do to further the right solution of these difficult problems, for in my deliberate judgment upon the right attitude adopted by Christian men and women on social questions will largely depend their gradual and successful solution, without the accompaniment of bitter and painful episodes; and may we all learn more fully that "whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister and whosoever would be first among you shall be servant of all."

Committee on Future of the Council

The nominating committee nominated the following committee of eleven, who should advise with reference to the future of the International Council, and they were elected.

Committee: Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., of England;

Albert Spicer, Esq., M.P., of England; Rev. William J. Woods, B.A., of England; Rev. W. Hope Davison, M.A., of Scotland; Mr. Charles A. Hopkins, of Massachusetts; Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois; Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D., of New Jersey; Rev. John K. McLean, D.D., of California; Rev. Prof. W. H. Warriner, M.A., B.D., of Canada; Rev. William H. Moore, D.D., of Connecticut; and Rev. Joseph Robertson, M.A., of Australia.

Address

Rev. Graham Taylor, D.D., LL.D., of Illinois, Professor of Christian Sociology and Pastoral Theology at Chicago Theological Seminary, delivered an address on the Church in Social Reforms.

Address by Prof. Graham Taylor, D.D., LL.D.

THE CHURCH IN SOCIAL REFORMS

Of the social function of the church, the churches are conscious as never before in their modern history. This fact is due to the dawning of that social consciousness upon the race which is the presage of another new era of its progress toward the kingdom of God. This new consciousness of each other is begotten by the growing recognition of God as the Father of us all. To the proposition of universal fatherhood there is but one corollary, brotherhood, — of church with church in the communion of saints, of nation with nation in the bonds of an international patriotism, of race with race in the strangely new and real race-consciousness which is thrilling the body of humanity, of craft with craft and of class with mass "in the indissoluble interdependence of modern society, and of man with man the world o'er."

As surely as the church's mission is fundamentally more positive than negative, and ultimately more constructive than destructive, so certainly the function of the church in society is more formative than reformatory. There can be no reform without the idea of the ideal form. Reformation, therefore, must ever be subsidiary to the creative function of forming the ideal. The formative social functions of the church are three: first, the recognition of the divine ideal of human life, individual and social for itself and all men; second, the initiation of movements and agencies for its realization in the world; third, the transmission of the Spirit's power for the social regeneration.

To recognize the divine ideal of human life in worship is the primary social function of the churches in their several communities and in all the world.

This ideal is not less individual for being social, nor less social for being individual, but social because individual and individual because social. For life consists in larger part of its relations. "One man is no man." Religion is relationship. The Christian religion is Christ's ideal of relationship to God as Father, and man as brother, progressively being realized in personal experience and in the history of the race. In trust for humanity has this ideal of the "kingdom of the Father" been committed to the churches. For themselves and for all men they recognize it in public worship. Worship is the recognition of worth-ship, of what is worth being and doing, as seen in what God is and does. Worship is therefore

social service of the highest type and the most practical utility. Everywhere holy hands are uplifted to God without wrath or doubting they keep the flag of the kingdom of heaven floating high over earth. There every one may know God's idea of the one man, and Christ's ideal of the fellowship of all men. There where common prayer is wont to be made, where the songs of many voices blend in unison; there at the sacramental supper where is broken the one bread made of the many grains that were scattered upon the mountains, and the one wine from many berries is the communion which each shares with all and all with each; there where service is serving and work is worship, there for all time has been held aloft the highest social ideal; there the world over, human life has more steadily and nearly approached the commonwealth of brotherhood.

If, however, this Christian standard of the life of the one and the many had always, and especially during this century, been held nearer earth than heaven; if the earthward realization of the heavenly kingdom had been boldly proclaimed as the ideal toward which the industrial, political and social program of men could and should be aimed, current history would be written in a different handwriting and to another purport than now appears. If, for instance, the freedom wherewith the Son makes free had been fearlessly applied to each man's economic freedom and to the toleration of every man's liberty of thought respecting the same, the philosophy of anarchism might not have had such a great apostle as Peter Kropotkin, nor be marshaling men in all Christendom who are capable of suffering martyrdom for acts of despair to bring about the one far-off event of individual liberty. The Christian communion would have been recognized at sight as the only place in all the world where one man counts one. If, on the other hand, the spiritual equality of the kingdom of God and the absolute democracy of its all-leveling and all-lifting doctrines had been fearlessly applied as the ideal of industrial and political relationships, the great race-movement for actual brotherhood might not now so largely take the form of materialistic socialism. If the churches had heeded the summons of Joseph Mazzini, that greatest prophet and martyr of modern democracy, they might have anticipated by their leadership the fateful and fearful defection from their ranks and their spirit of so large a part of the modern democratic movement. In accounting for this defection, however, and in placing the responsibility for it, one fact, almost always overlooked, should be far more strongly in evidence to extenuate the motives on both sides of that breach of apathy or alienation between the churches and the manufacturing classes. It is the fact that when at the close of the fateful eighteenth century the Factory System — that greatest unarmed revolution — had swept a peasant population as by a cyclone from their farms and farmhouse manufactories into the slavery of machinery and the squalid demoralization of the early factory towns, the churches were in the darkest eclipse of their faith, the suspended animation of their life and the paralysis of their work for the world. Just when the industrial classes most needed the comforts, protection and leadership of the common faith they actually seemed to be most ignored and abandoned by the churches. Only here and there a lonely voice was lifted in protest or sympathy on behalf of the multitude helplessly lost in a wilderness "great and terrible." The decadence of the churches of that period must have been nigh unto death, measured by their delay in waking to the moral and social aspects of the industrial situation and in arousing thereto the conscience of the nations, much more of their own membership. For, remember, it was more than fifty years from the time the first protest against child labor was publicly registered in England to the enactment of any effective factory legislation. While wandering in this wilderness, those more than

forty years, the manufacturing population was lost to the fold. While letting them wander there, as "sheep having no shepherd," the churches lost an ethical insight, a sense of identification with the masses and a social leadership which they have by no means made up and which, after all their social progress in these later years, even yet leaves them far from abreast with the complex and increasingly critical social situation of our own day. How much more in keeping with the pace of its splendid progress might "Evangelicalism" have rounded out the present century if in addition to its many great achievements in home lands and its still more glorious conquests in foreign fields, its churches had listened when Richard Oastler was a voice crying in that wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord"; if they had more promptly followed young Shaftesbury when by his vicariously sacrificial service he led the mediatorial way toward the redemption of modern industrialism from the curse of Cain; if the judgment of God's throne against the slaughter of the innocents which reverberated in Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children" had startled the Christians of both continents to united action; or, further back, if they had carried on and out Wesley's emancipation of Christian experience and method, as he himself began to do, into the equalization of the social and economic conditions of Christendom; or, still further back, had they developed and extended their reformation of dogma to that of the social order and had worked out the ethical corollaries of the farther-reaching propositions of their world-revolutionizing, kingdom-building faith. Wiclif did so. For he cried to the people, "Father he bade us all him call, masters we have none." The right of private judgment is democracy. Will we not only admit it, but practice it? Common salvation from common sin is equality of opportunity. Dare we not only proclaim, but apply it?

But the great loss of that half-century to the people and the churches should now be only the incentive toward the gain to be won by loyalty to the social ideals of the gospel of the kingdom. For only those Christian ideals of the social order can really possess the place in the world's hope and heart which the substitutes for them can never more than occupy. But to make society Christian there must be a science of Christian society. It is the new science of the old "kingdom," the social extension of the common faith, the application of the doctrines which save the soul to the saving of society. The gospel of the kingdom is sociology with God left in it, with Christ as the center of human unity, with the new birth of the individual for the regeneration of society and the indwelling Spirit as the only power adequate to fulfill its social ideals. For this kingdom of the Son of Man the whole earth is space, the weary heart of man gives place, every nation will make room, each community will welcome its humblest herald, all else must make way.

It is the second function of the churches to initiate social movements and agencies for the realization of their ideals, but not to be their executive.

One "Holy Roman Empire" is enough for Christendom to extenuate before the bar of history. The name, fame and influence of another Constantine are more than enough for the ideals of the church to carry through the centuries. We free churchmen have not found ecclesiasticized politics to be enough of an improvement upon the genus to be tempted to repeat those colossal failures. But we are subject to the temptation of attempting the same sort of less imposing blunders. Our rank and file have so long and so largely been composed of the middlemen of the economic world, and we have so long and so largely shared in the gains of their prosperity that our churches are in danger of being regarded as institutions of the *bourgeois* class and the self-appointed and accepted executors of its resid-

uary estate. The thinking elements of the producing classes long since identified these organized bodies of the followers of their greatest friend and fellow workman with the history and the destiny of the *bourgeoisie* system of industry, out of which the economic world is surely and more and more swiftly passing. We from within know how far from true that thought is to the inner consciousness of the churches, and yet we should be honest and scholarly enough to admit how strong the appearances seem to justify such a partial judgment being taken by those who look on critically from without and are suffering from the system while they look. We know how many productive toilers there are in the ranks of our membership and how many of their sons are in our ministry, but yet we should be candid enough to confess with shame the frequent servility to wealth as well as our indiscriminate abuse of its holders, the unjust discrimination shown to social caste, and the unintentioned but none the less painful disproportion of manual toilers in the trusteeship of our institutions and the boards of our church control. The churches can afford now as at the beginning, and as whenever "sitting under the cross," to preach the ideal righteousness and equality of the everlasting kingdom and the eternal justice of their ever-living Lord without, on the one hand, having respect to persons or classes, and without, on the other hand, identifying their organization with schemes of social reconstruction or with economic agencies of production or distribution. That is the function of the industrial organization of the body politic, which is to be respected as an agency equally divine within its sphere as the church is within its own.

The social ideals of the Gospel have borne their best fruits in society when the churches have given the initiative toward higher conceptions of civic and national life; have supplied towns, cities, state and nation with citizens inspired with these ideals of Christian social relationship and with the willingness to sacrifice to realize them; and have given no suspicion of making any attempt, either formal or virtual, to usurp the functions of government. The churches should be the last to tolerate, much less to claim or secure, class legislation for their own or others' benefit, for they stand for all if for any. Not in their corporate capacity should the churches assume the function of reformatory agencies for the enactment or enforcement of law. For, on the one hand, neither in their constituency nor in their form of organization are they adapted to or effective in such service; and, on the other hand, if they were, theirs is the higher function and even the harder work of maintaining the standards and generating the sacrificial spirit that makes such strife at law unnecessary, or if necessary, triumphant. If, therefore, the churches may not be the executive of social action even in the effort to realize their own ideals, they may give initiative to every such effort by fulfilling their function of inspiring, educating and unifying the people. Where other institutions of the community — the homes, the neighborhood centers for culture and social intercourse, and the municipal provisions for social needs — fail to meet and minister to the wants of the people, it is not only justifiable but obligatory upon the churches to provide substitutes for them. Thus "institutional" churches and social settlements are the ministering body of the Son of Man, incarnating the spirit of the Christ in their ministry to the physical and social, educational and civic, moral and spiritual necessities of our city centers, not only saving souls out of the wreck, but also helping to save the wreck itself. But rarely, if ever, is it necessary or advisable to turn the pulpit into a lectureship on economics and politics, or the Sunday service into a free forum for the discussion of social theories. Far more effective is it for the churches to man the social point of view and thence faithfully and fearlessly by word and in deed to extend the application of the righteousness of the

prophets, the Gospel of Christ, and the ethics of the Apostles, from their old work of righting the one man's relation to the one God to the new work of righting the relation of each to all and of all to each. To unify all the forces which make for righteousness and inspire them to realize the highest ideals attainable is the formative function of the churches in a community, which will have far more of a reformatory effect than all the effort they could make to lead reforms which are always more effectively promoted by other agencies. For in the language of a Reformatory chaplain, "formatories are the best reformatories."

The history of the English people began when upon the tomb of a forgotten hero might have been inscribed the words which Charles Kingsley wrote over his name, "Here lies the first of the new English, who by the grace of God began to drain the fens." So it is said the imperial supremacy of the English people dates from the time the nation went home from Waterloo to attend to her own housekeeping, to work for her daily bread, to care for her women and children, to build roads, shops and schools, to cleanse houses and streets and care for her sick. And the church which will initiate this world-work of the kingdom will begin to write a new and glorious page in the history of the commonwealth of Israel and the covenants of promise.

The third and greatest of all the social functions of the church is to supply that sacrificial service which is the only medium of the Spirit's power for the regeneration of society.

The social ideals of Christianity have all along the history of their revelation inspired the initiative of many others than men of the Spirit. Over the men of 1798 there hung like a mirage in the desolation of their desert the ideals of that kingdom which is "righteousness, peace and joy." Had their initiative been "in the Spirit," then "liberty, equality and fraternity" might have been the translation of those ancient terms in pentecostal tongues to the modern world, and the Revolution might have been the world's second Pentecost, the Spirit's social regeneration, the birth of the coming nation in a day. For social regeneration is the function of the Holy Spirit, the spirit of the Christ, which has never wrought the social regeneration without having the cross to work through, without having, as at Pentecost and at every social revival since, Messianic people to sacrifice themselves and bear away the sin of society and bring the kingdom in. The cross of social self-denial is the Christ-man's burden, now as ever, now in some respects more than ever. For there is an ethical tragedy at hand, such as has not tested Christendom since the Reformation, such as did not test it then at a point of such close contact with the world. It remains to be seen where the cross-bearing Spirit will find the Messianic people, "the servant of Jehovah" to serve the peoples.

The crisis bringing us to a test of this cross of a social denial of self and an economic profession of Christ is coming both from without and from within. From without comes the demand for democracy, political not only, but industrial and social the more, a demand intense, world-wide, yet most emphatic in Christendom, a categorical imperative to the churches. But it is only the echo of the impact of the kingdom upon the world. For the Gospel has at last struck the earth under the feet of the common man. It has awakened the consciousness of manhood in him, the consciousness that if he is a man he has the claim to the right to live the human life and to have the living of a man. "This dumb terror" — the dispossessed, disinherited son of the world's heaviest tasks and least requited toil — is replying to God "after the silence of the centuries," saying, "I would be the man the Lord God made and meant me to be, the man the school and the church have taught me to be;" and the Lord God — his and ours —

awaits the answer of Christendom. Will we let him be by helping him help himself? It will not answer to make reply, "We will let him alone." *Laissez faire* was the lisping of the infancy of economic science. Civilization repudiated it, much more Christianity. For even civilization means human interference in the cosmic struggle for existence. The "let alone theory" of society bears the mark of Cain. Its theological definition is hell. "Joined to his idols let him alone." The Lord God awaits answer to what the Spirit says to the churches. Will we be set apart to God to take part with man? Will we "for their sakes" consecrate ourselves as Christ did for our sakes? Will we love men as he, better than self in order that they may be able to love neighbor as self? Will we in the Christlikeness of our industrial and commercial relations furnish the economic terms in which the Gospel must find expression, if it is to satisfy the consciences of increasing multitudes of fellow-men? Will we have the mind in us that was in Christ Jesus, who thought it not a thing to be grasped at, a prize to withhold, to be what he had been, to keep what he had, but "emptied himself" that others might be filled with the more abundant life? Will we, dare we as a body, bear that cross of economic sacrifice and social self-denial that God may ever highly exalt us, and let the church share with the Christ, the "name above every name, at which every knee shall bow?" This is the church's social question. Will we reform ourselves in order to conform the world to Christ? Will we be the world's cross-bearers that its kingdoms may become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ?

The question whether the church will be the democracy is raising the question whether the democracy will be the church. One of the keenest satirists of ecclesiasticism which current fiction has produced answers, "Nothing but a church will do. All the other schemes of democracy have come to naught for want of that. The lecture platform is no substitute for Sinai. Democracy is a religion or nothing, with its doctrine, its forms, its ritual, its ceremonies, its government as a church — above all, its organized sacrifice of the altar, the sacrifice of self. Democracy must get rid of the natural man of each for himself and have a new birth into the spiritual man, the ideal self of each for all. Without religion, how is man, the essentially religious animal, to face the most tremendous of all problems, social justice?"

From within the church there is the revolt of the Christian conscience against the prevalent ethical dualism which is resulting in a moral self-stultification of many Christians in trade; is depriving the church of the membership of conscientious men, and is a creeping paralysis over its spiritual power and social influence. The issue between "the competitive system" of industry and social order and the rudimentary ethics of Christ's golden rule and love of neighbor as one's self is absolute and mandatory. This is the soul of the social question which will not down, which cannot lose its identity in Jesuitical casuistries, which must be met by each Christian as it meets him, and by the churches when confronted by the crises of their communities. Those who live protected lives under the shelter of assured incomes can little imagine the stress and strain upon the moral sense of an increasing multitude of our brethren who are exposed to the frightful struggle for economic existence, both in the ranks of capital and labor. The conscience of Christendom will not much longer allow this breach between the rule of faith and the rule of practice, will not much longer tolerate the profession of belief in Christian altruism as the rule of practice while life itself is maintained by conformity to the diametrically opposite principle of every man for himself.

The prayer and hope for the coming of the kingdom upon the part of

those who willingly submit to this dualism will not always be thought to be ingenuous. For, as one of America's best economists writes, "If the ethico-economic rule of every man for himself were a recognized principle of action, the result would be a society composed indeed of men, but a collective brute." The cross imposed from within is to decide whether we will live two lives or one, whether we will believe in the single-sight through which the whole body is full of light or grope on in the darkness of the double-vision of the evil eye, whether we will have any religion that is not ethical or any ethics that is not religious. It is not a question whether this cross will be borne, but whether we shall wear the crown awaiting those who take it up as their cross. For ethics is surely, if slowly, establishing its sovereignty over economics. "The reformer's conscience," as another has said, "claims the right to audit the books of society, must enter politics and conquer the earth. The holy land to be redeemed is under the feet of the peasant and the laborer." It is plain enough that those who are being possessed by this social conscience and fired with the passion of a social chivalry to unite in the new crusade for the recovery of that land of promise cannot long stop short of action. Inevitable is the social organization of the moral forces now being generated in individuals for overcoming the baneful evil of this ethical dualism with the moral monism of the kingdom of God. Orthodoxy of life will yet be as essential a test of one's Christianity as orthodoxy of belief. Heresy of heart and conscience will yet be a surer excision from the Christian body than heresy of the head. Sooner or later no one will be recognized as a Christian who does not possess faith in the ethics of Jesus as the rule of practice, who does not strenuously endeavor to do the things that he says, who will not be the beatitudes. One of the best-known exponents of economic ethics in this country affirms, "The infidelity of this century — the only form of infidelity to be feared — is the disbelief in the golden rule of conduct; and if Christianity ever comes to assert a positive influence in the direction of the affairs of men, it will be through the persistent assertion on the part of the disciples of Jesus that this rule is paramount, that it is universal in its application, and that every interest opposed to it is an un-Christian interest." Whenever this note of reality has actually been struck Christianity has exerted this positive influence over the affairs of men. Francis of Assisi no sooner began to live the single-sighted, one life than from palace and hovel the people followed him back to the fold from which they had been widely estranged and long alienated. All the church bells of Christendom have scarcely arrested the fixed attention of so many earnest minds as the simplicity and single-heartedness of Tolstoi's deep-toned consistency of life. The names of Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice are still not without power to hush the bitterest invective against the ministry and to modify the fiercest denunciation of the church which it has been my lot to hear in the most revolutionary circles to be found among Chicago's working men. Whatever earthly form this righteous social order may take will be "the kingdom of the Father," and whatever organization mobilizes the moral forces that bring it in will be the church of the Son of Man.

The free churches bear the sovereign insignia of being a part of that church by the part of that kingdom they have brought into the world. They have borne their cross in the day of their visitation and have worn the crown of ministry to the many. Their church "without a bishop" reared these states "without a king." Their missions abroad have implanted over the wide world seed thoughts and sentiments having in them the power of an endless life, which will yet burst through all barriers and bloom in the social regeneration of the world. Their association of homes,

schools and churches, for the redemption of the subject and abject races, are reviving the unfit so as to be fit to survive. Their faith in the living God and the living people, as expressed in their fearless dependence upon a polity without ecclesiastical authority and a creed which finds its only authoritative symbol in the current confessions of ever-present belief, is the very democracy of the kingdom. The practice of this present faith in the present God and the present people is the crowning service which the free churches can render the kingdom, the church and the world. But the very weight of their crown is their cross. For what has been said of modern democracy is as true of it in church as in state. "It lays on the will the heaviest tax of all. The sincere believer in democracy must have a dogmatic conviction that the principle of individuality shall sometime have the widest possible spread. His right to be an individual himself puts him under the highest conceivable obligation to create individuality in others. He is a gentleman in a true democratic sense just in the measure that he has the art of finding himself in an ever-growing number of persons of all sorts and conditions. He must carry the campaign against caste into larger issues. He must face all that is disagreeable and problematical in democracy, concealing nothing, blinking nothing away, and at the same time he must keep his will strong and tempered so that its edge shall never turn. To meet all his social obligations properly, to pay all his political debts joyously, never to throw a glance over his shoulder to the monastery — this is a mighty day's work!"

To fulfill this their social function let our free churches go triumphantly hence into the century of social democracy, the dawning of which admonishes us to examine ourselves so that we take not the sacrament of the people's service unworthily.

The Next International Council

An invitation was received from the Canadian delegates to hold the next meeting of the Council in Montreal.

Letter of Invitation

Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D.D.,
Secretary, International Congregational Council.

Dear Sir and Brother, — At a meeting of the Canadian delegates to the Council held in this city, it was unanimously agreed that a most cordial invitation be given to our loved brethren to hold the third meeting of the Council in Canada, and the city of Montreal was named as the most suitable place of meeting.

The undersigned were appointed the committee to present the invitation, which we most heartily do with a hope that the Council may accept.

We can assure our brethren that we would endeavor to make their visit enjoyable and memorable.

Yours fraternally,

Henry O'Hara,
Hugh Pedley,
J. H. George,
Edward E. Braithwaite,
Alexander W. Richardson,
} *Committee.*

Upon motion, this letter was referred to the committee of eleven on the future of the International Council.

A motion to adjourn failed of being carried.

Discussion following Professor Taylor's Address

At the close of the stated address by Professor Taylor, a large portion of the audience withdrew in order to take the train for the Salem Excursion. The motion to adjourn having failed of passage, a discussion on the Church and Social Reform ensued, which was engaged in by the following: Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of Massachusetts; Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., of Ohio; Hon. Eliphalet W. Blatchford, of Illinois; Rev. David L. Ritchie, of England; Rev. Robert Craig, M.A., D.D., of Scotland; and Rev. Graham Taylor, D.D., LL.D., of Illinois.

The first to claim the floor was the Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of Massachusetts, who spoke as follows: —

Remarks by Rev. P. S. Moxom, D.D.

I do not want to speak, but there are many men in the house whom I desire to hear. I wish to make a mild protest against these various less important things which have been allowed to interfere with full debate upon such burning questions as this of the morning.

The heart of our religion is involved in this problem. In a long experience, in which I have tried to keep myself close to the essential elements of the work of the church, no question more vital than that of to-day's discussion has been presented to me. It lies at the heart of our religious and theological concern. I am not a partisan, but I hear the voice of One who is saying to this age and generation: "Why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?"

I believe that there is one phase of this question that has not been presented, and could not be in the time given to the speaker. That phase of the question is this: that the problem of economics, and the problem of politics, and the problem of education, and every other problem of importance, has its root in the cradle, and that the church, as a great formative force, as a spiritual, educational, social, formative agent in this world, finds its chief point of effectiveness in childhood, and that the kingdom of God, if it is to come on earth, will come through the gateway of childhood. The principles of order and justice must be planted before the boy or the girl is seven years old if they are to feel their responsibility and the Fatherhood of God in their future life. If I may be allowed to condense the principle into a single sentence I would say that an ounce of formation is worth a ton of reformation.

President Angell called upon Dr. Gladden, of Ohio, who came to the platform and addressed the Council as follows: —

Remarks by Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D.

I am pondering that last sentence by Dr. Moxom, which I think is very important indeed; and yet, brethren, if there is to be formation, who is to do the forming? It must be the parents of these children, and before there can be a putting forth of formative effort to any good purpose there must be in the minds of these parents a form by which they mean to establish the character of the child. A social ideal must be in your minds and hearts, and in mine, before we can teach these children what their lives should be and what are their relations to us and to their fellow-men.

So after all, it comes back to you and me, what is our consciousness of our relation to God and to man?

I feel as if I want to put all the emphasis I can upon the magnificent address to which we have listened this morning. Every word of it I believe, and when I listened to it and heard its declaration of the vital and tremendous consequences to the churches of Jesus Christ and to the nations of the principles which we profess, it seemed to me that the very first thing for us to do is to find out whether we believe the word of the Lord Jesus Christ or not. I don't feel as my brother did last night that the Sermon on the Mount is a secondary sort of thing. I don't feel with him that I should be left in despair if I had only those first chapters of Matthew's Gospel; for the Fatherhood of God is there, and I don't know how any man can despair of himself, or of his brother or sister, as long as he believes in the Fatherhood of God, not merely as a possibility, but as a fact. The fact of the Fatherhood carries with it the fact of Brotherhood. It implies that there is no other right relation among men than a fraternal relation. It means that the whole business of life must conform to that fact.

The whole question, the whole theological question, the whole social question, and the whole question for every one of us, is exactly and completely contained in that question whether we believe in the Fatherhood of God and in the Brotherhood of man. This is a very solemn question for the Congregational churches of England and of this country. The world asks us whether we believe in the Fatherhood of God. If we do believe in that doctrine, then all that goes with it is to be accepted and illustrated in the relations not only of our churches, but in all our social and industrial life. This is the fundamental social question, and it is a searching question — whether we believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.

In response to a general call, Principal Fairbairn responded and spoke as follows: —

Remarks by Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

Mr. Chairman, — I have not any voice to speak. I spoke it all away. I have no mind to speak. It is partly overpowered and partly dissolved. I should not like to say that I indorse every word of Dr. Graham Taylor's address. With its spirit, with what I call its general purpose, I sympathize wholly, but with what he has said against the Christian churches of the past I have not as sympathetic an attitude. I believe that we cannot promote the cause of social justice by committing either historical or ecclesiastical injustice. There is no question that the churches of England — I cannot speak for yours of America, but I can for those of my own land — have done much for social reform, and there are no churches and no agencies that have so stood by the cause of the poor, that have so persistently sought to lighten the labors of the masses, that have so striven to arrest the great industrial revolution whose action has been so powerfully and so eloquently described as the churches of England. Why, sir, I can take Dr. Graham Taylor to a village in an English district where, at the opening of this century, every man belonged to the church or the chapel and nothing was so common in family life as the sight of the reading of a Psalm every morning at their meal and the sound of the Scripture reading and of the prayer at night; and if there is now silence in the home of the working man, and if there is now no word or voice of praise, who is to blame? The churches there did their best to hold the men in them, but there came the great factory and marched the men away

every morning as if they were merely a great army, into the factory. It sent him out for a brief half-hour for his breakfast and then brought him back. It swept him out with his weary body for his dinner and swept him back again. It swept him back exhausted and with no power of giving any time to his real life work. It gave him no time for keeping up his family life or for thought for his soul. It reduced him to the mere level of being a part of a machine, a "hand," and nothing more. And did the church accept it? No. It struggled in every possible way to prevent that great revolution from being fatal to the household and to the man and to the dignity which is in the life of us all.

We must be just. That is the fundamental necessity of our position, and we should not hold that the individual is mighty and forget that there are forces which are as mighty as the individual. We may have our conception of an ideal, but while we have such a conception, let us remember that our churches — and I speak of those about which I know — labored with all the power of their vitality in effort and speech, with all that was in their power to do, to right the wrong and to prevent this great industrial revolution from reducing the people to the level of the brutes. There are many causes of revolution operating. We can make great appeals to the masses, and have I not seen go out from my own village those who have labored in the way in which Dr. Graham Taylor has said we should labor? They are trying to lift up the people and to serve with self-sacrifice. Let us follow their example and let us help forward their activity. We shall have to create a new society We shall have to create a new church. We shall have to create a new state. Let us ever realize that we are heirs to a great tradition and are carrying forward a great work. Whatever differences we have must be in matters of detail. Our work of personal consecration must be complete ere there can be the incorporation of the perfect Christian body under the law of the Great Teacher.

Hon. E. W. Blatchford, of Illinois, continued the discussion and introduced Mr. Ritchie, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

Remarks by Hon. E. W. Blatchford

Mr. President and Brethren, — I have not risen to make a speech. I have none to make. I want to express one thought and to make a request. It is something for which we are all grateful that we have these words from our British brethren. They are working away in a cause for which we are also struggling in this country, and I do not feel that there has been sufficient expression of the importance of this matter to our individual, our city or our state life. It is a subject with which our institutions are struggling, our colleges are struggling, and our universities and theological seminaries are struggling at the same time. They are struggling to realize for the individual life what we have heard to-day and what is set before us: "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." That is the work which we are trying to do. Now I have a request to make, that we shall ask Rev. Mr. Ritchie, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, to address us. He knows what is being done in his country in this matter and he can give us facts if he will address us.

Remarks by Rev. D. L. Ritchie

Mr. President and Brethren, — I may and I can praise the work which has been done in this and other lands in urging the church to more activity in social reforms, and I recognize the truth of the dark lines which

have been drawn this forenoon and the errors which the church has made; but as one who takes a deep interest in economics and seeks to bring about the solution of the social problem, in every way I can, I will say one or two words upon it as it presents itself to us on the other side, but I must in a measure differ from the paper which we have heard this morning. What our brethren in America have said to us to-day convinces me that they are not altogether familiar with our position on the other side of the Atlantic and the part which our Free churches play in the public life of our country. The evangelical churches in England have not been caring for the souls of men, while they have been neglectful of their bodies and the conditions of their lives. We, however, recognize that our first duty is to the individual man. The important question is always the man, and we seek first his regeneration and then we bend our energies to the regeneration of the circumstances in which he lives. The two aims must be kept running parallel, but the message of Christianity is first to the individual. Moreover, we do our work as Christian men and women without making a distinction between ourselves as Christians and citizens. The best men in our churches devote themselves to civil duties, to purifying and keeping pure public life in order that they may help to lift up the population which is outside of the churches. It is a mistake to think that we care for the garden of the church and forget the wild acres that are without our borders. Our best men go upon school boards, into municipal offices, into politics, into every department of our public life, and they identify themselves with all such work simply because they are Christians and seek Christ's kingdom. Indeed, it is firmly held among us that in politics we are engaged in Christian work; that in the words of Edmund Burke, politics is only morality extended, and therefore it is an imperative duty for a Christian to care for politics, and to take part in every effort made to regenerate and sweeten society. It can never be forgotten that one of our greatest theologians was also one of the greatest publicists that England has produced in this century. The late Dr. Dale was an authority upon all great national and social questions, as great an authority as he was a strenuous force in every department of public life. He was so prominent in public matters that he was consulted by Mr. Gladstone himself with regard to the purposes and plans which he had in view. Another such was Charles Berry, loved on this side of the water and greatly loved on the other side of the Atlantic, a theologian, an evangelical preacher, one of God's saints, but he was also one of our most influential public men. He discerned the kingdom of God not afar off, but in the hearts and lives of men, and devoted himself to its great interests, sparing neither time nor energy, with the result that he was cut down in the very prime of his manhood. Alas, he left us too soon for England and too soon for Congregationalism, but his great influence and powerful advocacy of God's public cause abide. Of course it must be affirmed that Christianity is not a scheme of politics nor is it a scheme of economics. It is for all the activities of man, and all men will be blessed just as they practice those principles, alike in their private, their social, and their public relationships. It is because I so firmly believe this that I would like to enter a mild protest against the seeming identification by the author of the paper this morning of Christianity with one scheme of economics. With the spirit and general tone of the paper, however, I heartily agree.

One last word, for chivalry and friendship alike demand it. An injustice has been done to my friend, Mr. Jones, by Dr. Gladden. I know Mr. Jones and am intimately acquainted with the main highways of his thinking. He does not and last night did not put the Sermon on the Mount in a sec-

ondary place at all. He pointed out the place that that sermon must hold in the Christian system, but contended strenuously that a dynamic is needed if we are to reproduce in character and conduct its great truths. He admired and appraised that magnificent ethical cathedral which our Lord presents to our view, but he asks where can we have the power to rebuild it alike in individual and public life. This power, he held, is found only in Christ and the identification of the Christian with Christ. Salvation comes through the Redeemer and can come in no other way. He kept the truths of the doctrine of grace and of ethical duty on the same plane, but sought to put them in their right order. First, union with Christ and through him power to obey the high commands that he puts upon us and reach the great heights that he sets before us. Save the individual, and he will save the society and the state. Link the man to Christ, imbue him with Christ's spirit, and then you will have the great force by which economic problems are to be solved, society regenerated, and every crown claimed for the King. In conclusion, I do not want to exhibit a mere local patriotism or simply to make a national boast, but I feel that our evangelical churches on the other side of the water in this matter are at least one step in front of your churches in America.

President Angell announced the name of the Rev. Robert Craig, of Edinburgh, who was the next speaker.

Remarks by Rev. Robert Craig, M.A., D.D.

Mr. President, — I have listened to the paper with great admiration, and I have only now to express an estimate of one subject which has been omitted from the discussion. This is of so great importance in every plan of social reform that I regret that no reference has been made to the evil influence of the drink traffic. We in Scotland received a great impulse from America which has helped very much to extend the temperance reformation. I am reminded of the name of him who did much to forward this work among us — President Finney, of Oberlin — and of the long series of meetings which he held in Edinburgh fifty years ago, the influence of which is still felt. This subject of total abstinence, as a duty, has come up again and again in our efforts for social reform, and it seems to me that many of the pastors of the churches in this country and in Great Britain have not been exactly open to criticism for not attending to this field of reform work. I question whether any men have been more interested in the subject than they have been, and whether any one has sacrificed more or done more in the spirit of Christ than the ministers of these churches. They have come in contact with much opposition. In order to reach the people in the spirit of their Master they have sacrificed many things of advantage to themselves. This truth ought to be acknowledged, for they have for long years been in this fight with the drink traffic. Many ministers have been required to sacrifice health, comfort, influence with the wealthy in order to manifest the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Depend upon it, this is for the churches one of the leading issues in social reform. In opposing the forces of the drink traffic some of the churches are doing a great work among educated men and are encouraging citizens to offer strong opposition to the issue of liquor licenses. In order to save men through the power of the cross, the churches are teaching self-denial, and are doing a great work among the poor and the rich; for abstainers are showing the power of the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, with a sense

of their responsibility to the future — that children may be free from the evil inheritance of intoxicating liquor.

There is danger of making too much of evolution. I have looked into this matter for more than thirty years and felt the fascination of it, but the theory of evolution never yet saved a single soul. It needs the love of the Lord Jesus Christ in the heart, the all-embracing love which is found in the gospel, all Christ's great earnestness and his love for humanity, to bring people under the influence of the cross, that they may deny themselves. The churches must never forget the individual soul. The character of the unit determines the character of the mass. We must remember that the individual is the one who is first to be saved, and that redemption is only through the work of Christ. We must not deceive ourselves in looking for the realization of great social reforms in the eloquent advocacy and verification of certain theories, forgetting the importance of the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation for every one who believes, for every individual soul, pardoned through the death of Christ. Let it be remembered, in truth, that permanent regeneration for society is to come to man through the individual life, that the child is to feel the love of God through the truth taught concerning the Fatherhood of God, that the child is to realize that he is a child of God seeing that God loves every child. Christ tasted death for every man. These are the principles to be inculcated by every church, and they are required to be taught in Christian social reform.

The hour for adjournment having nearly arrived, President Angell offered the remaining time to Professor Taylor, who replied as follows: —

Response by Prof. Graham Taylor, D.D., LL.D.

I think if you will read my paper you will see that I have forefended myself from many of the criticisms arising from mishearing. I distinctly denied that the church should have any formal connection with particular schemes of social reform or of economic production and distribution. But it is not a question of economics or politics to say that any system of industrial or social order is untenable which attempts to incorporate such diametrically opposite ethical standards as that upon which the "competitive system" is based, and the principle of neighbor-love inculcated by Christ. It is impossible that these two standards can both be fundamentally right and equally approved by the Christian conscience. You can never make them appear to be of equal authority. You can never make people believe that you really hold to the Christian principle of loving your neighbor as yourself if you justify the practice of the competitive principle of each one for himself. In all the years of my pastoral service I have seen the fine gold of the Christian character of our Sunday-school boys become dim from their entrance upon the fratricidal strife of the competitive struggle for existence. Recognize, if we must, the competitive principle as the basis of the existing status, but do not justify it by the authority of your altruistic faith. Rather sink with the flag of Christ's ideal at high-mast than float on any bottom with it at half-mast.

Permit a word of rejoinder to Dr. Fairbairn and my English brethren. I would like to have assured them, if time had allowed, of my appreciation of the fact that the English labor movement is a quarter of a century ahead of the American, largely, I believe, because of the friendlier attitude of their churches toward it than of ours. For I well know that the back-

bone and strength of the labor leadership in England have been largely drawn from the rank and file of the non-conformist churches. But, my brethren, I am sure you cannot read the industrial history of the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries in your own most eminent English authorities, without feeling sure that the crisis of the industrial revolution came upon the churches at the most unfortunate period in their history, when they were least prepared to grapple with the appalling situation in which the manufacturing population of England found itself. I am almost willing to leave the point at issue to the arbitrament of Hodder's "Life of Lord Shaftesbury." What was it that caused that greatest hero of the century his heartbreaks, if it was not the lack of coöperation from the churches whose sympathy and help he had a right to expect in his efforts to stop the slaughter of the innocents by the competitive industries of Christian England? The fact of the unpreparedness of the church at that period was cited, however, to account for the breach which still exists to an appalling extent between the churches and the productive manual workers in all Christendom. For over twenty years I have stood in this breach trying to bridge it — stood for the church where it was hardest to stand. In all that time I have heard but two men speak disrespectfully of the character of Christ, but very rarely have I heard respectful reference to the churches that bear his name. This fact is stated, not extenuated. But it must be faced. There is a tremendous gulf between the churches and the mass of people in the densest populations of Christendom. The deepest breach is that in the ethical relationship of industrial life. Let me illustrate from a leaf of social settlement life. One evening in the workingmen's economic discussion at Chicago Commons an individualist declared that he was "tired of hearing the Golden Rule preached to working men." "It is the dream of a Hebrew madman. It never has been true and never can be. The survival of the strongest is the law of nature. Competition is the law of trade. The biggest beast gets the biggest bone. Might is the only right. Stop not, therefore, for the weak. It is only the creeping Christ who tells you to do so." The socialist who had opened the discussion made reply: "There is, as Drummond says, a struggle for the life of others in nature as truly as the struggle for the life of self. Motherhood proves it. But I have read somewhere that this struggle is seen least in the hyena breed. That man's evolution must have been arrested at the hyena stage. But, men, to get the beast out of all of us that is in that man to a greater degree cost the life of Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth. I am no Christian, but it makes a man's heart full to think that he had to die for a thing like that." Brethren, it is not hard to tell toward which of these two positions the ethics of Christ's gospel most tends.

Dr. Gladden, who ought to have had my place on this program, did not mean, I am sure, in emphasizing the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, to disparage the dynamic force in the person and work of Christ. When will we ever cease falsely to discriminate between ethics and religion! This breach in the ethical relationship of the industrial world cannot be bridged cheaply. Only by a vicarious incarnation of the ethics of the cross of Christ, in the flesh and blood of its members, can the church span that chasm. Do not, for Christ's sake and brother man's, too hastily criticise the men who are standing in that breach to reconcile men to each other as well as to God. I believe that there is an ethical revival of religion at hand — a revival of the religion of relationship to God that will express itself in the brotherhood relationship to men. Can any one deny that it is needed? Must not all of us admit that the evangelical movement is, for the present at least, experiencing a decided check? Is it loyal, do you

think, to blink the facts? Does not loyalty to the church demand that we face the worst and do our best? Let me again repudiate any intention of being unjust to the churches of to-day or of the past. But, brethren, we have got to be honest even in religion, where, perhaps, it is hardest to keep the Golden Rule. There is more Christianity in solution than has been precipitated in conventional expression or crystallized in ecclesiastical form. Let us recognize the footfall of the Holy Spirit to be in advance of us all.

The Council adjourned without further discussion at 12.10 o'clock.

EXCURSION TO SALEM

The morning of Saturday, September 23, dawned brightly, promising a day of special pleasure to the members of the Council and their friends, who might make a pilgrimage to Salem.

At noon, by special train, more than 500 persons availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting the place, so conspicuous in the early annals of the country — so prominent in its political, social, literary and scientific history. After a half-hour's ride, through the bustling cities and villages and across the picturesque marshes bordering the shore, the ancient town was reached.

At the station, the visitors were met by representatives of the Congregational churches and conducted to the site of the first Protestant church built in America, which is still in existence, and near which, two and a half centuries ago, stood the homes of Endicott, Higginson and Hugh Peters. Here a halt was made in the public square, and after a few words of explanation by the Rev. DeWitt S. Clark, D.D., the senior pastor in Salem, the delegates reverently bared their heads and most impressively sang two stanzas of Dr. Leonard Bacon's hymn: —

O God, beneath thy guiding hand,
  Our exiled fathers crossed the sea;
And when they trod the wintry strand,
  With prayer and psalm they worshiped thee.

. . . . . .

And here thy name, O God of love,
  Their children's children shall adore,
Till these eternal hills remove,
  And spring adorns the earth no more.

The march was then resumed to the Young Men's Christian Association building, of which the city is justly proud, in whose "Memorial Hall" a reception was given to the guests. The pastors of the city and vicinity and prominent citizens were present, by invitation, to join in extending their welcome to the distinguished strangers. After the Divine Blessing had been invoked by the Rev. Henry S. Toms, of London, a bountiful collation was served by the young people of the Congregational churches, and a delightful hour of social intercourse was enjoyed, as people from many lands made each other's acquaintance. There was time only for brief addresses from representatives of various countries, prefaced by a welcoming word by Rev. DeWitt S. Clark, D.D., chairman of the local committee. He was followed by Mayor J. H. Turner, who gave to the guests "the freedom of the city," by Rev. H. Arnold Thomas, M.A., President of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D., of Australia; Principal J. H. George, D.D., PH.D., of

Montreal; Rev. E. S. Timoteo, of Hawaii, who was most warmly greeted; Rev. Tsunetern Miyagawa, of Japan; and Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., of Michigan.

Post-Prandial Exercises

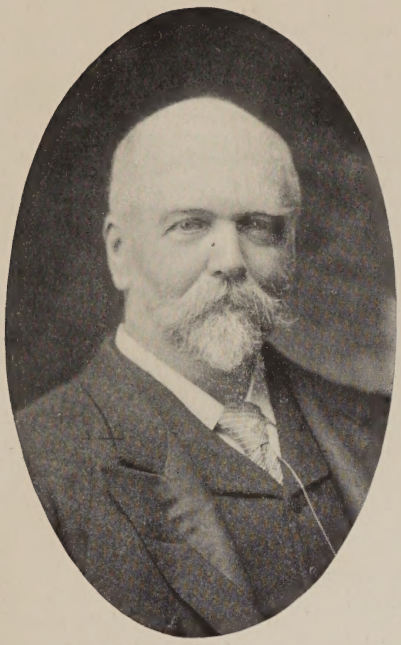
At the conclusion of the lunch, Rev. DeWitt S. Clark, D.D., called the company to order and spoke as follows: —

Address by Rev. DeWitt S. Clark, D.D.

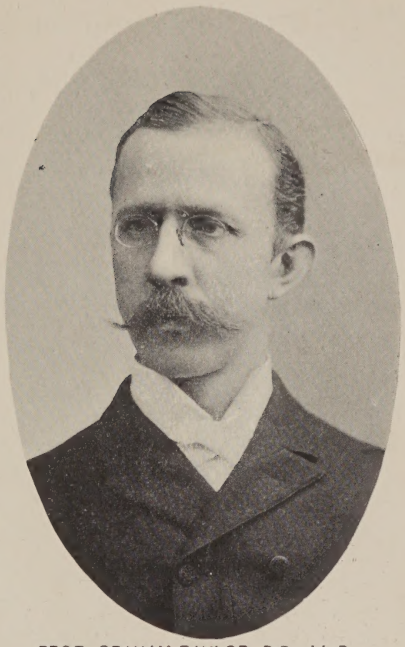
It has given me the greatest delight to be permitted, in behalf of my colleagues, Mr. Brodie and Mr. Buckham, and also of the Congregational churches of this city, to welcome this very distinguished company of our ecclesiastical brethren and friends to our city to-day. A long time ago the tribes used to come up annually to Salem, but that custom has been intermitted for a good while, and we are glad to see you return to it. You must remember that here was a well-civilized community, far advanced in all the arts and sciences, when Boston was but "a howling wilderness." By some strange fortune, Boston seems to have gotten the precedence and has asserted its claim to be the "hub of the universe," around which all the spokes, to the utmost periphery of the wheel of progress, revolve. Now, after the very magnificent reception which you have been accorded at Boston, I would be a very bold man to challenge that claim, but nevertheless we have venerable institutions in this town which we will presently show you. Here, you must remember, the germ of the Christian faith, when it was given an opportunity to grow in virgin soil, naturally evolved into a Congregational church. Here the seeds of civil and religious liberty were scattered with a pretty generous hand by the famous Roger Williams. Here, too, was the first place, as you may remember and ought to remember to our credit, where, after a fatal and terrible superstition had spread through this and all civilized lands, the first protest was made against that superstition by a well-established reason. We people in Salem to-day do not exercise the black art. We do not send our fellow-citizens through the air on broomsticks. We do not hang to the trees those at whom any malicious persons may point the finger. Yet we do hope to exercise a little wholesome witchery over you this afternoon, as we invite you to stay in our presence for a while. You come here to look at our quaint old town; you come here to look at the fossils. We have them, but you must also remember that we are a modern town. Perhaps you do not know that one of the great inventions of the modern world, the telephone, was perfected in Salem, and that the first message that the world ever heard over it, went from Lyceum Hall in Salem to Boston. Perhaps you do not know that the first electric cars were successfully operated in this city. Perhaps you do not know that among the first municipalities to establish general electric lighting was the old city of Salem. We are abreast of the age. You are in a city of nearly 36,000 inhabitants, and though you may be awfully hungry and awfully thirsty and awfully faint, you may go up and down our streets and into our by-ways and alleys and you cannot find a liquor saloon.

I am interrupted by His Honor ex-Mayor Rantoul who says that the telephone was perfected on this spot where we stand. From here, our voice has gone out through all the earth.

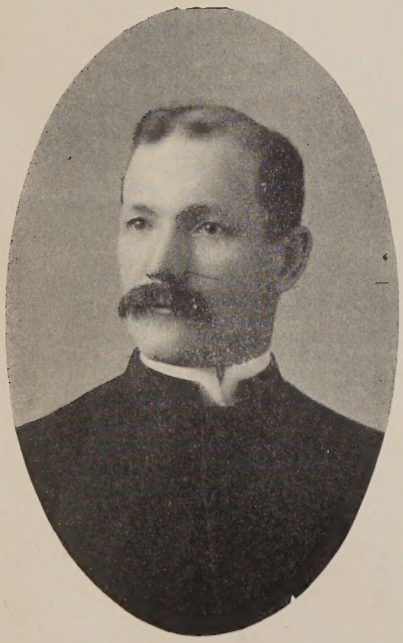
Now I have nothing to do, ladies and gentlemen, except to extend to



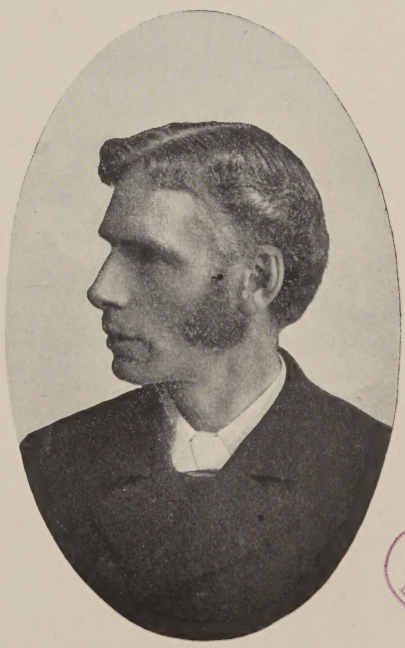
ALBERT SPICER, ESQ., M.P.,
London, England.



PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D.,
Chicago, Ill.



PRIN. JOSEPH H. GEORGE, D.D., Ph.D.,
Montreal, Canada.



REV. HENRY ARNOLD THOMAS, M.A.,
Bristol, England.

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you the very cordial hospitality not only of our three Congregational churches, but also, I am sure, of our citizens generally, who have been greatly interested in your coming and who have done a great deal in helping us to entertain you. We feel that your visit will be an inspiration to us to value the things which we already have and to lead us to feel perhaps all the more that, although we cannot go out into the wide world and see all the great things in it and must dwell quietly here, we are citizens after all "of no mean city."

It is proper that you should be presented with the Chief Magistrate of our city as our first speaker, his Honor Mayor Turner.

Welcome by Mayor J. H. Turner

Members of the Council, — As Mayor of Salem I welcome you here to our good old city and extend to you the freedom of the city while you are here. And now, as you have a good many important places to visit and but little time in which to see them, I will not intrude upon your time.

Remarks by Dr. Clark

You will see, ladies and gentlemen, that his Honor the Mayor has set the pattern for those who are to speak here this afternoon. There was quite a while ago, they tell us, an irruption of British friends into Salem with guns in their hands and their bayonets pointed somewhat sharply at those who were disposed to keep certain "munitions of war" over across the river yonder. They were very kindly dealt with and reasoned with, and of course the counsels of the city of peace prevailed, and they quietly and prudently made their exit from the town with the blessing of all the community upon them. Now we have another incursion of British friends who come in a very different spirit and to bring us something besides guns and bayonets; and I am sure that the leader of them all, the gentleman whom I wish now to introduce to you, the President of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, will vividly remind you of a very distinguished visitor, a part of whose name he bears and who spoke to us in this city years ago. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Rev. Henry Arnold Thomas, of Bristol, England.

Address by Rev. H. Arnold Thomas, M.A.

Mr. Mayor and Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — These addresses are to be very brief, and very brief I understand means three minutes. It is a very difficult thing for any man to speak for England in three minutes. England is, I know, a ridiculously small country in comparison with this vast American continent; but still, although we have had to some extent our conceit taken out of us since we have reached this side, we do yet think a little about our own importance. I shall not therefore make any hopeless and ineffectual attempt to speak for England and Wales to-day. All I shall do will be to say, on behalf of those whom I during this present year officially represent, how profoundly we have been delighted and touched by the hospitality and goodness and kindness of our American brethren. We rejoice greatly in the memories of the past. We rejoice in all those honorable traditions of which we have been hearing since we reached Salem this morning. But I think I may say that we rejoice even more in that which we see and have experienced of the

goodness and the faithfulness and the piety of the American people of to-day.

When I came to Boston last Wednesday morning, I had been traveling by the sleeper, and although I know the sleeper is a great American institution, one does not sleep quite so easily on board the train as he does in his own bed at home. It was raining. I remember somebody, writing of the heavy rains he had experienced in Wales, said that the rain there was as bad as the reign of the very worst monarch we have ever had in England. Well, it was rain like that which we had last Wednesday morning, and I confess it was a little discouraging to arrive at a city under such meteorological circumstances. But I want to say that the extreme kindness of the Boston friends made us feel at once at home, and what we found in Boston we find in equal degree here at Salem. Brethren, this Congregational fellowship, this religious kindness, mutual affection and confidence, are things for which we all are most deeply grateful, for we feel that here lies the great hope both for England and America and for the world. I believe we realize that the friendship of the world, if it is to be permanent, must be based on Christian faith and feeling. That the friendship between England and America, if it is to be deep and lasting, must be of a religious character. I do not think the ties of blood are sufficient. I am sure that the fact that we speak the same language is not sufficient, nor is the fact that we may have similar political aims and sympathies sufficient. We shall never be bound together unless we are one in the Lord Jesus Christ and unless we are combining for the promotion of the great Christian aims. I believe that the hope of true fellowship between the United States and the old country is in our Lord Jesus Christ and in our common devotion to him and in the life and earnestness and zeal of our Christian churches. Therefore I rejoice as we all rejoice, in everything which brings the churches together and which helps them forward in the great and sacred work to which they are consecrated.

We thank you most heartily for the kindness with which you have received us, for your abounding hospitality to us as we have arrived upon this sacred and historic spot.

Remarks by Dr. Clark

There is another gentleman with us from over the border, and I wish him to know that we, in this section of the country, do not wish any more *seals* of the Canadians than their seals of good fellowship and eternal loyalty to the United States and Great Britain both — Rev. Dr. George, of Montreal, Principal of the Congregational College of Canada.

Address by Rev. Prin. J. H. George, D.D., Ph.D.

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, Dear Friends, — We up in Canada are a very sensitive people. We do not get very much recognition as a rule because of our peculiar relationship to Great Britain and our special relationship to the United States. Nevertheless, we are exceedingly sensitive and extremely ambitious, and we propose to live in perfect harmony with Great Britain and in complete fellowship with the people of the United States until we gain a position in which we shall be recognized as worthy of a place along with Americans or Britons. Let me explain what I mean. When the Americans talk of Great Britain they include Canada, as though we were a sort of appendix to that wonderful country, though we are a

part and parcel of the British Empire. For instance, word came to us that we would be invited as a delegation to attend the International Council. We were delighted, and we elected all the men we could, in all conscience, on the delegation and then we elected three or four more to have them on hand. We were told that we would have a part on the program of the International Council and so one of us was elected to represent Canada. When we came here we found that because there were so many British speakers the Canadian delegation was left off entirely, and we were very grateful. However, some intimated that Canada was not large and was included under that broad title, "other countries." That made us feel better, but shortly after the Council opened a most eloquent man was called on to invoke the divine blessing, and he prayed in such a manner that we all felt fairly comfortable under the prayer. He asked a blessing upon Great Britain and the United States and the people beyond the sea and the people beneath the Southern Cross and the people on the islands of the ocean and the "Flowery Kingdom," thus indicating by such terms as these all the peoples he could think of. Then, for fear he would omit some of them, he asked for an especial blessing on the people who live in the "dark and desolate countries." Now we can endure that, but when our friend, the chairman of a Congregational Union of England and Wales, gets up here and speaks in such a way as to include us under the flag of the United States it is just a little too much. Said he, "Of course we have a ridiculously small country; it is not to be compared with this great continent." Let me say, however, that we intend to get back at you Englishmen and you Americans in a most effectual way. We believe in you on both sides of the ocean and we love you as tenderly as we love any persons — except ourselves, and we are going to invite you all to come to Montreal for the next International Council. We shall try to entertain you there, but we want it distinctly understood that we invite you because we love you and we lavish our sympathy upon you, but we cannot give you any plutocratic reception. We are unable to compete with London and we do not propose to try and compete with the people of this great Commonwealth who have indulged us so much that we hardly know where we are. But we are going to give you a warm Canadian welcome to show you that we are one after all, whether we are British or American, whether we belong to the colonies or the most distant parts of the earth. We are Congregationalists. We have one Father and we are one brotherhood, and I trust a brotherhood as strong as the love of God in the human heart, strong enough indeed without ecclesiastical bonds to bind us together in developing our church enterprises, in carrying on our mission work, in upholding our educational institutions and doing all that becometh those who belong to the kingdom of God.

Remarks by Dr. Clark

It is a puzzle to our children how flies are able to walk on the ceiling upside down, and to the child in this part of the world it is something of an enigma how the people on the other side of the globe manage to maintain themselves in contact with the earth. Now I am going to introduce to you a gentleman who comes from the region which we know as "under the Southern Cross." There has been a good deal of disappointment expressed because there are so few faces in this delegation that we can call English faces. We thought you were all Americans! But I will introduce to you a gentleman who bears a generous, glorious, unmistakable English face, Rev. Dr. Bevan, of Melbourne, Australia.

Address by Rev. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D.

Mr. Mayor, Dr. Clark, Ladies and Gentlemen, — My friend and brother, Dr. George, has just told you that he has been indulging so greatly of late that he does not know exactly where he is. I am afraid that as Salem has no saloons, Dr. Clark has been helping his brother and telling him that he may as well do the best he can before he gets to that benighted place where they cannot indulge themselves. I am sorry for them; I trust they will recover; and then perhaps when they have recovered, Canada will know where it is.

Dr. Clark has observed that the children here hardly know how we on the other side of the world manage to stay on. Well, I suppose we do what is very rare in some parts of the world, and that is, we stand on our heads. The majority of people stand on other persons' heads, and it is a good thing that other persons have generally had pretty good heads to stand on. I presume that is one reason for the success of modern Salem: it stands on the heads of such excellent ancestors, and certainly has also gained some first-rate heads for itself.

I cannot tell you, ladies and gentlemen, how I feel when I come into this most historic town. When I remember all the forces that have gone out from Salem and what Salem stands for, not only in the religious history of our churches, not only in the influence which has been exercised through these churches throughout these States, and through these States throughout the world, but also in literature, in art, and in science, I feel that really Salem has led these United States, seeing that, according to our chairman, Salem has certainly been the leader of Boston itself. But whether in the pleasant interchanges of after-luncheon humor, or whether in the realities of the literature that we have enjoyed, you may be quite sure that this city occupies a very important place. It will be a very interesting thing for me to return to Australia and say to many folk there, when they become glamoured by the later wizardry of one of the sons of this city, — a wizard mightier in his power than that which the witches ever wielded who are associated with some of the melancholy histories of the past, — and when they follow perhaps also the pages of that great historian whose name I think is associated somewhat with this city, — that I have been there. It is something to have seen the streets and walked within the memories of the great Salem of the East; it is also an added wealth to one who has already many stores of delightful memories to have visited this city of yours.

I represent Australia, a pretty large country. We might take in the whole of the United States and drop it down in the middle of Australia. I see that that statement is received with laughter, which indicates sometimes a lack of faith. I have been told that modern Christian life is wanting in ancient faith. I only hope that all the new theologies that you believe in are as worthy of credence as that geographical fact to which I have referred. We could put the whole of the United States into the middle of Australia, and we Australians who live on the fringes of that great continent would not be at all incommoded. There would be still room enough and to spare in that great land. All that we want is population. We have plenty of land, plenty of opportunities for a new people, and I have no doubt the population will come in time as it has come into this great land. I remember a great empire concerning which the man who wrote of it proudly and spoke of it boldly and sang of it sweetly said that upon its utmost verge, almost beyond the inhabited scenes of the world, there was dwelling a people in the far-distant Thule. They then occupied the dim verge of a great empire. To-day where is that empire?

Broken, scattered, found only in story; and the land that lay upon its utmost verge is to-day the mightiest land on the face of this earth, with largest influence, and though it be a small land, worthy I believe to walk hand in hand with you, this great nation of the West. It may be that in the Divine Providence it is intended that we too, who live in far-off Australia, may become also in the future a great seat of empire, the center of a mighty imperialism influential for righteousness and for liberty. And if we do, it will be only through the same power which has made England great, which is making the United States powerful — that faith in Christ and that service of the Master for which your ancestors came into this township and settled it and left this little place of great memory in the history of human liberty and human faith.

Remarks by Dr. Clark

When our seamen first went out over the ocean "to the farthest port of the rich East," they little expected that their successors would before long bring back from that far-off sunrise country of Japan one of its choicest treasures, a Congregational clergyman, born and trained there. I now have the privilege of introducing to you Rev. Mr. Miyagawa, of Osaka, Japan.

Address by Rev. Tsunetern Miyagawa

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — I am going to make a three minutes' speech, but I have omitted the Japanese part of it, and so I am entitled to make a six minutes' speech. A good many ask me what is the condition of Japan to-day. Well, I do not know as this is just the place to speak about Japan, but I think I am entitled to speak about Japan in this historic presence because our first preacher, Dr. Neesima, was brought up in the heart of Puritan New England, and a good many missionaries have been sent out from this Puritan New England to Japan. We have just celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first Congregational churches which were organized under the auspices of the American Board. They were organized with only forty members, but now we have seventy-two churches with over ten thousand Christians. The spirit of self-support and independence has been very strong in our churches from the beginning. This we owe to the missionaries of the American Board who have crossed to Japan and helped us to help ourselves. We have twenty-three independent and self-supporting churches. When I say independent it means that we depend only on God and on ourselves. Other churches are dependent churches because they receive financial help according to their need from the missionaries of the American Board or the home missionaries of Japan.

Fifteen years ago the chief statesmen and influential leaders of our country were very enthusiastic to Europeanize the country in order to get on an equal footing with the nations of the West. They tried very hard to bring about a moral and social reform. We received the most unexpected reinforcement from these statesmen. The Christian missionaries were invited to teach in the schools, and thousands of young men and women flocked to the Sunday-schools to study the Bible, and a great number of converts were received. At that time we imagined that Japan would be a Christian nation before the nineteenth century closed, but God ordered otherwise. The Lord's ways are not our ways. We needed trial and disappointment to purify us for future usefulness. We had great trials after that time because a reactionary movement came on. The

Shintoists and Buddhists cried out against the churches. Then a tide of unbelief swept through our churches and schools. It was very hard to overcome it and some of our friends turned their backs against us and sneered at us. But we have waited with great patience for the return of the tide, and now the new tide is coming in. The government has recognized Christianity there as one of the religions of Japan, and the attitude of the emperor toward Christianity is manifestly changed.

Remarks by Dr. Clark

Whatever you think about expansion or imperialism — and we have different ideas about it here — we all think it is very well that under the American flag we can include the great islands of Hawaii. We have here to-day from those islands three representative Congregational ministers to whom we extend our heartiest greetings as "fellow citizens" with us in the Great Republic. I will introduce Rev. Mr. Emerson, who will interpret the remarks of one of these brethren.

Remarks by Rev. Oliver P. Emerson

We feel here this afternoon at this time like the small boy who is told that he may be seen but not heard. You have ancient representations from the islands, — antique, as they are called; we want to bring here our modern representations, and I wish to introduce to you the pastor of one of our native churches, the moderator of our Congregational Council, Rev. Mr. Timoteo.

Address by Rev. E. S. Timoteo

(*Interpreted by Mr. Emerson*)

It is like taking a trip by ferry boat for me to come here and try to speak to you through an interpreter. You must give me a little time. I have only three minutes, but if you will be patient perhaps we can get somewhere even on a ferry boat. God has been very gracious to us in permitting us to tread this sacred ground from which went forth your missionary fathers to teach us the way of life. They went out there seeking souls that were groping in the darkness to bring them to the light. It was in 1830 that the missionary fathers went out, taking that long voyage around Cape Horn through the great oceans of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Last March completed eighty years of the continuance of that missionary work which your missionary fathers carried on in that land. They went forth and they builded in that land, and the foundation they laid was a foundation that shall be enduring because it was laid on the rock Christ Jesus. And so do not be afraid that the work out there is going to give way, that the good work which your missionary fathers began to build and establish there is going to be lost. It will go on, and it shall be our endeavor to continue that work to the end, in that land where lie the remains of those missionary fathers who toiled so many years with so much success.

Remarks by Dr. Clark

It is quite time that we were moving on our trip around the city, but there is one gentleman we ought to hear from, who represents North, South, East, West, and pretty much all the rest of the world, and that is Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Boynton, of Detroit, Michigan.

ADDRESS BY REV. NEHEMIAH BOYNTON, D.D.

I never in my life before wanted to be so magnificent and so modest at the same time as I do at this moment when I am to speak for the country which to me at least is the grandest country in all the world. But it is impossible for a man to be magnificent on an occasion like this, because Dr. Clark is within reach of his coat tails and will be saying to me in a moment that I must pluck the feathers out of the wings of my imagination and stick them into the tail of my judgment. On the other hand, it is the most dangerous thing in the world for a man to be over-modest. There were two fellows who had been very intimate in their youth. Their paths of life had separated, but one day they met. One of the boys, Tom by name, had taken unto himself a wife. On meeting his friend he introduced his wife and they had a little conversation. After the wife had withdrawn Tom turned to his friend and said with this very dangerous modesty, "I tell you, Jack, she 's not very handsome, but then you know beauty is only skin deep." Jack slapped his friend on the shoulder and said, "Well, then, Tom, if I were you I would skin her!" I would not want to be so modest here to-day that any of you would be tempted to lay violent hands upon my country. Max O'Rell said a while ago that America was composed of seventy million of people, mostly colonels. Since then we have had a paltry ten million added to the population and have increased in a small degree the number of colonels, but I never knew how he could have gotten that conception of America until to-day, when, standing by the side of one of our dear English brethren, he said, pointing to our chairman, Dr. Clark, "Who is that gentleman?" I said, "That is one of our beloved and distinguished doctors of divinity." "It seems to me," he said, "that all of your doctors of divinity here in America look like retired cavalry officers."

There is one thing we Americans do not like to be called: we do not like to be called a conglomerate people. We are not. We are a composite people. If you want to know what an American is you have simply to take the gentlemen who have preceded me upon this platform to-day, the brother from England, the brother from Canada, the brother from Australia, the brother from Japan, the brother from Hawaii, and put them into the keeping of some photographer and allow him to take a picture of each upon the same plate, and the result would be an American. Rudyard Kipling had that idea in his mind when, seeing into the very depths of the nation's heart, he wrote that poem where the American spirit is represented as saying: —

> The Celt is in his heart and hand,
> The Gaul is in his brain and nerve,
> Where, cosmopolitanly planned,
> He guards the redskin's dry reserve.
>
> Lo! imperturbable he rules,
> Unkempt, disreputable, vast —
> And yet in spite of all the schools,
> I — I shall save him at the last!

I want to reciprocate the word of Dr. Thomas. There was an old lady whose children came to visit her, and it seemed to her that they took unusual liberties in the old lady's house. One morning at breakfast, when they were all gathered around her, she said, "My children, there is one thing I am going to have settled here and now. I am going to find out whether I am living with you or whether you are living with me." It

seems to me that in a good deal of the conversation as to the relationships between our two countries somebody has been trying to find out whether the daughters are living with their mother or the mother is living with her daughters. Neither can be true. The old lady cannot live with her daughters and the daughters cannot live with the old lady, but both of them can live together and work out the magnificent future which God has given to each according to their ability and destiny, in the sympathy, in the friendliness, in the brotherly love, which by none of the mutations of human life or the machinations of the politicians can be put away. Let us pray, as we stand here together, that if we cannot live each in the other's home we can both live together, and what God has joined together let not man put asunder.

Remarks by A. J. Shepheard, Esq.

Mr. Chairman, — I wish to say a word in behalf of the English delegates. The arrangements up to the time that we arrived here in Salem were in the hands of a Boston committee, and we shall have an opportunity of thanking them later. The arrangements here are in the hands of our Salem friends, ladies as well as gentlemen, and I think we ought not to go on our further pilgrimage without expressing our great thanks to these Salem friends. We are somewhat of a crowd, Mr. Chairman, for this little place, but you have brought us through splendidly up to this time, we have had a first-rate luncheon, and at the end of our trip through the city we shall go home deeply thankful to you and your committee for all they have done for us.

Dr. Clark called upon the Rev. James F. Brodie, of Salem, to respond to these words of thanks.

Response by Rev. James F. Brodie

Ladies and Gentlemen, — I will not undertake to make response in words to this most gracious appreciation of our efforts to entertain you. I have been on a committee that has been seeking to speak in a language that is louder than words, and if none of you go away hungry we are satisfied. Let me continue just a moment in the same language. I have been commissioned by the luncheon committee to make a present of this combination of colors to the chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the flags of England and the United States. [The speaker held up two small flags tied together with an orange ribbon.] We all know what each of those flags stands for. They are tied together with an orange ribbon, which means, "No war with the Boers."

Rev. H. Arnold Thomas, receiving the flags, said: —

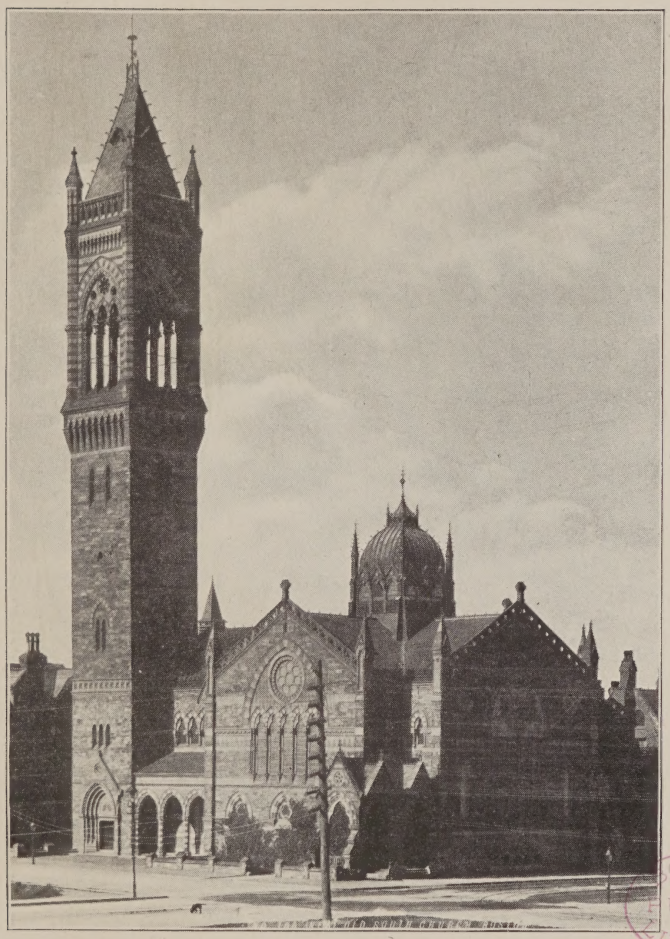
May I say, sir, that I receive these flags with the greatest possible gratitude and pleasure. I will take good care that they occupy the most conspicuous position at the meetings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, which are to be held in about three weeks' time in my native city of Bristol.

Three verses of the hymn, "Blest be the tie that binds," were sung by the delegates. The English delegates then sang their

national anthem, "God save the Queen," which was followed by the singing of "America" by the American delegates. After three rousing cheers were given for the two flags, three cheers for Salem, and three cheers for Dr. Clark, the delegates proceeded on their trip of inspection of the historic places of the city.

The afternoon passed all too quickly as, on foot and in barges, the *Pilgrims* traversed the *Puritan* city — its quaint streets, its unique dwellings, its charming museums, its churches and public buildings.

At 5.30 they found themselves *en route* to Boston, having made a most favorable impression upon all who met them, and who would fain have prolonged their stay in the place where Congregationalism first had its natural development in the New World.



BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

NEW OLD SOUTH CHURCH.

Sunday, September 24, 1899

ASSIGNMENTS FOR PULPIT SUPPLIES

On Council Sunday most of the pulpits of the Congregational churches of Boston and vicinity and many of the pulpits of other denominations were thrown open to the visiting delegates from this and other lands. A larger number of pulpits were thus available than there were preachers to fill them, so that in nearly every instance the invitations from churches of other denominations were declined. The following is as complete a list of assignments as it is possible to make: —

ANDOVER, South, Rev. William B. Selbie, M.A., London.

ARLINGTON, Rev. Clarence T. Brown, Salt Lake City, Utah; Heights, Rev. Frederick Tavender, B.A., B.D., Great Marlow, England.

BOSTON, Berkeley Temple, Prof. Graham Taylor, D.D., LL.D., Chicago, Rev. William Bolton, M.A., London; Boylston Church, Jamaica Plain, Rev. J. J. Halley, Melbourne, Australia; Central, Rev. Prof. W. H. Warriner, M.A., B.D., Montreal, Canada; Charlestown, Winthrop, Rev. John A. Patrick, M.A., Manchester, England; Dorchester, Central, Rev. Prof. Frank C. Porter, D.D., PH.D., New Haven, Conn., Rev. Morgan Jones, Bolton, England; First Free Baptist, Rev. George Porter Chapple, Melbourn, Royston, England; Dorchester, Temple (Baptist), Rev. F. Lansdown, Leicester, England; Hope Chapel, Rev. Francis Lansdown, Leicester, England; Jamaica Plain, Central, Rev. Prof. Elkanah Armitage, M.A., Leeds, England, Rev. Robert Craig, M.A., D.D., Edinburgh; Dorchester, Pilgrim, Rev. Joseph Ogle, Sherborne, England, Rev. J. J. Cooper, Northampton, England; East, Maverick, Rev. D. E. Irons, M.A., B.D., Glasgow, Hawaiian delegation; Mt. Vernon, Rev. W. E. Griffis, D.D., Ithaca, N. Y.; Old South, Rev. Prin. Andrew M. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D., M.A., Oxford, England; Park Street, Rev. Prin. J. H. George, D.D., PH.D., Montreal, Canada; Seaman's Chapel, Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., Detroit; Roxbury, Walnut Avenue, Rev. J. J. Cooper, Northampton, England, Rev. Prof. Alex. Gosman, Hawthorn, Australia; Shawmut, Rev. D. L. Ritchie, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D., A.T.S., Bournemouth, England; South, Phillips, Rev. Frederick Hastings, London, Rev. C. H. Patton, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.; Union, Rev. Prof. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D., Melbourne, Australia, Rev. Frederick Hastings, London; Dorchester, Village, Rev. W. H. Pound, Cortland, N. Y.; Roxbury, West, Rev. Edward Hawes, D.D., Burlington, Vt., Rev. Robert Veitch, M.A., Liverpool; Charlestown, First, Rev. Thomas Chalmers, Port Huron, Mich.; Tremont Temple (Baptist), Rev. Prin. Alfred Cave, B.A., D.D., London; Dorchester, Harvard, Rev. John J. Poynter, Oswestry, England; Second, Rev. Charles H. Richards, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Allston, Rev. William H. Buss, Fremont, Neb.; Jamaica Plain, First Methodist, Rev. Prof. Elkanah Armitage, M.A., Leeds, England; Roslindale, Methodist, Rev. Perry W. Sinks, Youngstown, Ohio; Roxbury, Highland, Rev. John J. Poynter, Oswestry, England.

BROCKTON, Porter, Rev. Alvah L. Frisbie, Des Moines, Ia.; Campello, Pres. James W. Strong, D.D., Northfield, Minn.

BROOKLINE, Leyden, Rev. G. C. Martin, M.A., B.D., Reigate, England; Harvard, Rev. William J. Woods, B.A., Secretary, Congregational Union of England and Wales, Rev. Prin. Alfred Cave, B.A., D.D., London.

CAMBRIDGE, North Avenue, Rev. Henry S. Toms, London, Rev. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D., Melbourne, Australia; Pilgrim, Rev. J. C. Easterbrook, Somerton, England; First, Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Secretary, London Missionary Society; Wood Memorial, Rev. J. G. Frazer, D.D., Cleveland, Ohio; Union Baptist, Rev. F. G. Ragland, Wilmington, N. C.; Prospect Street, Rev. John H. Toms, S. Brisbane, Australia.

CHELSEA, First, Rev. C. J. Ryder, D.D., New York, Rev. J. J. Halley, Melbourne, Australia; Central, Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D., A.T.S., Bournemouth, England, Rev. Dugald Macfadyen, M.A., Hanley, England; Third, Rev. William Salter, D.D., Burlington, Iowa, Prof. Edward L. Curtis, PH.D., D.D., Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

CLINTON, Rev. M. E. Eversz, Chicago, Ill.

CONCORD, Rev. H. W. Turner, B.A., A.T.S., Bolton, England, Rev. J. G. Jones, Penarth, Wales.

DANVERS, First, Rev. Otis Cary, Japan.

EVERETT, First, Rev. John Schofield, Brantford, Ont.; Mystic Side, Rev. John R. Nichols, D.D., Marietta, Ohio, Rev. John Schofield, Brantford, Ont.

FALL RIVER, Central, Rev. Owen Thomas, M.A., London, Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., Columbus, Ohio.

FOXBORO, Rev. Henry L. Bailey, Middletown Springs, Vt.

GLOUCESTER, Trinity, Rev. T. S. Smith, Tillipally, India.

HANOVER, Rev. William Hewgill, M.A., Farnworth, England.

IPSWICH, First, Rev. J. E. Flower, M.A., London; South, Rev. Dan Tatton, Hempstead, England.

LEXINGTON, Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., Columbus, Ohio.

LYNN, North, Rev. Prof. H. M. Scott, D.D., Chicago, Rev. John H. Toms, S. Brisbane, Australia.

MALDEN, First, Rev. C. C. Creegan, D.D., New York City.

MEDFORD, Union, Rev. Luther Rees, Paris, Texas; West, Rev. Messrs, J. P. Gerrie, B.A., Toronto, Ont., A. W. Ackerman, Portland, Ore., Mason Noble, Lake Helen, Fla.

MELROSE, Rev. W. Ivor Jones, A.T.S., Swansea, Wales; Highlands, Rev. William G. Poor, recently of Keene, N. H.

MILTON, Rev. W. F. Cooley, Littleton, N. H.

NEEDHAM, Rev. D. Burford Hooke, London, Rev. R. J. Wells, Stonecroft, Havant.

NEW BEDFORD, North, Rev. Charles Garnett, London.

NEWBURYPORT, Belleville, Rev. Dugald Macfadyen, M.A., Hanley, England.

NEWTON, Center, Rev. T. B. Hyde, Toronto, Ont., Rev. Dan F. Bradley, D.D., Grand Rapids, Mich.; West, Rev. Robert Craig, M.A., D.D., Edinburgh; Eliot, Rev. A. H. Bradford, D.D., Montclair, N. J., Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D., Bedford, England; Auburndale, Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D., Bedford, England.

NORTH BROOKFIELD, Rev. Albert Bushnell, St. Joseph, Mo.

NORTON, Rev. J. W. Bailey, Lockport, N. Y.

NORWOOD, Rev. Archibald F. McGregor, B.A., Toronto, Ont.

PEABODY, Rev. James Stark, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., Rev. Norman H. Smith, M.A., Oxford, England.

PLYMOUTH, Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., Bowdon, England, Rev. Alfred Rowland, LL.B., B.A., London, Rev. Leavitt H. Hallock, D.D., Minneapolis, Minn.

PROVIDENCE, Central, Rev. Peter T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D., Cambridge, England.

QUINCY, Bethany, Rev. J. G. Jones, Penarth, Wales; First Presbyterian, Rev. William Harris, Warwick, Mass.

READING, Rev. Thomas Townsend, Shrewsbury, England.

REVERE, First, Rev. William M. Jones, St. Louis, Mo., Rev. Newton W. Bates, West Bloomfield, N. Y.

SALEM, Crombie Street, Rev. Prof. A. F. Simpson, M.A., Portobello; South, Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., London; Tabernacle, Rev. Richard B. Brindley, Nottingham, England.

SOMERVILLE, Broadway, Rev. C. H. Patton, D.D., St. Louis, Mo., Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor Seminary; Franklin Street, Rev. Martin Anstey, M.A., A.T.S., Dewsbury, England; Prospect Hill, Prof. J. Vernon Bartlett, M.A., Oxford, England; Winter Hill, Rev. Frederic E. Dewhurst, Indianapolis, Ind.

SOUTH FRAMINGHAM, Rev. E. D. Silcox, Paris, Ont.

SPRINGFIELD, First, Rev. Matthias Lansdown, London, England.

STONEHAM, Rev. Joseph Thackeray, St. John's, N. F.

WAKEFIELD, Rev. Edward H. Titchmarsh, M.A., A.T.S., Newbury, England.

WALTHAM, Rev. Morgan Jones, Bolton, England, Rev. Martin Anstey, M.A., A.T.S., Dewsbury, England.

WELLESLEY, Rev. Edgar Mann, Guernsey, England.

WINCHESTER, Rev. William L. Lee, Kettering, England.

WOBURN, First, Rev. H. A. Thomas, M.A., Bristol, England; North, Rev. Luther Rees, Paris, Texas.

WORCESTER, Piedmont, Rev. Robert Bruce, M.A., D.D., Huddersfield, England; Plymouth, Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., Chicago, Ill.

THE LORD'S SUPPER

At half past three o'clock on the Lord's Day, a most impressive and beautiful service of communion with the divine Master was held in the Old South church. Members of the Council and visiting friends nearly filled the body of the spacious church. Delegates from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea joined with Americans in the sacred celebration. Differences of race and earthly potentates were forgotten, and theological views were overlooked, in adoration of the heavenly King.

Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., pastor of the church, conducted a simple devotional service. The hymn "Here, O my Lord, I see thee face to face" was sung.

Administration of the Bread

Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D., of New Jersey, broke the bread, and preceded that act with the following remarks and prayer: —

Remarks by Dr. Bradford

Properly understood, this is the culmination, the very highest point, which our Council will reach. We have been speaking about the Master, and the things of the Master; now we come face to face with him. We have been listening for the sound of the Spirit's voice in the days that are past as it has been interpreted to us by those who have been inspired to speak his word. While we are here to-day we are to strive, I am sure, all of us, to catch "the still small voice" that will speak in every heart and tell us of the things of Christ. If it were only possible for us to be conscious of his presence, what wonderful messages we should hear! If Jesus could find our hearts and our minds wide open, he would speak to us wonderful words concerning his Father and our Father, and we should realize, as we do not at other times, that we are in the presence of "the King, eternal, immortal and invisible, the only wise and true God." He would speak to us a great message of comfort and of joy, for he would remind us of that which distinguished his mission more than anything else, — that he came into this world that he might save sinners and bear away our burden of unworthiness and of guilt and of sin. Our hearts would feel a great joy as we came into his presence and looked into his face. Oh, it is a wonderful message which he speaks to us, — the word of promise of the forgiveness of sins, the word of pardon, the word of peace, the word of comfort, the message of the gospel, the blessed evangel of the Son of God. And he would speak to us, I am sure, also concerning fellowship in him. That which we have begun to realize would be made still more real to us as we appreciated — as we can but dimly now — the fact that we are gathered from all parts of the earth, that we represent various phases of faith, that we represent differences of nationality and blood, that we are all one in Jesus Christ our Lord, that we have one Father and all we are brethren. We speak about this service as especially commemorating the death of Christ, and we do rightly. But it is also more than that, for we can never think of the death of Christ

without remembering also that in due time he rose again, conqueror over death and the grave; and so while we are here we think not only of the fellowship that now is, but we are reminded of the whole church of God in heaven and on earth. What wondrous words we hear dimly and indistinctly now! What wondrous messages would come to us if our hearts were only so pure that we could see God and our minds so receptive that no action of the Holy Ghost could be lost! Let us, as we gather here this day from the ends of the earth, representing the kingdom of God as it already has power in the world, pray earnestly that we may be pure in heart, that we may be earnest in our purposes, that we may be loving in our spirits, that we may discern our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, "who is the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person."

On that last night before he was betrayed the Master took bread and when he had given thanks he said, "This is my body which was broken for you. This do in remembrance of me." As the Master took the bread and looked to the Father in thanksgiving, so let us look to him.

Prayer by Dr. Bradford

Our heavenly Father, we thank thee for all thy goodness and mercy to us and to all men, for all the revelations which thou hast given to us of thy great majesty and thy matchless power in all the world that is about us. We thank thee that we may see something of thee in all the movements of history and may believe that, as thou dost clothe thyself with light as with a garment and as thou dost make known thyself day by day to all the children of men in ways which are more or less dim and indistinct, thou dost come to us in the fulness of thy power and in the infinitude of thy love in Jesus Christ our Lord. We thank thee for all his precious example, for all the wonderful words which he spoke. We thank thee for his sacrificial death. We thank thee that he is drawing all men unto himself and that in drawing them unto himself he is drawing all men near to one another. We thank thee that we may believe that he is risen again and that he ever liveth to make intercession for us. We thank thee that, as we come around this table with our burden of unworthiness and sinfulness, we may hear thy word sounding in our ears, "God commendeth his love toward us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." We thank thee that when our hearts are burdened with sorrow and grief we may remember that Jesus wept human tears. We thank thee that when we have our cares and our troubles we may remember that he bore our griefs and carried our sorrows and that in all our afflictions he is afflicted. We bow before thee and we are burdened with the thought of thy goodness. How can we praise thee for all thy mercy to us and to all the children of men? We will take of the cup of salvation and call upon the name of our Lord. Grant us the blessings for which our souls are longing. May there come to us in the hush of this hour the vision of Christ; and while we are partaking of these elements, this broken bread and this wine, the symbols of his body which was broken and of his blood which was shed, may our hearts burn within us because he is by our side. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The following brethren served in the distribution of the sacred emblems: Prof. John Massie, M.A., J.P., of Oxford, Prof. A. S. Wilkins, of Manchester, Evan Spicer, Esq., J.P., of London, Alfred J. Shepheard, Esq., M.L.S.B., of London, James Coutts, Esq.,

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REV. GEORGE A. GORDON, D.D.,
Boston, Mass.

of Edinburgh, and Mr. A. G. Hooper, of Dudley, representing Great Britain; and Rev. William F. Stearns, of Connecticut, and Moses Merrill, PH.D., R. H. Stearns and A. S. Covell, of the Old South church, representing America.

Administration of the Cup

Rev. Robert Bruce, M.A., D.D., of England, served the wine, making the following remarks and offering prayer: —

Remarks by Dr. Bruce

My Beloved Brethren and Sisters in Christ Jesus, — This is not the time or the place for any human words, however wisely chosen. Ours should be the silent, receptive, humble, penitent heart, waiting for and expecting the incoming and the indwelling of the spirit of Jesus who is surely here, — not only represented by his own chosen symbols, not only represented by our love to him, but by his personal, spiritual nearness to us and affection for us. We have been eating of the bread; we are now to drink of the cup. Both of these acts and both of these elements speak of sacrifice. From beginning to end there is sacrifice, — not here; this is the symbol of the sacrifice; the sacrifice was on Calvary, it was in heaven, it was in the whole earthly life to the last moment of our blessed Lord. His body was broken; his blood was shed. But in addition to his sacrifice, which is a complete, finished and perfect work to which we can add nothing, there is our reception of him, the importance of which we should not altogether overlook in our supreme reference to his atoning and infinite sacrifice. What will it avail for us that he died for us, that his body was broken and his blood shed for us, if we do not receive him into our hearts? We eat the broken bread, we drink of the cup; let us therefore evermore grow in the spirit of meekness and take in the whole of Christ, more and more, as we have increased knowledge and increased love, that we may know the power of his resurrection and the efficacy of his propitiation. Then shall our hearts go up in thanksgiving to him; for although it is a death which we commemorate, it is a victory through death. This is a eucharistic service, one of thanks unto him who died for us, who shed his blood for us, but who ever liveth to intercede for us. Our communion during the past week one with another has been one of speech and of thought. It is now in common acts that bring us within one solemn and simple service into a conscious communion with the Spirit. It is a precious moment to us; it awakens many precious memories of former communions in distant places and in distant lands, from that interesting and solemn hour when you and I, possibly very young, for the first time ate of this bread and drank of this cup, not in any great building like this but perhaps in some rural village, in some highland district, in some remote manufacturing city; but coming as we do to this Council and now to this holy table, we feel that wherever we have come from we have come to Christ, we are in him and we live by him. Let us try to live to him who loved us and gave himself for us.

Let us give thanks.

Prayer by Dr. Bruce

Ever-blessed God, our Father, who hast redeemed us from sin and death by the life and death of thy dear Son, our blessed Saviour, receive

our humble and hearty thanks for this service of holy communion which brings us into close fellowship with one another and into living communion and fellowship with our living and adorable Lord. We thank thee for his complete sacrifice, for his perfect life without a flaw, for his holy and atoning death on the cross, for his resurrection and ascension to glory, and for his continued presence with his followers to the end of time. Be with us and with all Christian men and women throughout the world, and help us, by our common acts of worship and fellowship and communion, to realize the brotherhood of all who are redeemed with his precious blood and to hasten the coming of that time of peace and unity and brotherhood when all men shall love thee as the Father, Jesus Christ as the Saviour, and journey as fellow pilgrims to the heavenly city. Be with us in these acts of our communion, and as these cups are carried about among us and we all drink of this cup, may we personally and with the deepest humility and the strongest faith lay hold upon him who laid hold upon us when we were not worthy to be looked upon nor touched, but who has purified and sanctified us by his redemptive life and death. Hear us and accept our thanks through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

After the passing of the cup, the hymn "Rock of Ages" was sung, and the Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., pronounced the benediction.

Monday, September 25, 1899

MORNING SESSION

The Council convened at 9.30 o'clock, President Angell in the chair. After the hymn "Jesus, I love thy charming name" was sung, the Rev. G. S. F. Savage, D.D., of Illinois, offered prayer.

Invitation for Next Council

Secretary Hazen announced that the delegation from Australia had brought an invitation to the Council to hold its next meeting at Sydney.

The invitation was referred to the committee of eleven on the future of the Council.

Address

Prof. John Massie, M.A., J.P., of England, Yates Professor of New Testament Exegesis at Mansfield College, Oxford, delivered an address on the Tendencies of Modern Education.

ADDRESS BY PROF. JOHN MASSIE, M.A., J.P.

THE TENDENCIES OF MODERN EDUCATION

In launching out upon the subject your committee has assigned me — the tendencies of modern education — I feel, like the Ancient Mariner, as though "this soul" were "on a wide, wide sea." But, fortunately for me and for you, the subject is limited by circumstances over which committees have no control. It is not my province to criticise or to reform American education. I do not propose to carry coals to Newcastle, or, speaking more in harmony with the *genius loci*, to carry cigars to Manila or culture to Boston. On the other hand, Boston and America may like to hear something about educational tendencies in the old country; and that is the first boundary within which I propose to abide. But there is another limit. We are a Congregational Council, and therefore it is consistent that I should treat not of education generally, but of certain tendencies which affect us in the old country (chiefly in the English part of it), and in the light of which we crave the sympathy of our brethren in the New World. We have problems not yet solved: some of them you have solved already, or you are nearer than we are to the solution. We are still in fetters: you are free. *O fortunati nimium sua si bona norint.* I pray you, then, lend me your ears and lend us in England your sympathy and moral support as I speak of hopes and aspirations and tendencies towards fulfillment.

The particular tendency of modern education on which I would speak is the tendency to coördinate state duty with religious equality. Lecturing last month in Oxford to the Summer Meeting of the University Extension

on his recent experience in this country, Professor Dicey, Vinerian Professor of English Law, said by way of general commendation: "[The Americans] seemed to have solved the great question of religious freedom. There was a kind of religious freedom in America which did not appear to him to exist anywhere else. . . . Religious profession in England tended to associate itself with social position, and it was not right that a man's views of the deity and his future in the next world should have any effect upon his social position in this. That equality of religion had been more fairly established in America than anywhere else."

Many of those to whom he spoke would be only too well aware that England was as yet very far from this consummation. In the old country the shadow of a church, umbrageous with state connection and social prestige, hangs over all our relations; it darkens even the vision of the ordinary Englishman as he looks out upon other lands. I heard a widely traveled and otherwise well-informed English naval officer say the other day: "The cream of the Americans are Episcopalians." This shadow overhangs, most especially, our educational relations. The day of overt test is, indeed, very much in the gloaming: the day of covert test is still at high noon. In schools supported by the state we have a conscience clause which exempts, but all the while distinguishes and brands, and the counterpart of which your Supreme Court of Wisconsin justly decided was, in the common schools, an intolerable mark of inequality. We have 8,000 parishes in which nonconformist children, as we still unhappily have to call them, are compelled to attend Church of England or Roman Catholic schools supported by the state and by the state maintained in their monopoly; the people of these parishes are not at liberty to have schools under their own management, however willing they may be to pay rates for them. The training colleges for our school teachers are practically in the hands of the dominant church, though they also are in the main supported by the state, and in these there is not even a conscience clause, except in one which is now being erected, and there it will not be of law but of grace, and only for outsiders, not for residents; while the management will be in the hands of a lady of notoriously ecclesiastical proclivities who had to resign the headship of the Royal Holloway Women's College because she had devoted herself to "dishing nonconformists." The same dominant ecclesiastical influence prevents public training colleges from being established, though there is at the present time nothing like sufficient accommodation for the pupil teachers who have gained Queen's Scholarships entitling them to training. In most of our higher schools, tied and bound, almost all of them, to the same church, there are, it is true, conscience clauses; but, where there are boarding houses, a headmaster can, if he chooses, prevent the assistant master, who is head of the house, from admitting a boy whose religion is likely to cause trouble. And in these higher schools, even where the school is "local" and the neighboring population is mainly nonconformist, no university man who is a nonconformist, however high his qualifications, would have a chance of being elected to the head-mastership. For such a man to obtain an assistant mastership is only less difficult. In an advertisement issued in July last for a third assistant master for the City of London Freemen's Orphan School the condition was appended that he "must be a churchman"; and yet the maintenance of this school is charged upon the city estates to the extent of more than £5,000 a year. Well may it be said by the editor of the *Liberator* in his letter on the subject: "Such a provision as that mentioned in the advertisement only excludes men of conscientious rectitude and a delicate sense of honour. Not a few candidates will remember the sarcastic advice of Carlyle: 'Fools, you should be quiet

infidels, and believe!'" The fact is that for teachers who have a conscience forbidding them to conform to the dominant church, there is in England, broadly speaking, in the teaching profession no career whatever. But if the would-be teachers lose much, the teaching profession loses far more. America, happily for itself, knows no such loss.

Just as in none of our public schools, commonly so called, is there any religious service except the service of the dominant church, so also is it with our residential universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Durham and Dublin. Students are free to seek their own churches, but the college chapels are exclusive appendages of the Established Church, and none but a clergyman of that church can conduct a service in them or in the university church. Similarly, none but an Established Church clergyman can be an examiner in the theological schools. and no nonconformist has yet been certified as a theological teacher in the universities I have mentioned. Of recent years, moreover, certain colleges whose endowments are confined to the adherents of the Established Church have been allowed to circumvent the Act passed in 1870 for the abolition of tests and to acquire the status of colleges in a university where, by that Act, no such tests exist.

On every hand, therefore, in England, we are still, in education, hampered by the old fetters, and that though, year by year, the sons of nonconformists carry off some of the highest honors and the best prizes, even in theology, at Oxford and Cambridge.

Yet the general trend of educational policy and practice is in the direction of fair play, at any rate when those are in power who care for education rather than for denomination. The problem they strive to solve is how to conduct and develop a system of national education without treading upon religious convictions. But the struggle is a hard one, and over the fight the darkness sometimes gathers. The shadow of the superincumbent church now waxes and now wanes. At the present moment, I suspect, it is growing less. The leaves of the tree which, once in our history, were for the healing of our nation are just now the nest of the cankerworm. The leaves of the Reformation have been one by one disappearing, and the ordinary Englishman, as he looks through the unlovely branches, naked and unadorned, is beginning to talk of withdrawing those shoring timbers which seem to be keeping the tree upright only for the cankerworms. Meanwhile, however, — to vary the figure, — the informal alliance between Anglican and Roman Catholic to lead the Anglican church back to Rome is a formal alliance to prevent the coördination of religious equality and civil unity within our educational system. By means of a fortuitous but overwhelming Parliamentary majority and a subservient Education Department the anti-national and privately managed system of elementary education has been relieved by the state from almost the last straw of financial responsibility, whereas the state system is being deliberately hampered, and has to be championed by voluntary societies of educational reformers; while the cynical representative of the Department in the House of Commons gibes at his policy and retains his post. In the zone of education between elementary school and university the only legislative movement of any importance shows no tendency in the direction of religious equality. The recent Act establishing a Board of Education provides for alterations of the Endowed Schools Acts (under which, through the Charity Commissioners, many steps, though by no means steps enough, in the direction of religious equality have been taken) to be made not by Parliament but by orders of that very council to which the subservient Education Department belongs, and there is nothing in that Act to prevent diocesan (*i.e.*, ecclesiastical) associations from being

employed in the inspection and the subsidizing of secondary schools. Meanwhile, under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is evidently, at this stage of his career, dissatisfied with the moderation and unsectarianism of most of our head-masters (of whom he used to be a type), a committee has been appointed in connection with the Diocesan Board of Education to secure systematic "church (*i.e.*, Church of England) teaching" in secondary schools; and the Primate affirms that the proposal "harmonizes exactly" with the Board of Education Act recently passed. "It would be necessary," he said, "for the Diocesan Board, following the lead of the Government, to take an interest in secondary as well as primary education." So the religious difficulty forced by the church party upon the elementary schools is to be forced by them upon the secondary schools likewise. Towards a remedy for the acknowledged training college grievance no advance is being made.

But it is on the zone of university education that I would ask leave to lay particular, though necessarily momentary, stress, and in that region make to America a special appeal. The ideal of a university and of its relation to the state as illustrated by modern tendencies has been within the last twelve months brought once more into discussion by Mr. Balfour's proposal to endow from the national exchequer a university for Irish Roman Catholics. In this arena you in America have not been free from conflict. In your state universities, wherever they are, it has been your aim and your achievement to secure absolute equality for all your citizens, to whatever church they belong, or if no church at all can claim them. It is one of the noblest and most significant symptoms of religious freedom that your state universities can rarely furnish statistics of the religious belief of their students. When I tried a few months ago to ascertain the number of Roman Catholic students at these universities, I was confronted with this insuperable obstacle to exact investigation; and the only statistics I was able to procure had been collected by an amateur statistical organization formed for a religious purpose. To diminish the divisive consciousness of religious difference — *i.e.*, the special religious difference lying for us English people between a civilly and socially predominant church and the conventionally inferior sects — has been the tendency of English university reform for at least a generation. Much has been done in this direction by nationalizing legislation; much has also been done in the old exclusive universities by the conspicuous and high-minded pluck and example of resident nonconformist students, and the great work of undermining these walls of separation is still proceeding. In America it is another story. Many of your universities indeed were founded by religious denominations and still bear traces of their origin; but the freedom of your atmosphere has in some of the greatest of these taken no denial, and in certain Protestant foundations even Roman Catholic preachers have been invited to fill the university pulpit, while all denominational test for most of the professorships has been abandoned. As to the question of the foundation of universities by the state — a policy which, I understand, is going from strength to strength — the apprehension of the principles of religious freedom and of the relation of the state to religion is in this country so firm and so intelligent that all efforts to extract from the public authority universities for Roman Catholics have been unavailing; and so potent is the effect of your atmosphere even upon many of your Roman Catholic fellow citizens that the attempt to impose the Roman Catholic university of Washington upon the state found itself resisted by the patriotic Americanism of Roman Catholics themselves. We, like you, have evidence that the more perceptive class of the Roman Catholic laity do not side on this question with ultramontane obscurantists, but view

with alarm the prospect of the education of their children under episcopal control; while Catholics who have eyes for a university in its ideal strenuously and publicly affirm that, as things are at present, a Roman Catholic university is a contradiction in terms. Those for whom I venture to speak maintain that the establishment out of public funds of a so-called university for any sect is opposed to the tendencies of modern education, is injurious to education itself, and is destructive to the brotherhood of ideal citizenship. We regard universities properly so called as places of education where, during the crucial and formative period of early life, the youth of the country should meet freely on terms of perfect equality in order that they may better understand one another, so that the best elements of difference shall be confirmed and the worst shall be modified or vanish away. We believe that the intelligent apprehension of equality which, partly from happy and favoring circumstances obtains on this side of the Atlantic, has led you to the proper attitude towards the Roman Catholic university agitation — an attitude of firm and patient waiting for the sure, though often long-tarrying, effects of a policy of justice to all; and we maintain that a like attitude on the part of English statesmen will in the end, by teaching Roman Catholics, and Anglicans also, what justice really is, produce with us the same effect as with you. On this question, then, which is just now a living and a burning question with us, and on kindred questions in the other zones of the educational sphere we would enlist your sympathy, while we would earnestly look to you to maintain your present position. We would lean upon you while our less enlightened brethren learn of our wisdom by your results. Our policy in national education, like yours, is subservient to no church, but it is not therefore subservient to irreligion; nay, just because it subserves no church, it all the more subserves religion. Where religious equality is understood and realized, there alone is true freedom not only for religious people, but for religion itself. Religious equality may exclude from state schools and state universities church zeal and denominational self-assertion, but it freely admits to educational advantage the conscientiously religious student and to educational office the conscientiously religious teacher. Religious equality may bar out momentary public religious exercises and periodical official lectures in theology, but it lets in with a flood tide the pervading spirit and potent personal example of the religious man. A state school system which can present eighty of its teachers as members of one Christian church in Boston cannot be irreligious; a state university system which can boast that of the students of sixteen such universities more than fifty per cent. are members of evangelical churches cannot be unfavorable either to religion or to church. With you the practice of religious equality enables Congregational ministers to preside over state universities; and when, breathing your atmosphere of religious justice and peace, England shall behold without dismay a Congregational minister Vice-Chancellor of Oxford or of Cambridge, God's world will still spin on — nay, I make bold to say, it will be nearer than before to the new heavens and the new earth. Abide then, we beseech you, by your uncompromising theory and practice of religious freedom; let no aggressive church, let no feverish spasm of pietistic fervor be suffered to break, even for a moment, the hitherto continuous line of your educational equality. In the old country we look to you and to our colonial kinsfolk to prove in this region the expediency of justice. For not in foreign policy only would we be brethren, standing hand in hand and, if need be — which God forefend — sword in hand, by the side of one another; but in methods and triumphs more renowned and more lasting than those of war, we would advance together as men whom nothing can sunder; and most of all in that quiet but not less mighty onward march wherein the

mind and spirit of man strain forward, in development and in progress, towards eternal unity and eternal truth.

Address

Rev. James Hirst Hollowell, of England, Secretary of the Northern Counties Education League, and of the Nonconformist Political Council of Great Britain, followed Professor Massie with an address on the same topic, the Tendencies of Modern Education.

ADDRESS BY REV. JAMES HIRST HOLLOWELL

THE TENDENCIES OF MODERN EDUCATION

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,— It is a very happy circumstance for this International Council, in the consideration of the great subject of education, that we are presided over by one of the leading educationists in the United States. And it is another very happy circumstance that our discussion takes place in a city which has always been pledged to the causes of liberty and light, a city which has striven on the one hand to give freedom to the slave and, what is equally important, to give development to the freeman. It is with some trepidation that one speaks on this subject in this great city, remembering that it is written of Boston that Horace Mann thrashed thirty-one grammar-school masters into subjection on this very ground. A very experienced member of Parliament said to me when I told him I was coming over here to talk with you on education, "You have nothing to teach them." That is not quite correct, because we have come to teach you what to avoid. And yet that is scarcely necessary, because you have avoided it.

It is of the essence of your civic system and of your republican faith that there should be placed within the reach of every child born into the republic a school which is free, an education which is graded, and a teaching profession which is free from sectarian tests. Some of us who represent various educational movements and school boards in England, like my friends here, Dr. Bruce, Mr. T. W. Harrison, Mr. Shepheard of the London School Board, Mr. Turner of the Bolton School Board, Mr. Baines of the Leicester School Board, through the great courtesy of your leading officials, have been enabled to look at your public schools, your manual schools, and your normal schools; and I should like publicly to acknowledge here the singular courtesies of Dr. Harris of Washington, Mr. Frank A. Hill, Superintendent of Education for Massachusetts, Mr. E. P. Seaver of this city, Dr. Brooke of Philadelphia, and Mr. Maxwell of New York. As the result of the kindness of these gentlemen I have for the first time seen your primary, grammar, high, and normal schools, beautiful in themselves and made more beautiful by this fact, that the schools which we have seen are not exceptional, but typical. They are not unique gems, but such as flash everywhere in the broad belt of this republic.

America has interpreted freedom not simply in terms of political right, but in terms of intellectual development. We sometimes hear freedom spoken of as freedom to vote. Some people mean by freedom, freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. Freedom may be spoken of as freedom from the whip of the task-master. Thank God, you have won that freedom and you have conceded that freedom for every race and for every color in these United States. As I passed through the State House in Boston the other day I saw one bust among your commemorated heroes

which was inscribed with no name. It needed no name, for everywhere east and west, north and south, humanity salutes the features of Abraham Lincoln. But America has realized that without mental emancipation there can be no security or reality in any other emancipation. Unless the people are intellectually developed there is no security for liberty of any kind.

We thank you that you have given your people no beggarly minimum of education. You have given them the very best you could — the best buildings, the best school gardens (I cannot call them play-grounds, they are rather gardens), the best fittings, the best men and the best women; and what a splendid position woman occupies in the educational system of this country! You have given them a graded and a lavish curriculum. Why, sir, in England, ever since Professor Huxley used the phrase, we talk about a ladder reaching from the lowest primary school to the university. That was a very fine phrase, but many of the middle rounds of that ladder are missing, and the top of the ladder is like Jacob's ladder — it is lost in the clouds of heaven. The result is that not many of our little common school angels pass upwards to the top. But, instead of a broken ladder, what I see in America everywhere is a covered way, from the primary school right along to the university — a covered and a protected way for the youngest and the weakest. You remind me of that noble-hearted Frenchwoman who, when the *Drummond Castle* went down with her precious freight of English passengers, and one little English child was washed up dead on the beach, took the little corpse to her breast, and when she got home opened a cabinet and took from it a beautiful, costly, and richly embroidered garment in which many years ago her own child had been wrapped, a child long since dead. And I say here that, as that woman clothed with her best the child that was dead, America is clothing the mind of the *living* child in all the states of this great republic. You are giving the child the best, the richest, the fullest education that you can.

In England we suffer from an epidemic of this delusion, that good public education is educating the child above the child's station. They say, "You are educating the child above his station,"— just as if they knew what the child's station is going to be. The station of the child's birth is not always the station of the man's destiny. The lad who split 400 rails for the wage of one yard of cloth in Indiana was then in the station of his poverty, but he was on the way to the station of your presidency. He read the best books, he became one of the best men. There was a lad in Scotland who was only a weaver lad, rising early and working late, and living plainly; but he read the best books because he was preparing for his station in life. What was to be his station? He crossed Africa from east to west, the first European that had done it. He discovered some of the sources of the Nile. He struck the heaviest blow at human slavery ever dealt by man. For he went to Africa to save men, and not to destroy men. He did not visit Africa like the present-day exploiter who goes to christianize the people by massacre. He reached his station. I saw him buried. He was buried at Westminster Abbey, and there the fashion of London, the statesmanship of London, the diplomacy of the world, the science of Europe were represented at his grave. They buried him with poets and kings, but he was the kingliest of them all. His name was David Livingstone. I will not admit that the life of Livingstone in Africa was a philanthropic failure; I say Livingstone in Africa was a magnificent success. It is the Cecil Rhodes of Africa that is the failure.

There are several tendencies in modern education on which I do not propose to dwell. One tendency is in favor of the public rather than the

private organization of education. Another is in favor of unity of administration. Here I must have a word. In England we have about twenty-five different educational authorities, some on the most unamicable terms with one another. I will only give you the names of a few of these authorities. You will be surprised to hear that the poor-law guardians are one of our educational authorities. School boards are another. The Anglican clergy are a third, the Roman Catholic clergy are a fourth, and other denominations make up a fifth. Then we have town councils, followed by county councils. Also the Home Secretary is an educational authority over certain classes of schools. Then we have an education department; we have private committees; we have the charity commission; we have diocesan bishops; we have voluntary associations; we have endowed school governors; and England is suffering many things at the hands of these authorities. It is very much like the applicant for admission to a theological college who was asked by the principal to explain why he believed that he was called to enter the sacred ministry. He said, "My master is a chemist, and I am his assistant. My master is a very clever man. He is always inventing new pills, new blisters and new powders, and he begins by trying them on me." So it is with education in England. We have all these authorities experimenting upon the body politic of England.

Then again, the tendency of the time is to give a practical, manual and varied education. We feel that we must train children for action and not simply for enumeration and for speech. We must fit the scholar for life as he will have to live it, whether in the home, or in the study, or in the widest ranges of his contact with nature, society and duty. It used to be said that manual labor was inconsistent with education. It is now said that manual labor is inconsistent with ignorance. The work of our toilers cannot be done by ignorant men, and we are coming to feel with Froebel that we must teach the children through doing, and not simply through the verbal communication of ideas. A beautiful thing was said by Mr. Woodward of the St. Louis Manual Training School. He said, "In a Manual Training School everything is for the benefit of the boy. He is the most important thing in the shop. He is the only article to be put upon the market."

Therefore, we welcome what we see in America — the expansion of education everywhere into manual, technical, scientific and other phases. If there is a monument wanted for Horace Mann, I know of no monument so splendid as that sentence contained in the last report of the American Commissioner of Education, where he says of Massachusetts, "To-day every child in Massachusetts has the right to forty weeks a year, for three or four years, in a free English or classical high school." We feel that there is no incompatibility between a technological and a literary education within certain limits. The handling of real things assists precision of language; it conduces to clearness of expression; it engages the energies of youth and keeps them from misdirection; it lengthens the school course; it gives a chance of distinction to scholars who would not excel in less objective studies; it favors invention; it tends to cure society of its contempt for men of the workshop, and it raises the standard and taste of domestic life.

Jules Ferry, speaking in 1883 at the opening of a special school in Paris, quoted the memorable words of your great leader, Dr. Channing, when he said how important it was to spread abroad in the shops scientific knowledge. "There is no more certain means of ennobling a manual profession than by showing the intimate relation which connects it with the natural laws of the world." After quoting those words from Dr.

Channing, the French Minister of Education went on: "Be well assured that when the plane and the file shall have taken the same place of honor by the side of the compass and the chart and the book of history, and shall be the object of an intelligent and systematic instruction, many prejudices will be broken and many antagonisms will vanish. Social peace will begin on the benches of the primary school, and concord, with its radiant light, will illuminate the future of French society."

Now we do not want to educate the children into social classes and into sects. We want to educate them into good citizens, and that, as I take it, is what you are so splendidly doing.

This brings me to the last tendency I shall notice, and one which is now a determined tendency, and is likely to be a triumphant one. It is not yet triumphant in England, as you have heard in the splendid paper of Professor Massie, but it is going to triumph and it will triumph all the easier in the old country because it has had such magnificent success in your country. We dare to say, some of us, that it is not the business of the civil government either to teach or to pay for the teaching of ecclesiastical differences and specialities. When I think of your 240,000 day schools, and your 15,000,000 scholars enrolled in the public schools of the United States, when I think that you spend nine shillings on public education per unit of your population as against six shillings per unit of ours, when I think of your 400,000 day-school teachers, every one of them appointed by public authority, every one of them free from sectarian inquisition and persecution, two feelings are excited in my mind and in the minds of my friends who are present this morning from the old country. One is a feeling of pride that we are kinsmen of a people that have done this tremendous work, and another feeling is the determination when we go back to England to work twice as hard as we have worked in the past to spread the blessings of such a system among our English and Welsh people. As for Scotland, Scotland has had universal public education ever since 1872. A Scotchman enjoys a joke when it is a good one. It is a bad joke which you cannot get into a Scotchman's head; and there never was such a ghastly joke as the system of English education in 1870. When, two years after Foster's Education Act for England was adopted, Scotland had to be dealt with, they took care to deal with Scotland upon very different principles. If they had tried to force upon Scotland what they forced upon lethargic and apathetic England, they would have had to fight Bannockburn over again.

I congratulate you upon the general acceptance of your public school system by the Roman Catholic church in America. If they do not accept it, at least they acquiesce in it, and we would be quite satisfied to have them do that in England. I do not say there are no Romanist objections to that system, no murmurings and plottings against it. You cannot have Jesuitry without conspiracy. But in public there is, at least, a tacit acceptance of the system, while large numbers of your school committee men are Roman Catholics, as well as large numbers of your scholars and your teaching staff. I was in a high school in Boston only the other day, where the Protestant Reformation was being described as history without any sectarian or controversial elements, and yet one third of the scholars hearing the lesson were Roman Catholics. I congratulate our Roman Catholic friends in America on their loyalty to the public school system here, or at least on their sagacious appreciation of a great public boon.

But alas for us in the old country! You have got some big dictionaries in America, and there is a bigger dictionary coming up by slow evolution from Oxford, but I venture to say that you have not room in all these dictionaries for the epithets which the Roman Catholic church showers upon

me and others who are trying to get a public school system adopted everywhere in England. One clergyman said that every public board school was a denial of Jesus Christ. What lucidity! Another clergyman, an Anglican, said that the board school — that is what you mean by a public school — was "the Anti-Christ of the Apocalypse." A third said that if he were to turn his Church of England day school into a board school, he would be afraid to die. Why, if I were to talk nonsense like that, I would be afraid to live. But the crowning performance was reserved for the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham, England, who has said that the teaching of the board schools in Nottingham was "poisonous," and he said that, knowing that the Bible was read in those schools every day. He said further, "The board school system I regard as the work of the devil." Well, in that branch of the educational system he is no doubt an acknowledged expert. But I am not going to comment very much upon that, except to say that if his remark is true, then the pathetic prayer offered by Robert Burns so long ago for the repentance and reformation of "Nicky Ben" must have been answered.

Oh, I wish that these prelates and clericals could only come over here to Boston. I would pay a fair share of the cost of bringing them all over in the *Oceanic*. I believe they would go back happier and wiser men. What we say, and what I am sure is the tendency now throughout Europe, is that where there is compulsory attendance of schools and compulsory taxation for schools, every sectarian element must disappear from our educational system. The attempt has been made to intrust sectarian authorities with the administration of a public school system, but I am not aware of a single instance in which their administration of it has met the needs of a progressive nation. Sectarianism could no more build up a national system of education than it could build up a national fleet. Cuba would still be a pesthouse for reconcentradoes if your *New York* and your *Massachusetts* and your *Texas* and your *Brooklyn* battle-ships had been built in Presbyterian or Congregational shipyards. The priest builds for institutions; he builds for a creed; he cannot build for the nation. He either ignores the nation or conspires against it, if you put public resources into his hands.

This has happened in England with disastrous effects. We have vast areas, as Professor Massie has indicated, where there is nothing but priest-ridden education for children of the same faith as Bradford and Brewster, Endicott and Winthrop. I presume the growth of ritualism has attracted the attention of your press and your pulpit, and your churches; but what is it that gives to ritualism in England its greatest leverage? It is this: that 13,000 out of our 20,000 day schools are in the hands of priests, who are generally of an extremely sacerdotal type. The state pays all the money for education. The school fund provided by the state saves the church funds more than all the voluntary contributions put together. So I am within the mark when I say that the whole cost of education is a public charge. Last year out of our treasury we gave $22,000,000 to schools dominated, atmosphered, controlled by the private and denominational managers of England.

Two years ago a further iniquity was perpetrated, and it is now the law of England that more money *pro rata* is voted out of the exchequer of Queen Victoria for the schools of the priests than is voted for the schools that are under popular control. That law could not have been passed without the presence and concurrence in the cabinet of Joseph Chamberlain — a man who has deserted the cause and principles of English nonconformity. He has betrayed the cause which gave him his first training and fame. Leaving English nonconformists under intolerable injustice,

he now proposes to send blood and fire through the Transvaal, and for causes which do not justify war in the sight of God or man. The one hope of his return to a healthier political life is that he married a Massachusetts Endicott. "While that lamp holds out to burn, the ratting statesman may return."

We have some splendid board schools in England. In London, in Leicester, in Nottingham, in Huddersfield, in Bolton, and in other places represented by delegates here, our board school system is gaining. In the dark days that are passing over us its cause is winning. Some years after you had finished your Civil War we had no public schools in England, no school under public control. In 1871 we had not a scholar going to school under public control. Now we have two and a half millions of scholars. In 1868 five sixths of the schools in England were Church of England schools, but to-day the board schools of England, in spite of all that they have had to contend against, have a majority of 300,000 scholars over the total number of scholars in all the Church of England schools.

But the board school is very partially and inadequately established. There are 8,000 cities and villages where the only school is that of the Church of England or the Church of Rome. Somersetshire has 300 such villages and places; Lincolnshire, 313; Berkshire, 128; Essex, 190; Wiltshire, 200; Kent, 211; Gloucester, 212; Norfolk, 292; and Yorkshire, which in the West Riding is the grandest school board district in England, has 549 inhabited towns and villages where the only school for the children of the countrymen of Oliver Cromwell is a school under sectarian and sacerdotal control. The great difference that I see between England and America is this: we have towns of 50,000 inhabitants without a public school, and you have towns of 50,000 inhabitants without a licensed liquor saloon. I must say, I prefer your style.

There is no check whatever upon the religious teaching of superstition in our sectarian schools. The government will not interpose to secure restraint or moderation. Let me give you one instance. In Nottinghamshire there is only one school in a certain village of over a thousand people. Every child attends the school and a ritualistic priest dominates it. He goes into that school — and I could produce evidence before a House of Commons Committee to prove it — and he teaches this: "Unless you be baptized at the parish church you cannot say 'Our Father which art in heaven,' because God is not your Father until you have been baptized at church." He says that, and the English people stand it. I should not care so much that he said it, if I could see more of an indignant protest springing up throughout the length and breadth of England. In the same school these things have occurred. One teacher went down to the Baptist church on a Sunday night and helped them in the choir. He was dismissed for that reason! The head mistressship became vacant and a Wesleyan lady applied. She was the best of all the applicants, and she was told, "Yes, you shall have the place, only you must teach in our Sunday-school." "But, sir, I teach in the Wesleyan Sunday-school. My girls love me and are devoted to me. I cannot leave them." "Then you cannot have the day school mistressship unless you combine with it a class in our parish school." She let the day school mistressship go and remained loyal to her scholars. This is only one village. I have been there and spoken to the people. Another young woman wanted to be a pupil-teacher. They told her, "Oh, yes, you can if you will attend the parish church." She left the Baptist church and got the position. Another young girl of the highest character and talents wanted to be a pupil-teacher and she was offered a place on the same

terms. "No," said her parents, "we will not allow her to be a teacher if it means that she goes out of her Sunday-school class, and leaves the worship in which she has received so much blessing." And that young woman is at home to-day. She would have made a brilliant candidate for the teaching profession. Our indictment against sectarianism is not simply that it stabs nonconformity. We are here to say that it stabs national education and the national interests. They may teach anything in these schools. This was taught in Northamptonshire, for instance. A teacher said one morning to his pupils — this was close to where the battle of Naseby was fought, and that is the irony of it — "My boys, you all ought to go to church," — and when they say "church" in England they mean the parish church. You do not make that distinction in this country, and that is your glory. "You all ought to go to church; the Bible says so; it does not mention chapel," which in America I find means a Sunday-school room. What liberties you are taking with our ancient language! The teacher said, "The Bible does not mention chapel. If God meant you to go to chapel he would have said so." And then in a rash moment for him, and for his reputation, striking his pocket, he said, "I will give ten shillings to any boy in this school who will find the word chapel in the Bible." The boys went home, and several of them passed a sleepless night. But next morning there was one little fellow, David Gibbs by name, who appeared at the school door with a Bible under his arm, between the leaves of which there stood out significantly a little slip of paper to facilitate reference. When he had the proper opportunity, he turned to a certain minor prophet, who had become in that village that morning of major importance, and he read from Amos, the seventh chapter and thirteenth verse, to that flabbergasted pedagogue the following words, which may be new to some of us: "O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread and prophesy there; but prophesy not again any more at Bethel, for it is the king's chapel." I am sorry to say he did not get the ten shillings. Virtue is its own reward, you know, — but a few of us got it for him. We said that a discovery like that, equal to some of the greatest geographical discoveries of the age, was entitled to recognition, and it received that recognition.

Oh, they say, but if you do not like these schools you can take your children out when the catechism comes on, when the eucharistic teaching comes on, when baptismal regeneration comes on, or when confession comes on. We are here to ask for the right to put our children *into* schools, and not the right to take them out. We pay for the schools, and we demand the right to have our children properly treated there. They told a Wiltshire man on Salisbury Plain that he need not trouble, because he would have the "conscience clause," which Professor Massie has described to you in all its beauty — a modern instrument of torture. He replied, speaking in the Wiltshire dialect, "Beant gooin' to have my child'n speckled? Must be speckled, speckle t'other um." The man was right. Children ought not to be made a gazing stock in the public schools. Nothing ought to be put into the moral and religious teaching of state-paid schools unless it is a national possession, a national treasure. That is what you do when you have the Bible read every morning in the schools of Massachusetts. Why, I opened the English blue book the other day and read that one of her Majesty's inspectors advised the pupil-teachers to read John Milton's prose works in order to perfect their style. That was one of the Queen's inspectors; it was in the official blue book; and yet I am ashamed to tell you that if our young people thought about the church as John Milton thought about it, if they went to the churches that he went to, in 8,000 districts of England, they would be boycotted from the teach-

ing profession. It is time that those who belong to that order of church government to which Milton belonged cease to be insulted in this way.

In sitting down, let me say how profoundly impressed I have been by the high schools of this country, and I congratulate you upon putting those high schools within reach of the children. Surely, you are an educational people. I know you are republican, I know you love liberty, but the one thing that impresses me about America is its educational spirit and its educational institutions. You are educational as the sea is salt. I think Milton must have been dreaming about the United States when he said in his grandest work, perhaps, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth." You have "mewed" your mighty youth in 246,000 day schools containing 15,000,000 of your children. Our fathers could not live in old England, which killed Raleigh, where Buckingham was a court favorite, where John Eliot was sent to the tower to die, where Wentworth and Laud were ministers of the Crown, where Leighton was mutilated in the public streets. The plant of liberty had grown sickly and ready to die in the old country, and they took it and bedded it out near Plymouth Rock. To-day we see what a magnificent harvest has come from the work then done. Old England has gone very slowly along the paths of progress; but no wonder — you took away our best blood in the *Mayflower*. That accounts for the thin and scattered crop of our public liberties. But we mean to work on the old sacred ground as you have worked on the new. We mean to build up there a free church in a free state, resting upon a free school. There is a portion of the old spirit left in such men as surround us on the platform to-day, and others whom we would fain have brought with us, if God had permitted. We have come here like the Pilgrims, only a few of us, and like them, we have left some of our dead behind. We would have brought with us, if we could, the colossal figure of a Dale, and also that younger man of international patriotism and kindling eloquence, Charles Albert Berry; but God has seen fit to lay them aside in the sweet sleep of death, and we come without them. But there are a goodly few of us here, and we pledge our honor to you that we will go back from the quickening, stimulating and enlightening influence of this city and state, and give ourselves no rest until everywhere throughout broad England public education is dissociated from the persecution of conscience.

I see here the British flag and the American flag brought into such conjunction that you cannot tell where one begins and the other ends. On Saturday last at Salem, our beloved President, Arnold Thomas, received the American flag and the British flag wonderfully bound together. He was requested, and he promised, to display the flag at Bristol at our forthcoming autumnal meeting. What is it that I see everywhere? I see everywhere the stars and stripes waving over the school-house in this country, showing that the school-house in the United States is the symbol of a united republic, the symbol of your national solidarity. But alas, the school-house in England is the symbol of a divided and fractured nationality. We mean to labor until the British flag shall wave over every English school-house and every English school-house shall symbolize unity, solidarity and reconciliation as your flag does. Jesus Christ, thousands of years ago, set a little child in the midst of his disciples, that the little child's helplessness and frailty might draw the strong men together and make them one. But our cursed system of sacerdotal and persecuting education has put the child into the midst of us to tear us asunder. We intend that the English child shall become in our national education

such a point of attraction and unity that instead of being torn asunder around the body of the child, we shall be made one people in the pursuit of the child's interests and in the advancement of its development.

At the close of Mr. Hollowell's address, the hymn "Our Redeemer's glorious name" was sung.

Discussion following Mr. Hollowell's Address

The discussion that followed was engaged in by the following: Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut; President Edward D. Eaton, D.D., of Wisconsin; Alfred J. Shepheard, Esq., M.L.S.B., of the London (England) School Board; Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois; President James B. Angell, LL.D., of Michigan; Rev. Robert Bruce, M.A., D.D., of England; and Rev. Jacob John Halley, of Australia.

Remarks by President Angell

Many interesting things have been suggested to our minds this morning and doubtless have given a rather strange revelation to many of us as to the ideas still current in the Old World. I trust we may have a discussion of these topics, and I am sure our British friends will be glad to answer any questions we may choose to ask them. I would like to ask Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, if he has not a word for us. Connecticut has had a great deal of experience in this matter.

Remarks by Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, — A man has no right to come before an assembly like this without his best-considered thoughts put in the best-considered form; but since I have been called suddenly before you, you will pardon me perhaps for saying that I come from a state not very far from this where we think we have done something to show to the world an interest in education. It may be that that educational system, crowned by the university and supported by the common school, which was started in the home of Congregationalism has, as it has expanded to cover the state and in some measure the nation, lost the memory of Congregationalism in the greater thoughts of religion and liberty; but we in Connecticut have not lost our attachment throughout the whole state to the principles of our beloved denomination. One out of twelve of the inhabitants of my state, I believe, including men, women and children, is a member to-day of a Congregational church. But we have just elected to the presidency of our University of Yale for the first time in its history a president who is not a Congregational clergyman, but who represents the laity, who represents the general sentiment of attachment to education rather than the sentiment of attachment to a particular church. We think in Connecticut that Congregationalism has been a school of liberty. When we were in Salem the other day we were at the place where the ballot first came into modern political institutions. The earliest use of the ballot on this side of the Atlantic was made in the election of the officers of the first church in Salem in the seventeenth century. From that church and from the usages of our order of Congregationalism the ballot has become not only the acknowledged mode of expressing the voice of a people here,

but it is becoming such a thing in Great Britain, and we all know what the secret ballot is and what it has done towards giving real freedom of expression to individual opinion.

We sympathize with our English friends in their attitude towards an established church. But, standing as they do in the presence of this great adverse social influence, so adverse to what they are forced still to call nonconformity, we know that when they have men in their midst like him whose eloquence has just electrified us, the time cannot be far off when there will be the same freedom in the old country that there is in the new, and when that British flag which has been spoken of will wave over every school-house, as the American flag now floats from each of ours, and demonstrate that it is the state that protects education and not the church of the state.

President Angell called upon Rev. Edward D. Eaton, D.D., of Wisconsin, President of Beloit College, who, upon coming to the platform, spoke as follows: —

Remarks by President E. D. Eaton, D.D.

Mr. President, — While we are gratified that America has something to show to England in educational matters, we who have learned so much from her and have looked back to her as the source of our liberties and the fount of our knowledge will not forget that even in education we owe to men like Thomas Arnold a large share of the educational inspiration of our own days. What name has been so like a star in the firmament of the educational world as that of Arnold? We cannot fail to believe that his country will soon stand side by side with any in the liberty of Christian thought and the liberty of the Christian state.

A short time ago, while visiting schools in China, I saw the Chinese boy standing in front of his teacher with his back toward him as he recited his lesson in the Chinese classics. The lesson was so largely one of rote that it was feared lest, if he faced his teacher, he might with Chinese astuteness get his eye on the teacher's page and read instead of recite the Confucian lesson; so the lad, with cue toward his teacher and eyes fixed on vacancy, repeated the ancient classics of his country. On the plain of North China, while traveling in company with an American missionary, we came upon an old man bearing paper money to burn at the graves of his ancestors. Our missionary, who was of a Socratic turn of mind, talked with the old man in Chinese and reported to us their dialogue. He showed the old fellow how unwise it was to waste his substance upon paper money to be burned to the departed, and the old man, smiling, said, "But we all do it." Again the missionary returned to the charge and again showed him the folly of the procedure; the old man laughed heartily with the Chinese sense of humor as he said, "We have always done it." So he put his money on his shoulder and went off to the graves of his ancestors to burn it. Now it seems to me that one thing we learn in discussions like this is that antique prescription has no place in education; that if our forefathers all did it and always did it, still we may find improvements upon their procedure of burning at ancestors' graves. And we are convinced that, as the youth in our schools to-day face not away from but toward the teacher and catch from his eye the thought and the inspiration of a larger and newer life, so both in England and in America we shall see a steady movement forward. There s much still to learn, much still to attain, but without doubt we are mov-

ing to better and larger things — a larger scope, a higher faith, a more complete liberty for all and a larger confidence that every child shall have the very best the land and the world affords, that so his destiny may not be in the sphere where his father was born, but the destiny of a child of God which may include the broadest universe.

President Angell, in introducing the next speaker, spoke as follows: —

It is a special pleasure to us that many of our British delegates are actively engaged on school boards. I think the addresses we have heard to-day make it plain that that is where many of us Congregationalists should be — at work upon the school board. Among those whom we have with us is Mr. A. J. Shepheard, one of our Vice-Presidents, who is a member of the London School Board.

Remarks by Alfred J. Shepheard, Esq., M.L.S.B.

Mr. President and Friends, — I am not nearly so afraid to speak to this audience as I was the other day, for you are so sympathetic that I find if a man tries to do his best you cheer and encourage him, whether his best is worth hearing or not. I am a member of the London School Board, and Mr. Hollowell tells me that it would be interesting to you to know that we deal in London with large figures. You have a great city here with a large population, but in London we can put down ten persons for every one that you have in Boston, and if you wish to include Greater Boston we will include Greater London and be able still to do the same. You may imagine, therefore, that dealing with the children of London is a very great question. There are about a million children in London who ought to be in school. About one half of them are in the board schools provided by the London School Board and not quite a half are in schools conducted by private persons, but which, as Mr. Hollowell has told you, are really supported out of the public fund. I came here as a Congregationalist, hoping to be inspired in Congregational methods, and I shall certainly go back, I believe, a better Congregationalist and better inspired for Congregational work than I came. But I am also one who is mixed up in education, and it has been worth my while to come across that troublesome ocean — for it was exceedingly troublesome — and to face the troublesome journey back in order to be inspired in educational matters.

I do not think, friends, you can possibly appreciate the difference in the atmosphere here on educational matters and the atmosphere in England and in London particularly. Let me give you one fact, which perhaps you will not credit, but which is a fact. A considerable section of the members of the London School Board are returned to that Board, not to advance the work of education, but to do all they can to retard it. And they do not keep that fact in the background; they boast of it. Now, I take it, in this city of Boston and in this state of Massachusetts such a thing would be almost impossible. But we have to face this fact. If you ask why they do it, it is for two purposes. First of all they say, "The rates cannot pay the expense you wish to put upon them in this matter of education," and secondly they say, "Wherever you advance these public schools you interfere with the denominational schools, and we attach much more importance to the religious and denominational teaching than we do to educational matters." They put it shortly in this way: "Education is worth nothing unless it is religious, and religious education is worth nothing unless it is democratic, and democratic religious education

is worth nothing unless it is *my* democratic religious education." They therefore say, "Unless you will give education coupled with the particular dogmas that I wish taught and preached, I do not want any education at all." That is where we are in that great city of London to-day. You can understand, therefore, on this side of the water, how absolutely refreshing it is to a man like myself to come into this atmosphere. I come here and I find that everybody says, "The first concern we ought to have in matters of state is the education of our children. Money? We do not care how much money you spend as long as you spend it well. Take our money; the only thing we ask for is that you shall provide the best possible education."

Let me speak of two or three things which have occurred to me as I have gone about visiting your schools. I have gathered at once that your buildings are better than ours, better situated, better spaced, and better planned. Your teachers are distinctly on a higher grade than ours. I do not know that they know more, but I certainly feel that they are able to teach more. The way in which they take these children up and interest them and teach them is a very pleasing and a somewhat new thing to me. Then your appliances are far beyond ours. Then — what you cannot understand, I suppose, but what pleased me beyond measure — you have one Board which takes the child in the primary school and carries him on to the secondary and the grammar school and then deals with him in the high school. Would you believe it, the great city of London has a School Board of Education and we are not allowed to do anything with the children after they pass what we call the seventh standard. Even an attempt which we have made to deal with them a little later in our evening schools has only this last year been positively stopped by our governmental authorities on the ground that it is outside of our province. So when we come to the question of secondary education, and particularly high school education, it is taken right away from the London School Board and is done — not at all. It is done in the most haphazard fashion and so haphazard that it is not done in any practical way at all. So when I look upon you here as placing your educational affairs in the hands of one body of men, with instructions to carry them on in the very best manner and regardless of cost as it seems to me, you can understand how refreshing it is for me to come here.

I was talking the other day to an educational gentleman over here who told me that he had been to England and London to study our educational system. "Well," I said, "you did not gain much there, did you?" I don't know whether he said it to please me, but he said, "I found it extremely interesting and helpful to me." I asked him, "Why?" "Because," he said, "you are beginning the work; you are planning a very great and extensive scheme of education which I am quite sure you are going to carry farther if possible than we have done in this city of Boston and state of Massachusetts." I was more encouraged by this remark than by anything else I have heard on the subject. We are planning great things there and many of us are working with all our hearts. Many of us are going back stirred up to work harder than ever before, so that, if we have not yet caught you up, we are planning to catch you up, and you people of Boston had better take care that we do not pass you by.

Remarks by Vice-President Noble

Vice-President Frederick A. Noble, D.D., came to the platform and addressed the chair as follows: —

Mr. President, — I took the precaution to ask for the privilege of just a word because I was very certain that if I did that I should put you off your guard. When you called for a Vice-President to speak it occurred to me that it was a poor rule that would not work both ways, and a Vice-President ought to have the privilege of calling upon the President to address this assembly. We have got into the habit in this country of using the word "expert," and it is a cold day when we do not hear it with reference to every sort of thing that comes up. The man who is an expert is always entitled to speak. But we have one with us to-day who is a real genuine expert in the matter of education in America. We have a man who was to the manner born and who has known of education in all its departments in the East and in the West, and I am certain you will agree with me when I say that on this side of the water we could not call upon one who, from his experience and ability, is better qualified to speak on the subject of education than the President of Michigan University. I have great pleasure, therefore, in introducing to you President Angell.

Remarks by President James B. Angell, LL.D.

I fear this Council will begin to think — to use an Americanism, which perhaps our British friends do not understand — that Dr. Noble and I have a put-up job, that I got him appointed Vice-President in order that he might call upon me to speak. This is the second time he has betrayed me in this way.

It is too late for me to detain this assembly. I will simply call our British friends' attention to one feature of our educational system, which apparently has in some degree already attracted their attention, and that is this: that throughout this country — I think I may say without any fear of being contradicted — by gradual growth we have attained to this conception, that our educational system is not well administered if we conceive of it as made up of a series of separable strata of primary schools and grammar schools and secondary schools and colleges and universities. What I conceive to be one of the most useful ideas which has been reached in the popular mind is the unity of our education, from the lowest to the highest. And I should say that if there is any person in all our system of education whom I should be prepared to pay honors to more than to any other, it is to any one of a hundred such women as I could show you in the city of Boston who are teaching primary schools. We do, I think, verily believe and understand that the girl who takes the child fresh from its home at the age of five, it may be, and first trains it in its earliest development towards what it is to become at last, is as important a factor in our system of education as the president of the greatest university in this land. This solidarity of education, this unity of our intellectual processes and development, this coöperation and coördination of all our forces, so that the youngest teacher may come into the assembly of the oldest teachers of the very highest grade in this country and may be welcome and made to feel that her work is not a lower work or an inferior work, but that, if any one department is higher than another, it is hers — it is this fact in which we take especial pride. If we are achieving any success in this country in our great system of education — which does present, nevertheless, many difficult problems which have not been touched upon here to-day; I must confess it is not so simple as it may seem to our English visitors, for we have our trials and tribulations as well as you, though I think not quite so serious — it is mainly because of the unity of our educational system. In spite of our difficulties we think we are moving forward, and we are

moving forward under such a wave of public approbation for public education as I verily think does not exist perhaps anywhere else on the face of the earth. The heaviest taxes that we pay in all our towns and cities are the taxes for the public schools, and the tax that is most cheerfully paid is the tax for the support of the public schools. If some of our statisticians should arise to-day to inform you what is the amount of money that is paid, and paid cheerfully, by the state of Massachusetts and by all the states in this country for the support of public education, I think perhaps you would be somewhat surprised. It is because the people are behind this movement, and it is because they comprehend that from top to bottom it is one movement and it is *the* movement on which our success as an intelligent nation absolutely hangs, — this is the reason why they all stand by it.

And I would call the attention of our British friends to one particular effect of this, though perhaps I may be anticipating what my friend here is to say this afternoon. It is an effect which always impresses my mind almost as much as any other feature of our public education. You know that we receive here immigrants from all parts of the world. They pour in upon us by the thousands, unable to speak our tongue, unfamiliar with our manners, perhaps out of sympathy with our ideas; and yet, look at them in the second generation and you cannot tell their children from ours. They speak our tongue, they stand by the flag, they die for it as freely as our own children. But what I mean to say now is that the great solvent of this heterogeneous mass, the factor which more than all things else produces this splendid and beneficent result — this result without which we should be split into factions and rent by dissensions — is the public school system of the United States. Therefore, my friends, you need not be surprised that enthusiasm for this is found throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Now, I think the best service I can render is to call upon Dr. Bruce, of the School Board, of Huddersfield, England.

Remarks by Rev. Robert Bruce, D.D.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, — I esteem it a very great honor to be called upon here to speak upon the question which has been my special study and anxiety ever since I entered public life. As a Scotchman living in England, I desire to thank first the American gentlemen who have spoken to us this morning, especially our President. Those three or four points which he has put so well and so eloquently are a very great encouragement to us. Let me also thank the two representatives of our country who were chosen by the program committee to address you in their papers. You could not have had two better experts than Professor Massie and Mr. Hollowell. Professor Massie, living and moving in the academic groves of Oxford, the center of our classic and antique learning, living and working by the side of Professor Fairbairn, has taken the popular, liberal and progressive view of education in all its branches, and he has presented his views, which are ours, with great ability and wisdom and judgment. As to our friend Mr. Hollowell, he is known throughout the length and breadth of England. He is loved by his friends and hated by his enemies. He is not likely to incur the woe pronounced by our Master when he said, "Woe be unto you when all men shall speak well of you." He does not come from the academic groves, he is a peripatetic philosopher; he goes up and down the country as an expert inspector of things as they are — good, bad and indifferent,

and he is a witty and wise and graceful expositor of what he discovers. In his peripatetic movements, in the words of the psalmist, he is comforted — though others are not — by his rod and staff, for in addition to the staff of fact and truth and argument upon which he mainly relies, he carries with him a rod which is as hard as any of your splendid woods in the United States, and he hits hard and lays it on very well.

I am a Scotchman, proud of Bannockburn and proud of John Knox and of that parochial school system of which he was virtually the originator, and I am glad to think that Scotland to-day, little as it is, is much in advance of the country in which I have the honor to reside. It is a great humiliation for Englishmen to come over from a country that is so immense and so pretentious and so powerful, to confess our faults, not one to another, but to you. As a rule, parents do not like to confess to their children. They generally confess one to another; the father and the mother have it out, as to the conduct of the children. But our faults are many and they have been very candidly, and I trust charitably, exposed. I would have you remember that things are so bad, not so much because of the English people whom I love and admire, but because of the English priesthood. It is a fact that the English people, and especially the upper classes and the "West End" classes, are priest-ridden, and it is because of that fact that we are hindered in our efforts to promote free and liberal education. And I would also make this distinction, that there are priests and priests; there are clergymen and clergymen; and although as a whole the Church of England has behaved very badly to us and to public education, I find in different parts of the country some canons and deans and clergymen and even one or two bishops who are as fair in their judgment and as kind in their criticism of our work as any Congregational minister. I do not say this because we are to have an honored bishop appearing in our Council and who has done some of us the honor of inviting us to breakfast with him; I do it out of a love for truth, for whilst we hate the system from which we have suffered much, we would speak kindly and Christianly and justly and charitably of many clergymen and laymen in the Church of England who are almost as much in favor of unsectarian education as we are.

I am obliged to you for the honor you have done me in asking me to speak at all upon this question. In going back to England we shall carry not only encouragement to our Congregational churches to pursue their policy with more aggressive spirit, but above all we shall be encouraged to advocate more strongly than ever the system of free and unsectarian education by public support and under public control. In that respect we have learned very much; it has been worth all the difficulties and perils and sorrows of our pilgrimage — sorrows from which no one has suffered more than myself.

Allow me, in conclusion, to say that you must not judge of England from London. My friend Mr. Shepheard represents the greatest city in the world and the largest and the finest school board; but I would have you remember that in such a small place as Huddersfield, which is not more than one fiftieth part of London, and in Leeds and Hull and Sheffield and all the principal towns, as well as some of the minor towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire, the school boards are not contented with what is called elementary education. We have high grade schools, and in those high grade schools there are taught not only subjects lying immediately beyond the sixth and seventh standards, but a very important part of scientific and artistic education. In some of our schools Latin and French are also taught, so that every year from our higher grade schools we have students who matriculate in the London University. I heartily thank our President

for advocating what I have always advocated, the unity of the educational system through one authority, central and local.

Remarks by President Angell

Dr. Bruce has spoken of the enemies that our friend Mr. Hollowell has encountered. I think perhaps I may tell him for his comfort of a saying that we have in this country. In speaking of a certain statesman, we sometimes say that we love him because of his enemies.

The discussion was brought to a close by the Rev. Jacob John Halley, of Australia, who came to the platform and spoke as follows : —

Remarks by Rev. J. J. Halley

Mr. Chairman and Friends, — I must confess that, loyal as I am to the flag and loyal as I hope I always shall be to the flag, I have been somewhat ashamed of it this morning as I have listened to our friend Mr. Hollowell; and I want to say that you must not understand that that horrible system, or want of system, of education of which you have heard is prevalent all through the British Empire. We do things far differently in Australia. We have heard from His Honor, Judge Baldwin of Connecticut, that the ballot was invented here, but you made a precious poor thing of it until you adopted the Australian Ballot. I want to say here that throughout the colonies of Australia we have adopted these three principles of education: secular, compulsory, and free. The term secular is somewhat differently translated in different colonies. In the colony to which I belong it is translated in its fullest sense — too full for some of our weak-kneed brethren. With us religion and even the reading of the Bible is not permitted in the state schools by the state teachers. Ministers may come into the state school after school hours and give voluntary religious instruction. That is what I for one think ought to be the arrangement, though some of my friends think differently. In Victoria we are devoted to that system; it has been called our "Diana of the Ephesians." No politician would dare for a single moment to test his constituency on that point, for if he endeavored in the slightest degree to alter the educational system of that colony he would be politically ruined. We have a minister of education, and the minister of education of course is a member of the Cabinet and has to answer all questions relating to education in the House. We have our inspectors, and our state school teachers are members of the civil service; they cannot be removed save by no end of contest and inquiries. They all have to pass examinations of no mean order before they can obtain positions in our state schools. In fact, I do not see that you have anything at all in America that we do not have in Australia. I feel bound to stand up for the honor of the flag so far as state education is concerned in Australia.

Statistics

The committee on statistics presented the following report through Mr. Thomas W. Harrison, of England : —

Report of the Committee on Statistics

This committee was appointed by the International Council of 1891 to consider whether any, and if so, what steps could be taken to bring into line the Congregational *Year Books* of the countries represented on the

Council, so that Congregationalists from all parts of the world desiring information respecting the churches of other countries than their own might find ready to their hand the information required to give them an intelligent idea of the true position of those churches based on facts set forth on a basis common to them all and affording a similar, if not exactly uniform, standard of measurement.

In 1891 no such common ground could be found by those making reference to the *Year Books* then in use, and it was felt that this defect was a hindrance to the complete realization of the idea of the Council that the brotherhood of the churches should be international as well as national.

Hence the appointment of this committee with representatives from America, from Great Britain, and from the colonies.

The committee on entering upon their duties found that the *Year Book* of the American churches greatly exceeded the rest in the fullness of the details furnished and in the completeness of the returns.

Their first aim has therefore been, as far as possible, to induce the unions of other countries to furnish fuller and more complete information, and it is highly satisfactory to the committee to be able to acknowledge the cordiality with which the views of the Council have been met by these unions, and the extent to which advances have been made in the direction desired.

It was not to be expected that immediately and to the full extent uniformity could be realized (even if at all such a consummation could ever be hoped for), but it is much to find that there is a growing recognition of the value of complete and accurate information and an increasing readiness to place such information at the disposal of the Council, whose sole object for seeking it is the common benefit of all the churches.

Taking the several countries concerned, the following particulars may be reported: —

England and Wales. — Since 1891 the items of information as to each church which have been added to former reports are: —

1. The number of sittings.
2. The number of church members.
3. The number of scholars in the Sunday-school.
4. The number of teachers in the Sunday-school.
5. The number of lay preachers.
6. The name of church secretary.

Even the addition of these items (important and interesting as they are) leaves much that the churches in America are accustomed to supply.

No figures as to finance are at present given, and it is evident that a change in the feeling of the churches of England and Wales on the subject must take place before it will be possible to supply the omission.

The county unions, however, supply much of this information with regard to the churches aided by them, and it is believed that a growing number of the larger and self-supporting churches are issuing *Year Books* of their own for the information of their own members; and it seems reasonable to expect that as this practice becomes more general, the existing reluctance on the part of some churches to make public their financial position will gradually disappear.

Scotland. — Since 1891 the returns for this country have also been made in much fuller detail and much on the lines already indicated with regard to England and Wales; but there is here a more general disposition to furnish information as to finance, though in the present year there has been some reluctance to state the membership. In both countries there

has been a change in the method of collecting the information, which in 1891 was gathered by the editors of the respective *Year Books* direct from the churches, but which is now obtained through the secretaries of the county unions. This change of method will doubtless, in the long run, have far-reaching effects in the direction desired.

Canada, West Indies, and British Guiana. — The British colonies of Canada, the West Indies, and British Guiana are preparing elaborate statistical reports which, it may be hoped, will not only be useful to themselves, but which, it may be hoped, will stimulate other and older countries to follow their example.

Australasia. — The churches of these colonies are preparing statistical returns on the lines of the *Year Book* of the union of England and Wales.

The above report was accepted, and the resolution adopted requesting the nominating committee to nominate a committee of seven to report at the next meeting.

Adjournment was effected at this point.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Vice-President McLean called the Council to order at two o'clock. After the hymn "The church's one foundation" was sung, prayer was offered by the Rev. Leavitt H. Hallock, D.D., of Minnesota.

Address

Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois, pastor of the Union Park church, Chicago, delivered an address on the Influence of our Public Schools on the Caste Spirit.

Address by Rev. F. A. Noble, D.D.

THE INFLUENCE OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS ON THE CASTE SPIRIT

It is eminently fit that an address or paper concerning the influence of our common schools here in the United States, on the unifying of society through a process which levels by elevating, should find its occasion in a Congregational gathering holding its sessions in the city of Boston. It was on this spot — a spot made forever sacred by the feet which have trodden it, and forever memorable by the deeds here wrought — that our Puritan forefathers, fresh from the persecutions of their native land, but all athrob with the high and holy aspirations which had been kindled in their souls by the martyrs of Oxford and the scholars of Cambridge, inaugurated the system which, from the first, proved to be such an indispensable factor in the maintenance of free institutions.

It is impossible not to think of it as one of the marvels of history that Harvard College was founded inside of a decade after Endicott and his associates had landed on these shores, and at the end of a dozen years from the time of the arrival of the immortal Winthrop was beginning to graduate classes.

The establishment of a college, however, thus early in the career of the Massachusetts Bay Colony is not so surprising as the setting up of a course of instruction for the children and youth of the people at large to be directed and supported by the state. The college idea was well domesticated in the minds of the men who had sufficient intelligence and moral vigor to lift their hands in protest against the usurpations of the Stuarts, and from the days of Colet and More and Erasmus the better sort of Englishmen needed no argument to prove to them the value of higher education, nor any special pressure to induce them to do what they might for sound learning.

But the idea of providing for universal education at the public expense was new to the world. It had been the dream of a few far-seeing political leaders and the earnest aim of a larger number of great reformers; but no state or empire had ever made this plan of the common school at the public expense a part of its permanent policy. Under the old Hebrew economy the family was the center of instruction, and everything turned on the

fidelity with which parents did their work. In Greece the schools were private, and over them the government exercised no control. With the Romans it was the same; the school was an affair of public opinion, but not of the state. In a pathetic chapter Guizot tells us how Charlemagne tried to introduce schools into his provinces and to lift up the people by cultivating their minds and improving their morals; but his scheme had nothing of the generosity and breadth, and still less of the abiding outcome, of the scheme put in operation by our English ancestors.

Stating the case broadly, Martin Luther yonder in Germany, Calvin in Geneva, and John Knox in the mighty battle he waged for light and liberty and righteousness in Scotland, were the true pioneers of the modern common school, carried on at the cost and under the supervision of the state. They paved the way for the system.

But though many signs pointed in this direction and many influences were at work to bring about this result, yet the theory of education for all by taxing all was first realized in fact by the remarkable men of the Puritan faith and the Puritan training, who saw that learning is essential, not only to the development of the individual and the symmetry and power and progress of religion, but also to the preservation and right ordering of freedom, and that if the state is to be a commonwealth and rest on the people, the people must possess both knowledge and character.

With this thought in mind, and animated by this purpose, which was at once Christian and democratic, common schools, as well as schools of a higher grade, soon became an earnest care of the colonists. At first the schools were an affair of the town. Boston took the lead; but other towns followed the example of Boston, and set up schools which were to be supported either by voluntary contribution or by tax, or by both methods combined. But as early as 1647 Massachusetts enacted a law which took all the township schools under the general supervision of the state, and provided for the establishment and support of both primary and secondary schools. In 1650 Connecticut had a law on her statute books which required every town of 50 householders to keep up a school. Towns of 100 householders were required to support a grammar school in which students might be fitted for college. Towns were fined, and the fines were collected, if they failed to maintain such schools as were required by law. As it was in the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies, so with the single exception of Rhode Island, in which for a while there was less interest shown in securing the education of all the children of the community, it was throughout all New England. With those first settlers the education of the rising generation became a passion, and they felt it to be a sacred duty of the commonwealth to see to it that no child was permitted to grow up in ignorance.

But though these state founders had an intelligent and passionate purpose in what they did, they yet builded better than they knew. Neither the most visionary fanatic nor the most open-eyed prophet among them could have foreseen to what their brave venture would lead. Sober, thoughtful men, intent on the practical end of securing the privilege of worshiping God unmolested, and according to the dictates of their own consciences, and of erecting free institutions for themselves and their posterity, it was not in their imagination, though something like this began very soon to find utterance, to forecast a time when the state whose corner-stone they were laying would become an independent republic, kissed by lake and gulf, and stretching 3,000 miles westward from where they stood; and when such vast multitudes attracted by the ample opportunities of a new country and the equal laws of a free people, but alien, so many of them, in speech and habit and tradition and religion, would flock from all the nations

of Europe, and from the kindreds of the Orient as well, to these then distant shores. Our colonists were much too sane to indulge in such wild and improbable phantasies. Nevertheless, that which was not in the dreams of men was in the providence of God, and a problem which in its full gravity was not anticipated by the fathers had to be solved by the children.

At the same time it was the factor supplied by the fathers which enabled the children to reach the solution of the question they had to settle. For it is this very scheme of educating all under the supervision and at the expense of the state which had its origin here in Massachusetts, that more than anything else has kept our American democracy level-headed and true to the spirit and function of a democracy.

This is a fact the more worth considering for the reason that the influence of the common school, as it has existed from the first in those sections of our country which have done most to dominate thought and give permanent shaping to affairs, in eliminating the caste spirit among the people has never been sufficiently emphasized.

We are all familiar with the unifying influence of these schools, and their value in this particular has had abundant recognition. But that this unifying has come so largely through the equalizing and leveling-up process which has been going on from generation to generation in every school-house in the land has quite escaped us. Children of the Irish, the Scotch, and the Scandinavian; offspring of Germans and Italians and Poles and Bohemians and other nationalities sit side by side with native-born American youth, and go through their courses of training; and when they emerge from this instruction and these associations, they are found with few exceptions to be just as loyal to the flag and quite as enthusiastic in their devotion to the integrity and welfare of the country as if they had come into the inheritance of the name and fame of a long line of ancestry to the manner born. Immediately the inference is drawn that this is all due to learning our language and getting into sympathy with our history and ideas and aims. The inference is partly true — is true as far as it goes. Yet the inner secret of it all lies deeper down in the more radical fact that on these benches and under this instruction, and within the reach of these daily fellowships a sense of self-respect and equality has sprung up, and the standard of judgment has come to be not race, not ancestry, not wealth, not social position, but ability and character.

Two facts which have an important bearing on the case are here to be noted.

The first is that the influence of the common school is not the only influence in this country which has worked against the mischief and cruelty of the caste spirit. The easy terms on which the people of all lands and nationalities — with the anomalous and shameful exception of the Chinese — who were eager to improve their condition and prospects have been able to secure lands in fee simple, and build homes, and engage in enterprises as vast as they were capable of managing, within our borders; the wonderful facilities which the inventions and appliances of the age have afforded for the free intercommunication of all classes and conditions, in all sections of our wide domain; and last, but not least, the manhood suffrage which has prevailed under our system, and which is responsible for some harm as well as much good, have all had a share in breaking down the barriers of class distinctions, which the more favored members of society have always been so fond of erecting, and which have been such positive obstructions to fellowship and progress.

The second fact is that with a conspicuous exception or two to be noted presently, this country has had less to contend with in the matter of caste

than any other great people which ever existed. Our fathers brought with them when they crossed the sea an unconquerable faith in the living God; a profound sense of the worth and dignity of man; a love of liberty which robbery under legal forms and enforced humiliations and dungeons and fiercest fires of martyrdom could not eradicate from their souls, and a respect for law which has been the admiration of all subsequent times; but the high disdain affected by liveried courtiers for the plain and plodding masses, and the offensive pretensions and dazzling trappings associated with birth into privileged circles and orders, they left behind them.

It is not to be denied that in the primitive stages of New England society there were class distinctions and assumptions of superiority of the few over the many. Still the respect which ministers and magistrates and men of a little more learning or wealth than the majority of their neighbors exacted and received in those early days was only the thin and vanishing shadow of the homage demanded by a titled nobility. So far as the officials were concerned, it was a respect considered due to the office rather than the occupant of the office.

But while it is true that the doctrine of the essential equality of man with man as it was felt in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, and as it came to be announced in our Declaration of Independence, had a fairer start here in this Western world and more allies to assist in its development and maintenance than it ever had before, it is also true that human nature is human nature everywhere, and manifests the same natural dispositions and tendencies in one land as in another. It is only by watchfulness the most vigilant, and incessant warfare, no matter what the history of the nation, nor what the race, nor what the form of government, that the arrogant claim of a bluer blood coursing in their veins by the more fortunate families of a community can be held in check and class distinctions can be kept from creeping into society and destroying its unity.

In virtue of this fact of human nature being what it is, the way of the democratic idea, as has just been hinted, has not been without obstinate hindrance even in this land of equality. In spite of all their advantages the people of the United States have had to face undemocratic influences of a powerful sort, and even to the point of the bayonet.

Under the free flag of the republic, with our theory of the equal rights of man so generally accepted by all intelligent and loyal citizens, and so widely heralded to the world, there grew up within the bounds of some of our commonwealths one of the most distinct, compact, aggressive, and tyrannical aristocracies which ever rode roughshod over mankind and cursed the earth. It rent society in twain and fixed an impassable gulf between lower and upper. In its degradation of labor in its own section in the person of the negro, this aristocracy tended to degrade labor, and was degrading labor in all sections and in all races. It made a dark skin an unpardonable offense, and heaped contempt on one unfortunate enough to be born in bonds. Through its bad and cruel system it did all that it was possible to do by any human device to relegate the toiler of whatever color to the condition of evident inferiority and hopeless stupidity in which he is pictured by Mr. Markham in his "Man with the Hoe." Had it not been for the Civil War — or rather had it not been for God Almighty, with his care for the poor and oppressed, and his justice that rules all issues and shapes all destinies, the blight of the caste spirit would have covered and desolated the land. As it was, not only ambitious politicians, but eminent divines and distinguished lawyers and merchant princes in all the great cities of the land forgot the one blood in which all are made. No one influence in all the stretch of years from Plymouth Rock to Manila Bay ever wrought so powerfully to separate man from man and entrench the caste

spirit in the thought and habit of the people of the republic, as the treatment accorded the bondman through the centuries of his bitter servitude. That fatal influence abides and works its mischief still; and it is a force to be reckoned with in all attempts to secure the recognition of the equal rights of all rational creatures of whatever kindred or clime to a fair chance to make the most of their faculties and lives. It is already causing serious embarrassment in the readjustment of conditions and relations in Cuba and Porto Rico.

In these later times the millionaire and the multi-millionaire has appeared. He is here in state. He is here with his magnificent urban palace, and his splendid summer villa, and his private car adorned with grace and packed with luxuries, and his yacht furnished with an extravagance to put to shame the lavish displays of a king, and his ready welcome to all the most expensive and exclusive clubs, and his assured place in the sets of Four Hundred.

In some instances, which it is gratifying to note, the newly rich in gaining their wealth have lost neither simplicity of character nor sympathy with men. In taste and habit and willingness to be helpful they remain heartily democratic. In the best sense of the word they are stewards, who feel that they have been put in trust of these immense accumulations for the good of society, and they will be remembered not so much for the stocks and bonds they held and the wide estates they controlled, as for their beneficence in aiding schools and colleges, and endowing libraries and hospitals, and pushing missionary enterprises at home and abroad, and in many ways making the world better.

In other instances vast possessions suddenly acquired seem to serve only to foster conceit and vanity. They furnish means for performing the silly antics of ostentation and displaying a haughty disdain for those who are contemptuously called "the crowd." The impression made by these successful manipulators of property is that they consider themselves superior personages and built on a finer plan and of rarer dust than the average human being. They show impatience of any society, no matter how cultivated and select, which can be bred under the forms of democracy. They dearly love a lord, and the marriage of a daughter into a titled family is counted the supreme triumph. In other ways they do violence to democratic simplicity, but these are matters for the caricaturist and the racy criticisms of newspapers.

For all this the common school will go on its way equalizing by leveling, not down but up, and creating a public sentiment which will grind to finest powder all class distinctions that do not have their warrant in intelligence and character and worthy achievement. In all the progressive sections of the country the common school has been winning this kind of resplendent victory in the past, and it may be trusted to win the same kind of resplendent victory in the future. The common school is at once the exponent and the support of the democratic idea. As has been said already, there is no influence in this nation, and there has been none from the outset, which has wrought so effectually, and which is still working so effectually, for the practical realization of the thought that is fundamental to our government and the whole conception around which society in the United States is organized, as the common school.

It might have been expected that the church of Jesus Christ would prove to be the best expression of a real democracy and the most potent factor in bringing about the equality which has its justification in the worth of man as man. Back in the beginning it was man into whom the breath of life was breathed by the Divine Creator, and all else save the image of God in which he was made was mere circumstance. At the manger shepherds

with their crooks counted for as much as wise men from the East with their costly gifts. On the Mount, in the Upper Chamber, before the Cross, one hears nothing of high or low, rich or poor, king or peasant; but only of the love and trust and obedience and sweetness which the small as well as great, and the impoverished as well as the wealthy, can possess and exemplify. But it was not the church, which still builds costly edifices for the rich and simple meeting-houses for the poor, which best illustrated and enforced this democratic idea. It was and it is the child of the church — the common school. Without the church, and the church just as it existed under Puritan auspices, there would not have been even a poor approximation to the magnificent system of common schools which now enriches and glorifies such a large portion of our land. Still it is not the parent, but the child, which furnishes to the world the best exhibition of democratic equality. Men who are successful, whether in the better spheres of politics, or in business, or in professional life, or in the higher realms of literature, tend to exclusiveness; and were there no influences in operation to correct this tendency, an aristocracy would be inevitable. But while the successful men gravitate away from the masses and become clannish, the children of the successful men and the unsuccessful men alike sit side by side on the benches of the common schools, and in this way restore the poise of society, and hold it true to the spirit and aim of a genuine democracy.

Here the question naturally arises whether these eminently successful men do actually send their children to the common schools, and thus expose them to the perils of association and the stress of competition with children from all sorts of homes and social environment.

The answer must be a most emphatic affirmative. Long experience of the common schools has shown that it is both safe and wise to do this. Besides, public opinion is such that few families, be their financial resources and their social positions what they may, will venture to withhold their children — especially their boys — from these schools. Fathers, if they have had sense enough to succeed in life, have sense enough to see that they cannot afford to put their sons to the disadvantage which they must surely suffer all their lives if they have not been subjected to the kind of discipline which comes from measuring strength with other boys just as they turn up in these common schools. Fathers who want their sons to be men and not conceited snobs, too dainty for any of the rough and strenuous activities of life, rarely withhold them from these tests. There are exceptions to the rule, but they are not many. Any one who takes pains to look with a little care into the statistics of school attendance in our great cities — the places, of course, where there would be likely to be the most sensitiveness on the point — will see at once how general and vast are the currents of young life which set toward the open doors of the school. Building school-houses in all our centers of population is an industry in which the demand does not fall off even in hard times. In Boston and New York and Chicago and other large and growing communities, committees in charge of our common school buildings have extreme difficulty in keeping the accommodations of seats for children and youth up to the necessities of the situation. The attendance of all classes and conditions on these common schools is general.

It has been my lot to have opportunities for pretty wide observation in St. Paul and Pittsburg and New Haven and Chicago, new cities and old cities — cities in the West and in the East, — and never yet has the knowledge come to me of a family so exclusive in its feelings and so fearful of contamination that it made its exclusiveness and its fears a ground for keeping children from the common schools.

Read the biographies of all citizens of the republic who have achieved biographies — the biographies of our poets and historians and statemen and eminent names in other departments of literature, our presidents and professors in colleges and other institutions of learning, our inventors and scientists, our famous admirals and generals, and of our most forceful minds in industry and trade, and it will be found almost invariably that the educational influences to which, outside of home, they were first subjected were those of the common school. What a shining list it would make could we see thrown on canvas, one after another, the names of the men who began their brilliant careers in politics and letters and art and science and oratory in the common schools of the city in which we meet! What a resplendent roll is that alone of the Boston Latin School!

In these days much is said in pulpits and newspapers and conventions and on all sorts of platforms concerning the growing power of wealth and its pernicious influence in our political and social life. There is ground for alarm, no doubt, and yet not for all the alarm that is effected. For even in the United States Senate money has less representation and is a less potent factor in legislation than is popularly supposed. We have a few rotten boroughs and one or two large commonwealths in which heavy bank accounts control. These, however, are not many. It would be difficult to name any considerable number of the members of our upper House who have been put there by money — either their own or anybody's else. But whatever the influence of wealth on opinion and life under the flag of our republic, it is no match in the long run for the influence of our common schools. These schools as now established work on at the foundations of public sentiment with all the steadiness and force of the law of gravitation. If wealth throws the chill of pride and exclusiveness into the air, our common schools are the sun which melts it out. Like the Puritan idea, the common school is in this land to stay, and it will stay and sweep on its subtle and beneficent energy until sooner or later it has carried all before it. The caste spirit can make no permanent headway against the elevating and unifying influence of the common school.

To one who has an eye to see, the most significant and impressive thing to be looked upon within the bounds of the republic is not Niagara with its tumult and grandeur of falling waters, nor our mighty lakes and rivers over whose bosoms float such vast stores of commerce, nor our prairies waving with their precious harvests of wheat and corn, nor our mountains whose peaks play with the blue of the sky and whose depths hold countless riches of silver and gold and iron and copper, nor our cities which within the compass of a single lifetime have grown from Indian trading posts to throbbing business centers, whose industrial and financial interests touch the ends of the earth, nor our seats of learning, which, though they do not equal similar institutions in the Old World, are yet in their number and equipment and efficiency among the wonders of this modern time, but our common schools. In these mellow autumn days from the Atlantic to the Pacific, morning by morning, they are hurrying by the millions — these boys and girls — to the thresholds of the common school. When the winter days come, cold and bleak though they may be, there will not be a mountain slope nor a valley in which the common school has become domesticated, which will not furnish its contingent of lads and lassies to the multitudes who in these buildings erected by the state and under these teachers paid by the state are receiving the elements of an education that will quicken their self-respect and fill not a few of them with high aspirations, and do much toward fitting all of them for the duties and responsibilities of after life

How large the meed of praise which is due to the far-seeing and faithful

men who have dedicated their thought and energy to the establishment and improvement of our common schools! All about us are monuments erected to perpetuate the memory of men who in different spheres have won honor or greatly served their kind. We stand with reverent awe in presence of the statue of Winthrop, who in his patience and wisdom and disinterested loyalty was a model for all state-builders and Governors the world over. We lift our hats and express our gratitude when confronting the robust figure of Franklin, and wonder what he would say were he back here for an hour to see to what strange and multitudinous uses the lightning which he drew down from the skies has been put. We acknowledge by our silence how deeply we are moved when we look upon the majestic form which figures to the eyes which never saw him, the port and dignity of him who was at once the expounder and defender of the constitution, and recall how much we all owe to the superb statemanship of Daniel Webster. But he who loves and appreciates our common schools, and reflects what they have done, and are still destined to do for the republic and for humanity, will not neglect to stand and gaze long upon the figure of one to whom Massachusetts and the nation are indebted beyond what they can ever repay — the great and impressive figure of Horace Mann.

Address

Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D., of Australia, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Church History at the Congregational College of Victoria, and Pastor of the Collins Street Congregational church, Melbourne, also delivered an address on the Influence of our Public Schools on the Caste Spirit.

Address by Rev. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D.

THE INFLUENCE OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS ON THE CASTE SPIRIT

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — The subject on which I propose to speak to you is the Democracy of Education. And as I look around upon this audience, attracted by the subject of the afternoon, I can see how faithful to that great cause of education is the democracy of this country so far as it is expressed by the Congregational churches. We are all in these days democrats. Democracy is universal. That is to say, government is not only *of* the people, but it is *for* the people, and if in any cases it is not *by* the people, yet even the tyrant himself has to regard the interests of the people whom he rules and affirm, if he does not indeed regard, their highest advantage as the end of his efforts. Some of our countries are constitutionally monarchical. Others of them are republican. Some of us who belong to the outer fringes of the great British Empire acknowledge imperial sway, but I find it is necessary to inform some of my American friends that it is only a matter of acknowledgment. There seems to be an impression abroad in this country that we pay a kind of tribute, and that in some way or other we subscribe to Her Majesty's pin money. We are entirely free from all such obligations. England does not do very much for the colonies except to send out ships, if necessary, to protect them, and we allow her to pay her own bills. What we do is simply to receive from the crown governors who for the most part affix their signature to the laws which the people themselves pass. There is

no democracy so powerful, perhaps I should say so powerfully democratic, as the democracy of England, and I should be glad to feel that in some way even the American people themselves might learn the fullest and completest self-government from that poor old "busted-up" monarchy which so many of us acknowledge.

Now, the result of this is that education is becoming everywhere universal. Britain has a fairly universal scheme of education. Some of my brethren from the home country have painted lugubrious pictures of the state of education there. I do not know quite whether or not they are making speeches intended for a coming election at home, but I do not think the situation is quite as bad even in the old country as we have sometimes heard. At all events, things are gradually improving, and in some directions I am inclined to think that Britain has about the most complete system of education, taking the entire country, applied to all conditions, that we can well find. Like all things in England, it is wholly illogical. John Bull is never logical, but he always gets there, just as the Frenchman is always logical but very often he does not get there; or, if he does, he has very rapidly to quit it, as shown lately in Fashoda.

With us in the colonies we have a universal system of state education. France has perfected her system so that now from the highest university down to the lowest school her entire system is brought under the control of the minister of education. Germany in various ways, civic and national, has a very comprehensive system of education. Speaking broadly, throughout all nations democracy has asserted itself in regard to education. Perhaps you in the United States may regard yourselves as the pioneers in this great work. You have nobly led, but I think we may say that the other nations are also nobly following.

Now education embraces all men, at least in the societies with which we have any special concern. I need not stay for a moment to refer to the old dictum that there is no royal road to learning, that the democracy of education manifests itself in methods and in the form in which every man has to learn his lesson and to gain his schooling. Still there are movements — Dr. Noble hinted at them even in this land and they are still more powerful in England and are operative in the colonies — in the midst of this democracy, in the midst of this universal system of education, which are undemocratic, which tend to create the spirit and the forms of that caste to which my predecessor has referred. We find it in schools. Slowly schools differentiate, slowly classes of persons take their children from the common schools, to which they may have sent them in earlier days, and send them to private schools, and in this way even education itself, under the democratic conditions of our time, tends to certain separations; and while under democracy the masses are educated, there is always a certain elimination, an evolution, of classes even from the democratic education itself. I am a democrat; I believe in a universal equality; but I do not believe in that equality between all men which is to be gained by leveling down. I will never shout with any, "Down with all that is up," though I will shout with the loudest, "Up with all that is down." It is not leveling down that we want, but it is leveling up. If by reason of circumstance, of skill, of family relationship, or of self-denial, one man slowly emerges from the masses of men and gains for himself and for his a place which wealth or culture or character can give him — a position round about which others will gather like-minded and like-charactered with himself, let us be thankful to God for that man's success. But if a state educates its children — and I think all states should educate all children — it must give to all children equality of opportunity, if not equality of place and wealth.

In the first place, then, democracy demands a free education from the lowest to the highest. This is that ladder which was referred to this morning, that ladder upon the lower rounds of which the gutter child can put his foot and the top of which leads to the highest place of attainment, of influence, and of power in any society or in any realm. From what one can gather — and we rejoice to hear it — you have that ladder in most parts of this land. It is possible for the infant child of the poorest man to enter into your schools provided by the state, pass on from class to class into higher schools, slowly, as the years go by, mounting, mounting, until at last he comes to the college and to the university. And the child of the pauper has an equal opportunity with the child of the millionaire. If that is so, you have solved the great question of the democracy of education. Unfortunately, the old land lags painfully behind you, and even we in the colonies have not come to such a position as that.

But some say, "This is unfair. It is quite right for the state to give an education to its poor children in order that the citizens of the state may be able to read the directions on the ballot box and to make up a bill in their own favor or understand it when it is against them; but more than that, more than this elementary education, the state ought not to give. These higher luxuries of education should be paid for." I should like to ask, who paid for some of the higher luxuries of education which the wealthy enjoy — the ancient universities, for example, with some of the great trusts and foundations? They were established by their pious founders for the poor, and they have been filched from the poor, and handed over to the rich. Democracy says, "Give back what you have taken; restore the rights to those to whom they belong." How many a man, wealthy, easily circumstanced, finds his education by means of these foundations so very differently intended at the first! Besides which, I venture to say that in the present state of democratic opinion the wishes of the pious founder are not always to be carried out. I have yet to learn that a man, because he owns property, can hold that property in his dead hand through all the generations that are coming. The wealth that is gained by a wealthy man belongs not only to himself, but it belongs to that society, the very existence of which has helped him to make that wealth, and he has no right to hold it in that long perpetuity wherein sometimes the dead man's hand stretches out and limits the conditions of the wealth for generations until it becomes a very curse. Democracy says, "Restore what has been taken from the poor; throw open what has been limited by narrow conditions, tied and fastened around even generous gifts." Democracy says, "Freedom of opportunity for every child born into the world, from the lowest to the highest, to every son and daughter of men."

But democracy also says that there must be a larger and a fuller teaching for the teachers. Those distinctions of caste which very often are to be seen even in the tone and the type of learning, even in the style of knowledge, depend very largely upon differences in the teachers. We are told that in this country the teachers of primary schools socially, and very often in regard to their education, can compare favorably even with the teachers in the higher grades of schools. Many families will have representatives teaching in some of your greater colleges while their brothers or sisters are teaching in the common schools of the state. Whether that is universal or not I do not know. I fancy that we are here receiving a little of the color of this old Bay State in which we find ourselves. It was a wise thing in you to ask us strangers to come here and look through the eyes and the spectacles of Massachusetts. Perhaps later knowledge will show that all things are not quite as brilliant and not quite as sunshiny throughout the United States as they are in this happy New England. But at all events,

we rejoice to know that there is not this distinction with you. With us there is a distinction, a very great distinction in the attainments, in the culture, in the social type of those who teach in the primary schools and those who teach in advanced schools or in the universities. We must get rid of that old notion which haunts us that it does not matter what is the kind of person that teaches our children. In the old days the crippled soldier, the decayed merchant, the "stickit minister" might turn into a school-master. Some of you may remember the time when many a school-master had only one arm, and mercifully for the boys when they were up to mischief if the school-master had only one leg, so that they could hear the wooden one stumping along the floor. The influence of that still remains, and the idea is that you can have slenderly taught persons to instruct the lower classes. This is a profound mistake. The whole system of pupil-teaching is a mistake. Everywhere, to employ indifferent or ill-trained teachers for the primary schools is a mistake. We want men and women of as good social standing and of as good education to take charge of the little ones as of the older ones. Indeed, I am not quite sure but that we should send all the geniuses, all the higher scholars, to teach the infant classes; and when the pupils get up to the higher places in the university, by that time they can look after themselves and we might leave the dolts and the dullards to teach there. Democracy demands not only freedom of education from the lowest to the highest, but it demands the best of education for all classes of our teachers.

There is another element in this democratic demand to which I must refer. Democracy demands, and imperatively demands, the teaching of technical and manual skill. In this respect we English-speaking people are sadly behind some of the other nations of the world. You have heard, I have no doubt, very much lately of the phrase, "Made in Germany." The cry has been in England, and it has frightened many in England, that everything was being made in Germany, that German skill and German intelligence and German industry were ousting the competition of the English manufacturer. England has cause, too, in this respect to fear America — that is, as soon as America has free trade. So long as you tie yourselves around with your oppressive tariffs, so long as you make it far more expensive to produce every article in this country than in any other country, you can never compete with the Englishman in the outside market. But when the time comes — and probably it is not far distant — when competition between the civilized nations shall be universal and free, when we shall not depend on tariffs piled high as mountains to keep out competition, forgetting that by keeping out competition we also shut ourselves in from the great competition of the world, the man of commerce, the man of trade, the manufacturer, who will best succeed will be he who will bring the most intelligence, the most trained skill, the quickest apprehension of needs to the business in hand. It has always been so in the conflicts of the world. When Germany met France in that great war of 1870, Germany broke down French power — why? Not because the Germans were braver than the French; not because the Germans were better fighters than the French; not even because France was honeycombed with inefficiency and behind her whole system there was an emperor who could not lead and whose strength gave way under the awful pressure of the crisis; but because Germany was taught and France was untaught, and educated Germany whipped uneducated France. In that great conflict which you yourselves had in this land, what was it that gave victory to the Northern armies? It was the fact that here in this old colony you had set up not only the church and the state house, for they had set up the church and the state house also in the South, but with the church and

the state house you had set up the school-house, and the men of intelligence that came from the old Bay State smote down even their brothers when they met them in the conflict because they were untaught. It is so always. The man who knows will defeat the man who does not know. Democracy needs therefore knowledge for her workers, not the mere book knowledge, but the knowledge that comes with a skillful hand, with an eye keen of vision, with an understanding that knows how to choose the best material, with an acquaintance with machinery and the use of it and the manipulation of tools. All of these things that make the good workman will defeat the bad workman the world over.

Yes, and democracy needs to educate her workers for another reason: not only because of the competition with other nations, but because of the competition within her own borders. What is it that to-day takes the great masses of men and women, and hands them over in a dim and undistinguishable multitude to the power of the capitalists, to great unions and rings, to these mighty manufacturers? It is very largely a lack of intelligence. They are only fit to tend machines; they are not taught to work. And the great question will soon be raised concerning the place of machine labor, the use of tools, and that nation alone will be able to decide it in such a way as to enable her citizens to live under the pressure of a universal competition where the laborers are taught so that they are not on the one side defeated by the foreigner, and on the other side enslaved by the tyrants that are at home. If democracy is to be safe in this time of labor competition, then democracy must be taught, taught universally, and taught the technical and practical use of the material with which it deals.

There is only one other point to which I can refer, and that is that democracy demands the religious teaching of the people. This is a difficult question. No nation can be strong unless it be religious. You may build up here your mighty commonwealths, you may extend your vast territories, you may gather millions into these great United States, but your very greatness will be your peril unless you build the state large and strong upon the broad foundation of a nation's faith in God. But a difficulty presents itself. We have tried to solve it in Australia. In Victoria we have solved it by applying the method of free, compulsory, and secular education, and we do not see very well what other method can be applied to a state school system. But, as the French say, the good is always the enemy of the best, and an educational system, though it be free and compulsory and secular, which involves practically for a large number of persons the exclusion of religion is not the best system and must at last fail. Here is the danger of our popular education in modern time. I believe in some places you have the Bible read in the schools. I have heard that in many other places the Bible lies upon the teacher's desk and is always unread. That does not solve the question; it only conceals it. It was, of course, very easy for our friends in Scotland to have a better settlement of the education question than our friends in England; for in Scotland the people are largely homogeneous. The power and strength of the Presbyterian churches are such that they can compel a certain unity of action along lines satisfactory to themselves. It is not so in England, and therefore, with all the difficulty and with all the imperfection of the education scheme that was passed in 1870, one must still recognize that an enormous step forward was made in that country at that time. Still there remains this great question of how you will give religion to the people. There is growing up in Australia, I am sorry to say, a class of people who are not very familiar, as they ought to be familiar, speaking English, with the English Bible. I cannot conceive of an English education as being com-

plete which does not include a knowledge of the greatest English book ever written. And still more when we remember the moral and the spiritual conditions which are involved in this lack of religious education, does the difficulty of this question appear. How can it be met? I do not think it can be met by any state system. Slowly religious education will vanish from your state systems of any kind whatever. Democracy will demand it in the name of liberty; in the name of justice democracy will compel it. But here comes the opportunity and the responsibility of the Christian church. You have not to stand, as representatives of Christ, merely as spectators of this great question of national education. You have to take your part in it. You cannot hand it over to the administrator; you cannot hand it over to the teacher or to the school board. You yourselves are responsible, for on you rests the Master's command, "Feed my lambs." If the churches were only true to their responsibility, if they were only alive to their duty, they might enter into the forms of state education or into other forms of education open to them, and they might solve this question. Isolate yourselves from the religious education of a people and you will find the people skillful, learned, free, but wholly anti-religious. Fling yourselves into this great work, stand beside the teacher, let there be volunteers, let there be a special service of our churches to supplement the work where the state school must fail. Improve our Sunday-schools. Organize still more the unused material of our churches. We have idle Christians in our churches sufficient to supply men and women to teach all the schools of the world if they were but quickened to zeal and would do their duty. The interests of your nation, the progress of humanity, the glory of God, demand it. Every people are in peril if their wealth, their learning, their culture be not based upon the strong foundation of their faith; and it is for you who believe and who serve the Lord Christ to take this part in the service of the people. Democracy demands this from you and has given to you the opportunity.

Address

Rev. William Jewett Tucker, D.D., LL.D., of New Hampshire, President of Dartmouth College, Hanover, read a paper on the Religious Motive in Education as Illustrated in the History of American Colleges.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT W. J. TUCKER, D.D., LL.D.

THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN EDUCATION AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN COLLEGES

The subject upon which I am to speak — "The Religious Motive in Education" — is not to be treated, I assume, altogether historically, though it has its signal illustration in the history of the American colleges. It is a subject of to-day, and, so far as we can see, of the future. We must know the motive which ensures the educational development of a people, if we are to form any estimate of the intellectual security of that people. And if various motives enter into its educational development, then we ought to know their order and sequence, and their relative power as incentives or supports.

It is a fallacy to assume that education furnishes the sufficient motive to its own progress. The pure educational impulse comes late in the process of civilization. We reach the scholar far along in the order of social

advance. When he comes he may take the place of leadership, he may lead the way alike in discovery and in heroic action, but he is only by exception the pioneer. Many men must precede him, and many agencies must create the conditions of his work.

The order of motive in the educational development of this country is the key to its general as well as to its educational history. The earliest motive was so distinctly and profoundly religious as to warrant the statement that, through education, religion was the maker of its history. It was not only the originating, it was the shaping, the controlling, the inspiring force for a century, and it is not a spent force.

I shall speak of the characteristics of the religious motive in education in its earlier manifestations. But before I dwell upon the characteristics of this motive, I ought to allude to other motives; I ought, in fact, to show the succession of motives, through which our educational system has been built up.

It is hard to separate the religious motive, even at the beginning, from the political motive. The Puritan commonwealth of New England was church or state, as you choose to interpret it. Outside New England the two motives were at work side by side in education. You may see the same intention in the establishment of William and Mary, or of King's College, now Columbia, as in the founding of Harvard. Princeton is perhaps more closely related to the constitutional history of the nation than any other college.

And as the political motive had an early place beside the religious, so the religious motive has followed the growth of the political demands for the higher education. With the two notable exceptions of the University of Pennsylvania, the conception of Benjamin Franklin, and of the University of Virginia, the conception of Thomas Jefferson, the state university system began its extended work with the founding of the University of Michigan (1837). The great Northwest adopted the system and put its own impress upon it, which was that of a religious people, acting in perfect freedom from all ecclesiasticism. I was told recently by Professor Briggs that the first Young Men's College Christian Association was established in the University of Virginia, at the time when he was a student there. I suspect that this association, and like organizations, have quite as strong and free a life in the state universities as in the colleges or universities where they come into a kind of competition with traditional or prescribed religious observances.

About the middle of the present century the material growth of the country gave rise to the economic or industrial motive in education. To this motive we owe the great number and the great prosperity of our technical schools.

The pure educational motive, as I have intimated, came last. The university of fact, not of name, representing the idea of original investigation and research, has hardly passed its decade. The motive is now at work with great vigor, it is becoming exceedingly prolific, but it is recent.

Recognizing the succession of motives through which the educational development of the country has been gained, the succession which made account in turn of the religious, the political, the economic or industrial and the distinctly educational, I return to the first and most determining of all, the religious motive.

It was the religious motive, expressed through education, which gave us our type of civilization. Had the material motives which are so dominant at the close of this century been equally operative in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no one can tell how great would have been the divergence from our present ideals or attainments as a people. We are

what we are on our better side, because our forefathers were what they were in the motive which fixed their ideals and set the order of their lives.

What were the characteristics of the religious motive in education in its earlier manifestations? The characteristic which at once attracts our attention is that earnestness or intensity for which we have no other word than zeal. The founding of a college was as serious business as the founding of a state. Some of the charters of the old colleges read like the prospectus of a missionary organization. The legal phraseology in which they are couched, however cumbersome or repetitious it may be, cannot restrain the spirit which informs them. In every case the seal of the college sets forth its religious motive and end — "For Christ and the Church," "Truth and Light," "In Thy Light Shall We see Light," "The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness." And whatever was proclaimed by seal and charter was supported by personal sacrifice. The colleges which antedated the Revolution were born in heroic poverty, and were nurtured in the bracing atmosphere of self-denial and sacrifice.

A characteristic of the earlier religious motive equally significant, but not equally understood, was its breadth. The colleges stood for freedom, the most difficult kind of freedom to enjoin, namely, the right of opinion. I quote the words of one charter: "Not excluding any person of any religious denomination whatsoever from full and free equal liberty and advantage of education, or from any of the liberties or privileges or immunities of said college on account of his or their speculative sentiments in religion." The management of these older institutions varied. At Yale precedence was given to ministers, at Dartmouth to laymen, but in these and in all the spirit was the same. The breadth which declared itself in the insistence upon freedom made itself manifest in its hospitality. The growth of every college curriculum has kept pace with the advance of science. No college or university within my knowledge has merited the impatient designation which John Bright once applied to Oxford, "the seat of the dead languages and of undying prejudices."

And still another characteristic of the religious motive was its exceeding fruitfulness, one proof of its vitality. At the close of the eighteenth century, during which the religious sentiment had been most active, it is estimated that the country had more colleges in proportion to its population than it has now. I venture the statement that the religious motive has been from the first until now the direct and indirect cause of more endowments to the higher education than all other motives combined. Many of the great benefactions for purely secular education, as in the technical schools, have come from men of profound religious character. Within narrower limits the type which the religious idea established has shown its persistence. The college, having its origin under Christian incentives, and reaching out to distinctly Christian ends, has passed out of New England and planted itself in every state this side of the Pacific. And each new foundation has revived the old traditions of self-denial and heroism. I recall, as I speak, a man of my generation, the worthy successor of John Harvard, Samuel Kirkland, and Eleazar Wheelock, Joseph Ward, founder of Yankton College on the banks of the Missouri, who laid down his life in early manhood, a nineteenth-century gift to the religious motive in education.

These were the characteristics of that great religious impulse which originated and organized our educational history as a people, zeal reaching into sacrifice, breadth insuring intellectual freedom, and a vitality which expressed itself in increasing fruitfulness. I will not pause to illustrate. The story of every college is an illustration. The religious motive has gone into history, it has made its imperishable record. I am the rather

concerned to ask, what has become of this religious motive; where are we to look for it under changed conditions?

Modern education does not show the same outward signs of religious incentive and direction. It wears a different aspect. The change is due, I think, to three distinct causes. First, to the substitution in so considerable a degree of state endowment for private beneficence; second, to the enlargement of the secular ends of education; and, third, to the more informal character of the religious life in our colleges and universities. We look in vain for some of the old associations and expressions of religion, and, failing to find these, we fail to find religion. When a college or university springs out of a state appropriation, or out of the capital of a millionaire, rather than grows out of the strenuous and protracted self-denial of the few; when the ministry which had been the chief aim and product of the college becomes numerically the least among its products; and when prescribed forms of religious observance are set aside for the growth of voluntary religion, it requires no little second thought on the part of the public mind to adjust itself to the change, and to believe in the continued working of the religious motive. Yet second thought must make plain to any one the principle that education ought to have the consecration of wealth as well as the devotion of poverty; that the ministry must fall into the minority in the privilege of learning, and that religion, if it is to enter the growing mind, must enter and abide under the laws of growth. We cannot maintain the old conditions, we cannot insist upon the old forms, we cannot guarantee the old results. Can we keep the ancient spirit? Yes. Are we keeping the ancient spirit? Yes; in far greater degree than we at once affirm, or even believe, if we interpret the expression of it broadly. And in proof of this statement I put in evidence briefly the following facts: —

The moral power of the teaching profession has been, and is, steadily advancing. The time has come when teaching easily divides with preaching the power of moral incentive and impression. Grant George Herbert's distinction between the informing and the inflaming faculty, grant, as he says, "that catechising cannot inflame, it cannot ravish the soul," call up and put beside it that earlier definition, in which the ancient prophet sets forth in inimitable word the relation of master and scholar, "him that awaketh and him that answereth." The ministry recognizes the moral opportunity in education. College pulpits draw in willing succession the best preachers of the day. The outflow from the ministry into teaching and administration is continuous and steady. There are no greater names in the ministry of their time than Francis Wayland, Mark Hopkins, and Julius Seelye, teachers distinctively rather than ministers. And quite apart from the individual transfer from the pulpit to the chair of the professor, irrespective of all borrowed strength, the fact appears that the teacher is in himself and by his own right one of the largest sources of moral inspiration among us to-day. Ask the trained men of any community where they received their moral, as well as mental, awakening, and the probabilities are that they will point to some great teacher. There is not a college or university in the land which does not stand for ethical and spiritual force, usually embodied in some inspiring personality. Personal influence of this kind in our colleges is not the exception, it is the rule. A process is going on which is sifting the teaching force of every great institution to the advantage of character. The teacher's life along all its grades is becoming more serious, not less serious; more strenuous, not less strenuous; more self-sacrificing, not less self-sacrificing. I make no comparison at this point with the ministry. There is no occasion for it. I am simply affirming the continu-

ance and the expansion of the religious motive in education. It dwells at the inmost sources of power.

Still more marked is the fact that the college, as compared with all its surroundings, is the home of idealism. I am not sure that the college is not farther from the market place than the church. Of this fact I am sure, that the chief barrier to the materialism of the day lies in the consciences, the growing ambitions, and the ideals of the young men in our colleges and universities. College life is full of temptation. That is always to be said. Going to college is only another term for going into the world. But the saving influences which are at work within are untiring and pervasive. A college is a democracy which levels up, not down; sometimes it rises in its action to the dignity of a moral or spiritual democracy. I never knew the deliberate and consenting voice of a college to utter a questionable note, or even to declare for secondary goodness.

I have spoken of the changes in the expression of the religious life — changes, perhaps, not greater within than without — but entirely evident. Some things of a distinctively religious character, like special seasons of religious awakening, have gone out, but the thing which has not gone out is that high idealism in which dwells the soul of religion. The religious instinct is there and alive, waiting its opportunity.

The only thing which is needed in our colleges is such a readjustment of religious services and duties as will satisfy this instinct. Formalism in religion cannot be expected to hold its own against vitality in every other part of education. Vitality in religion will tell as clearly in a college as in a church. Indeed, I will go farther and say that if we do not insist upon some narrow or merely intense expression of religious feeling, we may count upon religion as a permanent and ineradicable factor in college life. The religious motive can be utilized to give steady uplift. It can be so applied that men will leave college more truly and profoundly religious than when they entered. You cannot catch them in statistics, you cannot enumerate results. You may rest in the assurance of the fact of the growing spiritual life. Of course there is no method to be introduced of universal application. Each college must study its own situation. But I insist not upon the possibility, but upon the certainty of the result. I protest against the idea that religion has no longer a place of honor in our colleges. Who says so ? Not college men, according to my observation. All that they ask is that religion shall be as strong, as broad, as vital, as anything with which they have to do, In a word, religion that is religion, that ought to be allowed anywhere, is as welcome a guest in the hearts of college men as anything which brings with it the great imperative of life. I repeat, the religious instinct is there, and alive, waiting its opportunity.

College men are diverted every year from the ministry, because of the surplus of ministers; they are diverted from missionary service, because of the shrinkage in missionary receipts from the churches. New outlets for the consecrated life of the colleges and universities have to be discovered. The social settlement is one such outlet. The plain fact is that the amount of consecrated power exceeds the old formal demands, and is beginning to open new channels into the necessitous world about it. I trust that more of it may become the leaven which may purify society, business, and politics.

And another fact must not be overlooked, namely, the fact that the higher education represents among us, as nothing else represents, the passion for truth. I do not say religious truth, for I do not like to make a distinction. All truth is in the last result religious. The exclusion of any kind of truth from religion is more disastrous to religion than to truth. It is perilous, I think, to put more emphasis upon the

subject-matter than upon the motive. The humble, reverent, undaunted searcher after truth in nature has more of the religious quality in his search than the superficial or partisan student of Scripture. I have always liked these reverent words of President Eliot: "I have never been able," he has said, "to find any better answer to the question, What is the chief end of studying nature? than the answer which the Westminster Confession gives to the question, What is the chief end of man? — namely, to glorify God and to enjoy him forever."

There is a passionate search after truth going on in our schools, which is second only, as a religious quality, to a like passionate love of man which is shown on mission fields. Let us acknowledge it and put the right valuation upon it. Side by side with those who are watching for "light to break out of God's holy word," there are watchers all along the horizon of truth. Let us keep the fellowship. In the old alliance between religion and learning we thought of learning as contributing information, testimony, and illustration to religion. What if we allow ourselves to think of it as rendering a better service, as now contributing a spirit, a motive, a purpose, a method, which to-day are needed to reëstablish the supremacy of religion?

Pardon the definite application of my subject in these closing words: To what end has the religious motive in education been kept alive and active, in the midst of motives pressing their way in from every side? What opportunity, what duty awaits the religion of the trained mind and conscience? We have had during the past generation a succession of religious movements broadening and ennobling the common life. We have had the revival of the religion of evangelism with its warmth and zeal; we have had a revival of the religion of worship, bringing in order and reverence; we have had a revival of the religion of charity, diffusing light and gladness even in the darkness and solitudes of the city. What wait we for? What type of religion is yet to come in the great succession? Whose turn is at hand among the disciples of a common faith? I speak in no narrowness of sect as I make reply. I believe that I interpret a feeling wider than the bounds of this communion when I answer, that type of faith which has shown the greatest power to deepen the religious life, equally fearless in the investigation of truth and in the application of it, capable of training the national conscience, capable, if need be, of making a national conscience, whose genius is the genius of education, whose history is the record of conflict and reform, whose unfinished work lies open and urgent in the needs of every English-speaking nation at the close of the century. You anticipate the name I give it. I would not hesitate to name it anywhere to-day among men. It is a revival of the faith, the training, the spirit, the motive of Puritanism.

At the close of President Tucker's paper the Council adjourned till 7.45 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION

President Angell called the Council to order at 7.45 o'clock and announced the hymn, "Oh, where are kings and empires now?" after the singing of which Rev. James G. Vose, D.D., of Rhode Island, offered prayer.

Address

Rev. William DeWitt Hyde, D.D., LL.D., of Maine, President of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, read the following paper on the Education of the Minister: —

Address by President W. DeW. Hyde, D.D., LL.D.

THE EDUCATION OF THE MINISTER

The things that fit a man to preach are four: first, the call of God; second, mental drill; third, first-hand secular knowledge; fourth, individual grasp of spiritual truth. For each of these four things we have to-night five minutes.

First. The call of God. Let us have no nonsense about that. It is not a voice that we can hear; it is not a sign that we can see; it is not a pathological disturbance of the nerves which the psychologist can explain away; it is not a sentimental stirring of the breast to which effeminate weaklings are peculiarly susceptible. It is the clear conviction that life, as most men live it, is a wicked waste, a burning shame, a disgrace to man, an insult to God. It is the equally clear conviction that life as man ought to live it, and as Christ has showed us how, is pleasing to God, ennobling to man, satisfying to the conscience, restful to the soul. It is the positive certainty that the difference between these two ways is the supreme issue on which God's glory and man's blessedness is staked; the confident assurance that wherever the better way has a fair chance it is bound to win. It is the resolute determination to enlist in this great contest; to show up the meanness and misery of the wrong way so plainly that sinners shall tremble and repent; to point out the winsomeness and charm of the blessed way of Christ so persuasively that all who see and hear shall long to live it too.

This call of God may come in many ways — through the example of an upright father, through inheritance from a sainted mother, through the spoken word of pastor, through the silent influence of friend, through bitter experience of sin. The surest sign that one has it is a keener sensitiveness to human wrong, like that of Moses toward the Egyptian oppressor and Nathan toward the dastardly deed of David; a deeper sympathy with human suffering and sorrow akin to that of the good Samaritan, and of Christ who taught the lesson to the world. In Carlyle's rugged phrase the man called of God is he whose eyes "toward hypocrites and tailored quacks in high places are lightning; but they melt in dewy pity softer than a mother's toward the downpressed, maltreated." This call

of God to a deeper human sensitiveness and sympathy may come in ways and forms as various as the workings of the omnipresent Spirit; but he who has not received it is no minister of Christ, and not all the schools and colleges and seminaries and councils in Christendom can ever make him one.

Second. Mental drill. Enlisting does not make a man a soldier. Deciding to be a surgeon does not qualify a man to touch the human body with a knife. Not until years of anatomy and dissection, clinical and hospital experience, have made veins and arteries, nerves and muscles as visible beneath the skin as though the body before him were transparent glass, is he deemed fit to take the issues of physical life and death into his professional hands. Not less but more exacting should be the training of the man who is to apply to the soul that living, active word of God, which is sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart.

The man who will fit himself for that must take four years of mental drill as monotonous as that of soldier or surgeon. Hitherto the world has agreed to use Latin, Greek, and mathematics for this purpose. They are admirable subjects, just because, as ordinarily taught, they are so dead and dry. They are fixed and rigid as a dead body and as patient under the blundering dissection of the novice. To-day we are trying the experiment of substituting science, history, and modern languages for a portion of these traditional subjects. It is much like substituting vivisection for dissection of the dead body, as training in anatomy. The information imparted is, on the whole, more valuable. Yet, at this stage, not information, but drill is the prime requisite. It requires a much more skillful teacher to get the needed drill out of the vivisection of French and German, history and chemistry, than it does to get the same drill out of the dissection of Latin and Greek sentences, and the manipulation of mathematical formulas. Yet, when the vivisection is well done, the gain is great.

A partial substitution of the new subjects in secondary schools is to be heartily encouraged. Yet, for the present, the wise parent will make sure that the drill of mathematics, and, at least, one classic language, is not omitted from his son's secondary school course. The minister must have it. He must be trained to break up a complicated sentence into its constituent elements, and to put them together in a new set of symbols, without losing the identity of meaning or even the finer shades of feeling common to the language that he studies and the tongue he speaks. He must learn to recognize and utilize old axioms and formulas in novel combinations. Otherwise he will not be able to translate the oriental imagery of Genesis and the Apocalypse into the concepts of an age brought up on Darwin's "Origin of Species" and Spencer's "Synthetic Philosophy"; or to apply the ethics of the New Testament to the complicated social and economic conditions of the times. Four years of secondary school drill must be required of all who are to be ministers if we are to protect ourselves against the dreary driveling of rant and cant that invades the pulpit like a flood, whenever these reasonable requirements are let down.

Third. First-hand secular knowledge. It is of little use to preach to a world whose ways of thinking you do not understand. The minister must wrest the scientific concepts of his age direct from the laboratory. No text-book or lecturer, giving them in finished form, will serve his purpose. He must wring from the library, out of the conflict of opinion and the clash of hostile schools, the economic, sociological, and literary treasures it contains. By wide reading, eager discussion, sharp criticism, he must make his own the philosophical ideas of the modern world. In other

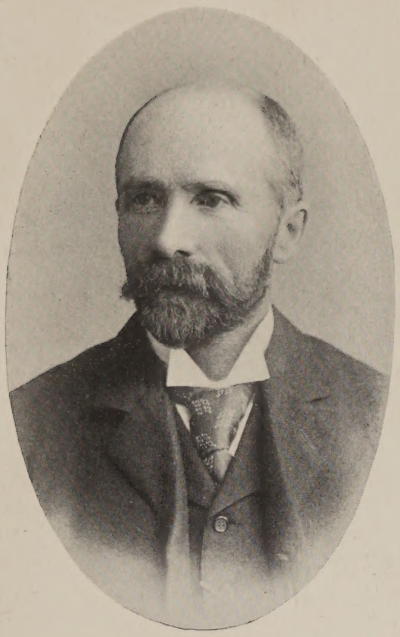
words, he must go to a real college; not to some graduate high school that bears a college name. The seminary, too, must keep these secular interests alive and growing throughout the seminary course. It can be done in either of two ways: by removing to a university center, as Pacific Seminary, for admirably rendered reasons, is doing to-day; or else by bringing experts in literature, economics, sociology, ethics, and philosophy to hold weekly seminars with the seminary students. It is the only way to keep a seminary alive. To drop these vital secular subjects for the three years of a seminary course is fatal in more ways than one. It tends to put men out of touch with the living world to which they go. It makes even the theological studies a dead and dreary thing. Unless a man is kept alive on the living issues of the present, he will be utterly unable to catch the living spirit from the writings of the Bible or the history of the church.

To a mind dead to the ethical, social, literary, political, and philosophical issues of his own day and generation, not all the exegesis in the world can make even the Bible a living book. The fragments of Greek and Hebrew that you dump into such a mind will soon become as cold and dead as the lifeless receptacle into which they fall. It is not that the actual results from exegesis and criticism, antiquarian and linguistic study should be so very much reduced; but with all that, and as the condition of whatever real worth this linguistic and antiquarian study shall have, must be carried on a vigorous and intense contact with the intellectual, moral, and spiritual forces that are shaping the world of to-day. When critical and exegetical refinements are relegated to their proper place as the mere fringes of the borders of the ministerial robe, we shall have at last a race of ministers who will go forth clothed with the power of the living spirit to sway and mould the lives of men.

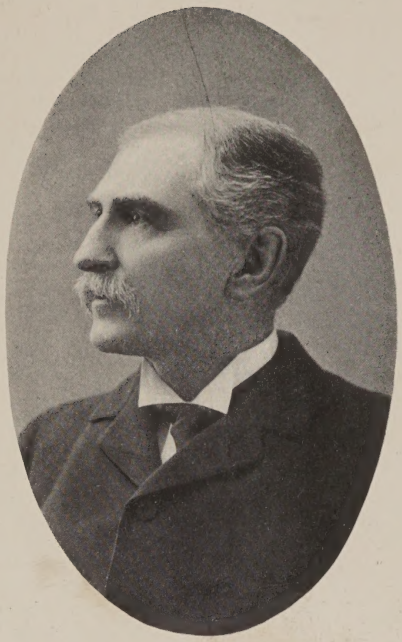
The seminaries are at last making some attempt to correct the suicidal policy of intellectual isolation that has brought them so near the verge of the grave. Yet there is room for great improvement. Secular studies are still looked on as side issues, extras, and options. Little money is actually spent in providing for advanced work in these secular departments under inspiring expert instruction. Without this first-hand knowledge of science and philosophy, sociology and ethics a man may be what our Methodist brethren call an exhorter; a man, that is, who can urge his fellows to a better life, but he cannot point out in terms of the literary ideals, the ethical insights, the social conditions, and the philosophical conceptions of his age the precise form which that better life should take. Such a man cannot continue the best traditions of leadership in practical affairs which have been the glory of the Congregational ministry.

The most ominous sign in American Congregationalism to-day is the disposition of thoughtless churches to welcome to their pulpits, of weak-kneed associations to recognize, of complacent councils to install untrained or half-trained men from foreign lands, from denominations having lower intellectual standards, from lay colleges, from Christian Association and Endeavor work, simply because they can glibly declaim with unctuous fervor the plagiarized platitudes they have borrowed in substance or in form, if not in both, from pernicious homiletical helps. We welcome well-trained, earnest, honest men from every land and every church, and every form of Christian work. Against the reception of untrained men from any source, in the name of our priceless intellectual traditions, in justice to the sons of our churches and our schools, yes, in sheer self-preservation as a denomination that hopes to have reason for continued existence, it is our duty most earnestly and indignantly to protest.

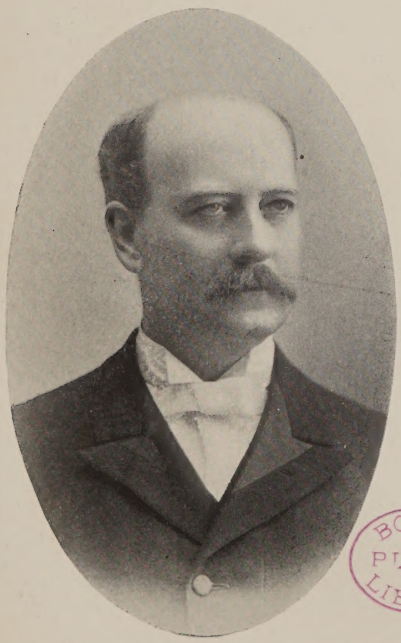
Fourth and finally. Individual grasp of spiritual truth. There must



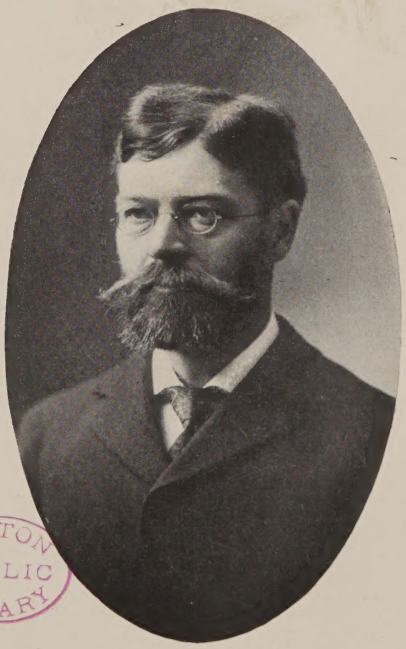
PROF. JOHN MASSIE, M.A., J.P.,
Oxford, England.



PRES. WILLIAM J. TUCKER, D.D., LL.D.,
Hanover, N. H.



PRES. WILLIAM F. SLOCUM, B.D., LL.D.,
Colorado Springs, Col.



PRES. WILLIAM DeW. HYDE, D.D., LL.D.,
Brunswick, Me.

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be a radical and costly reform in methods of seminary instruction. When college graduates go to schools of law or medicine, or to the graduate department of a university, they work as they never worked before. Even the "bummers" settle down to business as a rule. When college graduates go to the seminary they almost invariably report a falling off in effort and interest. Even those who were diligent in college grow lazy, and take to loafing. Hebrew is the only thing they report as being hard; and that they say they hate. Theological instruction is not up to the educational level of graduate and professional work in other departments. Men who in college have learned to investigate and think for themselves when given dictated lectures to write out and learn from day to day as the sole or chief means of intellectual growth, feel as if they had been put back into the kindergarten or the nursery, instead of promoted to a professional school. The best men are disgusted; the poorest men are stultified. Their manhood is at the same time threatened by superfluous eleemosynary aid. Requirements are so easy that the lazy and the dull have no difficulty in repeating enough of memorized information to pass muster at the end.

The system of dictated lectures as the main reliance for the development of mature minds is a relic of the dark ages when there was but one book of a kind in the monastery; and that was so precious that it had to be chained to the altar. While the lecture may well be occasionally employed as a point of departure, a springboard from which to dive into the subject, the individual research, reflection and construction of the student, subjected to searching criticism and discussion by the professor, is the only effective agency for training men who are to be the intellectual and spiritual leaders of their fellows. Some progress is evident in this direction. One seminary announces that no course is given without an accompanying seminar. What is thus announced as the ideal of one of our seminaries should speedily become the rule for all.

To herd mature men in classes for the purpose of pouring finished and final information into their passive heads is an injustice to the training they bring from college, and a wrong to the churches to which they expect to minister. No wonder that there is a dead line of fifty in the ministry. For the man who is dead at fifty is simply the man who was not intellectually alive at twenty-five. The young man who is content to take his views ready made from his teacher at twenty-five becomes, of course, at fifty the man nobody wants to hear. Men trained to indolent submission to professorial dictation in the seminary, in after life can scarcely keep from lying if they try. For they have no standard by which to test the truth. Such men will be prepared to swallow whole such methods of Biblical and historical criticism as that attributed to Dr. Pond, who is said to have begun his introduction to the book of Job with the statement that, although some skeptics have doubted whether Job was a historical character, the Bible settles that question for itself, for in the very first verse of the first chapter it says: "There *was* a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job."

The seminaries which will emancipate the minds of their students must themselves be free from bondage to the letter of antiquated creeds. Creeds have their purposes and uses, which are akin to the uses of platforms in political parties. They serve as a bond of intellectual fellowship and recognition. Though to serve that purpose well, creeds, like political platforms, ought to be rewritten as often as once in every four years. To tie up the teaching of an educational institution to an ancient creed is simply outrageous. What would you think of a college that should bind its professors forever to teach either the McKinley doctrines of the tariff

or the Bryan views of silver coinage? It would be an imposition on the imbeciles and the feeble-minded to send them to such an institution. To tie the teaching of a seminary to a creed drawn up either in the middle of the seventeenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century is no less absurd.

A famous but ultra-conservative professor in Bowdoin College once met the request of a student for a more modern text-book on anatomy with the reply: "Young man, no bones have been added to the human body since that book was written." If no new bones have been added to the system of Christian doctrine, let us trust that at least new blood has been infused into it with each successive generation. Nothing but mischief and misunderstanding can result from setting up the formulations of the past either as tests of the teaching of to-day or standards of the orthodoxy of to-morrow. For the men who sign those creeds and teach under them we all entertain the highest personal regard. I am as sure of their intellectual integrity as that I stand here to-night. In condemnation of the practice of thus tying instruction to a creed, we cannot, however, be too severe. Here is the dilemma. Either the professor will teach something different from what he would otherwise, because he has signed the creed, or he will teach the same as he would teach if he had not signed it. If he teaches something different from what he would teach if he had not signed the creed, then he is guilty of a crime against the truth, which no Protestant can pardon, and from which he can get absolution nowhere short of Rome. If he teaches the same as he would teach if he had not signed the creed, then the act of signing is simply a solemn farce, unworthy of the intelligence of grown-up men. If the church cannot trust the Christian spirit in the living teachers of to-day to train young men in honesty and independence, let us at least give up the profession of Protestantism and render our allegiance to one live Pope rather than to innumerable dead ones.

To drive vigorously abreast advanced secular and sacred learning, by methods of individual investigation, criticism, and counsel, would doubtless be expensive in money and hard work. But we are not altogether destitute of funds, though they are unfortunately distributed. Our seven seminaries have plants aggregating in value $1,600,000. They have endowment funds amounting to more than $4,000,000. They have an annual income of $233,000. They have only 299 students, of whom 64 are taught in special departments where foreign languages are used, leaving only 235 English-speaking students on whom the bulk of $233,000 is expended annually. Yet with nearly $1,000 to spend on each man every year, how meager and pitiful the educational result. A little Hebrew, which is speedily forgotten; Greek enough to render the commentary intelligible; and three note-books, one full of unverified church history, another full of unassimilated dogmatics, a third full of unapplied homiletical suggestions about as practical as instructions for swimming given to a man in a two by four bath-tub: — this is about the sum and substance of the theological education men have taken with them from the seminaries in years gone by. What wonder that every minister you talk with speaks with righteous indignation of the utterly inadequate equipment he received.

I have said that we have money enough. We have, but unfortunately it is divided between seven institutions instead of three, and our only consolation is in the reflection that in institutions so peculiarly liable to lapse into the comotose state, if we have seven instead of three, there is less chance that they will all be dead at the same time. None of the existing seminaries has nearly enough money to do the work required as individ-

ually, and thoroughly, and inspiringly, as it ought to be done. Let us pick out the best of them, pour in our money freely and generously, and then hold them responsible for satisfactory educational results.

A generation ago the community demanded a new type of colleges in place of the graduate academy which then bore that name. The men who answered that demand, one in the oldest endowed institution of the East, the other in the leading state institution of the West, are on the platform here to-night. The church demands a new type of seminary to-day. The seminary that we have is, after all, only a snug little sailboat, fitted to cruise timidly up and down the sheltered bay of traditional theological learning. What we need is a well-engined steamer, independent of wind and tide, which shall boldly cut whatever cables bind her slavishly to the sunken rocks of antiquated formulations, explore the open seas of secular and religious learning in fearless quest of truth; steer her course by the chart of science, the compass of Scripture, and the twin stars of reason and reverence; and bring back the precious freight of chosen youth intrusted to her care adequately equipped for wise and courageous leadership in the magnificent mission of the modern church — the interpretation of our infinitely complex industrial, social, political, and spiritual life of our times in the clear white light of that universal love which radiates from the throne of God to illuminate and cheer the pathway of the humblest of mankind.

Address

Rev. William Frederick Slocum, B.D., LL.D., of Colorado, President of Colorado College, Colorado Springs, followed President Hyde with an address on Reconstruction in Theological Education.

Address by President W. F. Slocum, B.D., LL.D.

RECONSTRUCTION IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

It is so persistently alleged, in various quarters, that theological education is, in some respects, defective and inadequate for the demands which are made upon the clergyman of modern times that the matter requires candid and serious consideration.

It is claimed that, while the schools of the other liberal professions have made decided progress in the plan and scope of the work they undertake, the theological seminary has made no comparable advance, and it is vigorously asserted that the ideals of research and intellectual industry which have been developed and are maintained in the graduate courses of the best universities have affected the divinity school less than any other department of study, and that something ought to be done to put it abreast of the educational movements of the last quarter of a century.

Intelligent laymen are saying that the highest type of intellectual life and habits — of thought-industry — have not been developed in the theological schools, and that, if their minister has become a forceful and helpful preacher, it is largely in spite of his work at the divinity school rather than because of it. The ablest and most spiritually ambitious of the divinity students, it is said, feel this lack; while many men are turned aside to avenues of study and work in which the opportunities are superior. It is even whispered that, while many choice men are still entering the ministry, the congregations are steadily becoming intellectually superior to the

average ministers, and that this is the reason why the church is in danger of losing, in some respects, its hold on ethical leadership and its influence upon the larger movements of modern times.

Not only is this criticism made, but at times it is alleged, and with somewhat of bitterness, that these defects are being more and more widely recognized except by those who control theological education, and that the theological seminary has so isolated itself from the real work and problems of life that it knows altogether too little of the stress, temptations, and sorrows of the world of to-day.

This is brought here, not as a discordant note, but because this great body, assembled for deliberation, is too much in earnest to ignore any problems which bear upon the work to which our churches throughout the world have been called. The question which is raised is not whether these criticisms have been accurately thought out and precisely formulated, but whether there is ground enough for them to demand serious consideration.

The point at issue is not the correctness of theological dogmas taught in these schools; but rather the method by which they are conducted, the scope of the work done, and the actual results secured. Education as such is the problem of this paper, not soundness of doctrine. That is another theme, and in many ways the one under consideration is the more fundamental of the two inasmuch as correctness in mental habits and sincerity in thought processes are absolutely essential to correctness of view. Plato's doctrine in the "Ideal Republic," that only philosophers are fit to rule, has an important truth for the revival of leadership among the clergymen of modern times. Capacity to think accurately and honestly will always be the power of leadership, and the function of the teacher is still to lead others to solve problems rather than to assert opinions arbitrarily and dogmatically.

It is certainly true that the thought of the church for the past few years, and, in fact, ever since the great theological discussions of the Reformation, has been so centered upon questions of belief that comparatively little consideration has been given to the pedagogical condition of theological education; no one seems to have written upon this important theme, and no adequate history of the schools set apart for it has been issued.

It is generally accepted that the theological seminary is the outgrowth of previous conditions, and that it has not modified its educational ideals to any great extent. Not only are the subjects the same, but the methods of study and instruction have not greatly changed during a period in which other professional schools have had radical and valuable modification in their plans of organization and educational processes. This fact alone raises a query as to whether the criticism, that is so general, may not have some just ground. Every department of education has undergone important changes; the secondary school has been greatly improved, college and university education has been so radically reconstructed that the graduate of fifty years ago is asking himself whether he ever really received a college training.

The philosophy of education is being carefully studied and wrought out from the lowest forms on through the college and university, and the question is seriously asked of those in charge of our divinity schools: What has been the result of this advance in the theological seminary? has it profited by it? has it kept abreast of the reforms that silently but surely are bringing their revolution into the schools of the world? What is there in them that corresponds to the work which is being done in the laboratories of the universities; what that is making the divinity student a man of original research; what that is developing in him the power of independent thought; what in these schools is producing that enlarged capacity for

intellectual activity which other students are finding in the graduate courses of Germany, England, and America?

Great teachers are superior to their schools and earnest students in all times will seek great masters; but whether a Clement, an Augustine, a Luther, or an Edwards come and go or not, the question still remains as to the effectiveness of the schools of theology as they exist at the present time; for the conviction is abroad that, when they are estimated among the educational forces of to-day, they have radical defects.

It would be poor educational philosophy to assert that, inasmuch as the truths of revelation have not changed, the schools that seek to teach them do not need to change. It is just as true that the laws of chemistry have not changed, but the college or university which seeks to teach this science without a modern laboratory will never produce chemists.

The limits of this paper make it possible to suggest but four directions in which the alleged defects in theological education may exist.

The student of theology who expects to be a leader of men must become preëminently a thinker rather than a mere asserter of theological dogma. The Protestant movement, from earliest times on through the Oriel controversy and into the intense discussion of the past quarter of a century, has maintained, subjectively and objectively, the rationality of theological truth and the supremacy of the human reason over against mere authoritative declaration. The great symbols of doctrine have been and must be tested by the reasoning processes, and hence this highest form of intellectual activity must dominate in the life of the divinity student. The undergraduate course is incomplete if philosophy is not given a position of importance in the last one or two years. The study of logic, psychology, and history of philosophy is recognized as necessary for the student who is to enter the divinity school; and yet the best-equipped college can offer merely the elements of philosophic study; it can only lay foundations upon which others may build. Four years of the secondary school, four years of college, however, can and do fit a man for the mastery of difficult thought-problems and for a vigorous intellectual life. Moreover, the three or four years following graduation, without distractions and with the added inspiration arising from a definite motive, offer an exceptional opportunity for intellectual activity, and no one has greater reasons for serious application than he who is to become the leader in the Christian movement of modern times. None but earnest, able, and industrious students should be admitted to the theological seminary, and to these the best intellectual life possible should be tendered, and that, too, on precisely the same basis as that on which their fellow students enter their law and medical schools.

In the theological seminaries of America the dominating tendency has been, on the whole, dogmatic rather than philosophic. The study of philosophy as such has been largely incidental, whereas no student of divinity can master theology without a thorough and detailed knowledge of those world-processes of thought which have commanded the highest forms of intellectual activity. Theological schools require great teachers of philosophy, and theological students need opportunities such as are offered in the best universities here and in the Old World — opportunities which will stimulate original investigation and independent research. The elective courses of philosophy now offered at some divinity schools do not satisfy the objection which is here raised. They are for the most part merely added to the original course of study, and have not really modified the educational methods of the theological seminary. One cannot come from the graduate work of a great university to an American school of divinity without at once feeling the meagerness of the intellectual life and the poverty of the intellectual opportunity.

The study of philosophy, however, has for its purpose the verification of Aristotle's assertion: "All philosophy leads to theology"; or Sir William Hamilton's: "The heart of the philosophic problem is found in theology." It is for the sake of a profounder and more candid investigation of the theological problem and the destruction of false theological processes that it is urged that philosophy be made a leading subject at the divinity schools, and that the philosophic habit of mind be there developed.

The study of the Bible is the second point at which some modification needs to be secured in the theological seminary. Exegetical criticism has been the object sought rather than a broad acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments as literature. The student ought to come to the seminary from his years of study of Greek able to read the New Testament in the original at sight; either he or his college is seriously at fault if this is not the case. This can also be largely true of Hebrew; it is simply a matter of thorough and effective scholarship. Moreover, the divinity schools will replete their ranks with able and vigorous men if such ideals are maintained. It is better to wait with empty lecture halls for those that ultimately will fill them, if such standards are established, than to compromise ideals of scholarship. It is not less acquaintance with the Bible that is advocated, but larger and broader knowledge of it as a whole. The Bible needs to be read and estimated as a book of preëminent literary power in order that the student may the more fully find its moral and spiritual power. The Bible as literature, as the literature of our faith, needs to be set before the world to make people read and understand it. To do this is the function of the clergyman. Is he being fitted for this work in the theological seminaries? Is it also out of place to ask here: What are these schools doing to give their pupils a knowledge of general literature, a knowledge necessary to the clergyman, above all others, for the position which he is to occupy as the man of culture? There is moral power in clear, effective use of the mother tongue. In short, the clergyman loses in power as an ethical and religious leader in proportion as he fails to lead in all that makes for the truest and deepest culture.

Doubtless much has been accomplished by the teachers of homiletics; but it may still be asked whether their work has that breadth of scholarship, that thoroughness that tends to make their students readers of great books and gives to them an acquaintance with the world of letters which will enrich their whole intellectual and spiritual life. The theological library ought to contain the best literature of the world, and the theological student should pursue systematic courses of study in the broader realm of letters. Three years of persistent and thorough training in this field is certainly not too much in addition to the best that the undergraduate course can offer.

Perhaps the most serious defect in the theological seminary, strange as it may seem, is the subordinate place given to ethics. Some few years ago one of the most distinguished of philosophical thinkers delivered a course of lectures at a leading university upon the ethics of Hegel. The course attracted deep and wide interest. Students on all sides said: "Those lectures did more to set me right than anything to which I ever listened." The same course was given, shortly after, at one of the largest theological seminaries and was opened to all as a rare opportunity; but the greatest number at any one lecture was seven, and usually only three were in attendance. The lecturer asked, with some surprise and pain, for the reason; and the honest and significant reply was: "We are not here to study ethics, but theology."

It is asserted that most theological students are not interested in purely ethical problems, and that their ethical power, which on the whole is considerable, is developed for the most part incidentally to their theological education. It is only fair to say, however, that this subject is now found in some curriculums, but it is certainly given no prominence in any. All admit that it is exceedingly difficult to maintain a scientific course of ethics in most divinity schools. Possibly this will help to explain why at times there is in the church great inertia when serious moral movements demand support, and also why it is that such movements often find their best leaders outside of the church. Undoubtedly the clergyman, as he comes from the theological seminary, has much of the ethical spirit because the Bible and theology possess strong moral influence; and moreover, the world demands of him that he be ethical in life. But nevertheless, the theological school, as far as thorough, systematic, and scholarly study of ethical principles and problems is concerned, offers a meager opportunity; and therefore it is that the clergyman, if he is to have it at all, must seek his opportunity for advanced study in ethics at the graduate school of the great university. Results of this lack in the divinity schools are seen in both the clergymen and the churches themselves, and the most pitiful thing is that the theological student is hardly aware of the serious loss which he sustains because his professional school has done so little to make him a trained ethical thinker.

It certainly is not out of place to ask whether the study of history, if it were undertaken on a more comprehensive basis than merely the investigation of a comparatively small portion of the history of the church, would not have great ethical value, as well as be a constant stimulus to the best thinking. Few subjects bring more to the student than history. The law school has recognized this fact by offering infinitely more than lectures merely upon the history of jurisprudence. Would it not be as well to create a "Chair of History," leaving out the word "Ecclesiastical"? In fact, cannot ecclesiastical history be treated as part of the larger historical movement, which must be understood to comprehend the relative place of the church?

In a few theological seminaries a beginning has been made of teaching sociology, which promises much if this department of instruction can be given the dignity and the opportunity it so richly deserves. Any door which opens entrance to the real problems of the world should be sought with eagerness. The serious complaint is made against ministers, however, that, with a few notable exceptions, they have too little sympathy with those movements which lie just outside the ordinary social and moral boundaries of the church. The modern city, with the "up-town churches" and the "down-town slums," has still its widening chasm with all its bitterness and its social and political dangers; but the life and work of the theological seminary, for the most part, have comparatively little to do with this darksome problem. Earnest people cannot help asking whether the zeal and energy which have been expended in dogmatic controversies would not have done much toward the solution of the vast problem which has grown out of the condition of the Lord's sick, poor, and prisoners. These are days when thorough scientific investigation is being given to the sociological problem; a whole literature, bearing upon this problem, has sprung into existence within our memory; men and women on all sides are devoting their lives to an attempt to seek a practical solution of this social question; national and international conferences are being held in which leading thinkers and investigators are giving their best time and thought; but how many libraries in theological seminaries even possess this literature; how many have opened up this field to students through

great teachers with modern inductive methods of study and practical research? And yet we wonder why it is that people complain that these moral and sociological movements, in such large measure, are apart from the activity of so many churches, and that even the work which is done in them is often unwise as well as unscientific.

To bring about changes of the nature of those suggested in this paper will doubtless require the mastery of serious difficulties; but has not the emergency arisen when useless educational traditions as well as defective educational methods may be unhesitatiugly laid aside in order that the work of the hour may be accomplished? All that is sacred in the past must be conserved, but the world is pressing on into the work of a great future which will demand the highest intellectual and spiritual development as well as a courage that is born of faith in the coming of the larger kingdom of the Christ. Is it altogether out of place to ask if, for the sake of greater effectiveness, the time has not come when an effort should be made to consolidate the theological schools of New England? It is not absorption into a great university that is needed; but consolidation for the sake of creating one strong divinity school in this section of the country, which shall command great teachers, earnest students, and large financial support.

If the four theological seminaries of New England could be brought together into one center; their equipment and endowments, as far as possible, conserved; new courses established, old ones broadened; a much larger and more effective library established than can possibly exist at any one of the present schools, — such a plan would commend itself not only to the leaders of the educational movement, but also to the practical business man who has the future of the church profoundly at heart.

In such an institution as is suggested high standards could be set and maintained such as are found at the very best schools of law and medicine: weak men would be kept out; strong men would be attracted; scholarships and fellowships established on the same basis as those in the best universities, granted because of character and intellectual ability; the eleemosynary element banished. To such a school, with its great teachers, its fellows, its tutors, would be drawn not only men who would enter the ministry, but also others who would seek such an education as could be secured there because of its great spiritual stimulation. Such a school would require large endowments; but those could be obtained, for men are anxious for the future of the church, and are ready to render substantial aid to such a movement.

Disciples of the Christ are waiting and watching for the light on the mountain tops, praying sometimes for the recoming of great religious movements that have fulfilled their mission and ceased to be. And still we watch and wait, turning eager faces here, there, and yon, and sometimes towards the schools of the prophets; but the larger vision seems to elude us and the larger movement stays its coming. May it not be that the men who, of all others, are set apart to be the world's leaders, whose station and opportunity are the most dignified and the sublimest, have not been given the preparation that is adequate for the work whereunto they have been called of God?

The hymn "Let children hear the mighty deeds" was sung.

Address

Rev. Henry Hopkins, D.D., of Missouri, pastor of the First Congregational church, Kansas City, followed President Slocum with a paper on the Place and Function of the College — a Plea for the Smaller Colleges.

ADDRESS BY REV. HENRY HOPKINS, D.D.

THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF THE SMALLER COLLEGES

The most conspicuous and significant fact in the evolution of society at the close of the nineteenth century is the tendency towards centralization and combination — centralization of population on an enormous scale and in an increasing ratio, combination along all industrial and commercial lines that is phenomenal and startling. This is a universal trend, and its power is beginning to be strikingly revealed in the field of education.

The term university is still in this country indeterminate and flexible in its application, but in the true meaning of it, it is in process of being realized in a large and very noble way at many points in the great republic from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The older universities are taking on size and accumulating resources with immense rapidity, and the newer ones, while for long years they must lack the prestige of great names and the power of an influential body of alumni, are in some cases already excelling the old in endowment and in the richness and abundance of all material appliances. When multi-millionaires are giving million upon million to a single plant, when $18,000,000 is bestowed in a lump sum upon one institution already well established, it would seem as if the wonders of Aladdin's lamp were about to be enacted. We are met under the shadow of a university at once virile and venerable, with ten distinct departments, 411 professors and instructors, and, including its summer school, 4,660 students. With revenues of over $1,000,000 a year Harvard received last year one and one half million increase to its fund. Every American citizen has reason to glory both in the history and the prospects of this great university. Yale asks for $5,000,000 to invigorate and unify its various departments, and fronts the new century with magnificent promise. Everywhere the tendency towards increased size and complexity is manifest.

The state universities in the newer states, long hindered by poverty, parsimony, and politicians, growing yearly more broad and strong, have become the best example the world offers of a wise, and we may say, unchallenged, socialism. One risks little in prophesying that they will become objects of pride in the several states, and that, as the mediæval Italian cities built their splendid and elaborate cathedrals regardless of cost if only they could excel all others, these vast commonwealths will, in generous rivalry, place their imperial resources at the service of their universities.

This whole imposing movement of modern life is coming on as the seasons come. Notwithstanding present threatening and already dangerous tendencies, it is a part of the evolution of society. Our attitude should be that of those who seek everywhere, not to thwart or oppose these forces, but to control and shape them for the good of all. An ardent believer in the smaller college, in the distinctively and confessedly Christian college, I desire to go on record as devoutly thankful for this wonderful university movement in our country. It is the plain duty of the great denominations, instead of looking askance at the state institutions, for instance, and charging them with secularism and Godlessness, to co-

operate with them, and in every possible legal way to strengthen and encourage the Christian instructors and students in them — to provide appliances for voluntary interdenominational religious life and work, to build and endow, if any please, their separate guild halls. As a denomination we have made a unique and most worthy record in the wise planting and rearing of young stalwart colleges across the continent, consecrated to Christ and humanity with prayer and sacrifice, but are not yet awakened to the duty and privilege of planting the cross, if not in the citadel, at least in the sight of these growing centers of power, of bringing the motives of our mighty gospel to bear upon the hearts and consciences of the thousands of youth in these institutions. It is a fundamental tenet of our evangelical democratic faith that Christianity, instead of being a ceremonial apart in the churches, or a dogma apart in the schools, is a divine life which must be embodied in all the institutions, and must utilize all the forces of civilization. This is a part of our opportunity.

Nevertheless, while we accept this universal centralizing trend as a providential call, and believe that it may be made to eventuate in good, we believe that the power of the movement makes most opportune and necessary the assertion of the fundamental principle of the sacredness and value of the individual man, and of the fact that the vigor of the complex whole must always depend upon the vitality and perfection of the units. It is a good time to declare and insist that capital exists for the sake of producing men, and that men do not exist for the sake of producing capital. It is a good time to declare and insist that the country is the best place in which to rear strong and beautiful men and women, and that the smaller towns, associated at once with country life and social advantages, are to be as in the past the seed-plant for the highest human product, and that for the sake of the great cities and for the nation's sake, the country church and the village life must be fostered. It is also especially fitting and needful that at this time the rightful claims of the smaller colleges should be recognized, and the essential nature of their place and service be vindicated.

It is a good time to suggest to the man, or the syndicate of men, meditating the bestowment of new imperial gifts upon education, that $20,000,000 given to twenty widely separated colleges would be a better investment for the kingdom of God and for the republic than $20,000,000 given to any one institution.

There are colleges and colleges. I speak only of those already existing in nearly every state, with ample field, definite purpose, disinterested aim, high ideals, improving standard, that are nobly manned, dignified in character, and though often struggling with poverty, worthy to be recognized in the great national university guild.

Concerning these in general, we cannot fail to notice that they have had from the beginning a record of marvelous fruitfulness. In the pre-revolutionary era, the small Christian colleges gave us the men who led the people and moulded the state. Leaving out Washington, Franklin, and Roger Sherman, truly a tremendous exception, it is fair to say that the greatest and most influential men in the formative period of the government were all graduates of colleges. A historian of William and Mary College says: "This little college gave twenty-seven students to the Army of the Revolution, two attorney generals to the United States, twenty members to Congress, fifteen senators, seventeen governors, thirty-seven judges, several generals to the army, two commodores to the navy, twelve professors, four signers of the Declaration, seven cabinet officers, and three presidents." The record of the other early colleges is scarcely less remarkable, and coming down to a later era it is true that the chiefest glories of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton are reflected from the names of men who

graduated in the distinctively college era. The larger institutions are chiefly illustrious by reason of the product of their smaller years. That galaxy of men distinguished as historians, as poets, as tribunes of the people, as statesmen and jurists, whom the whole American people claim and honor, creators of our literature, leaders of our thought, citizens of the world, these men who were proud to call Harvard Alma Mater, were nourished in her bosom before her more prolific days. The older universities have a heavy task on hand if they are to equal their early record.

As to recent times, comparisons are difficult and statistics illusory, but I find the editor of an influential weekly who claims to have verified his statements, saying: —

"It is a striking fact that sixty per cent. of the brainiest Americans who have risen to prominence and success are graduates of colleges whose names are scarcely known outside of their own states."

I have lately noted that at the University of Chicago, where they are supposed to get the best, the president and ten of the eighteen head professors are graduates of the smaller colleges.

But entirely aside from distinguished names and services every one must acknowledge that the whole world of politics and business, of letters, of science, and of education, of organized religion, and the American home owe an overwhelming debt to these small colleges. It is not too much to say that they kept the nation right side up in the Civil War. They were the generators, especially in the great central West, of the moral ideas and the moral fiber that stood back of the struggle until the close.

It is a matter of record that they have conferred an enormous benefit by attracting the strength and promise of the best youth in their vicinage who would otherwise not have been reached, and by absolutely creating a local constituency of intelligent friends of higher education. They are fountains sending forth streams that bring verdure and fruitfulness to barren lands. No increased facilities of communication with great centers could compensate for the loss of these local benefits. Every region must be watered by its own rivers.

The small size of these institutions has been a potent factor in their success. In the earlier stages of education there is a positive disadvantage in size — large numbers are a real hindrance to individual development. In the operation of the high graded common schools we find this. It is necessary to deal with the children *en masse*. To be controlled they must be handled in platoons and kept moving in battalions. They are sized, graded, and numbered and are always parts of a big organism. The total result is an immense benefit in raising the standard of average intelligence, and in counteracting the caste spirit, but often also injustice and harm in the inevitable repression of spontaneity, of impulse, of originality, and of the power of individual initiative, the most valuable characteristic of the best kind of men and women. A well-known high school principal has put on record the fact that he can accomplish most with the boys who have been least at school. He quotes Professor Geddes as saying that "he had never known an original person whose education had not been in some way irregular," and further remarks that the biographies of the men and women who have delighted their day and generation in every department of human performance have been those who have been largely let alone, and who have come into their own through the working of the inner impulses. This would seem to prove too much, but it is along the line of our contention that anything that deadens the true inner impulse, as the continual presence of numbers certainly does, is to be avoided.

It would seem to be a psychological fact that great numbers of people by their very presence act as an undue control over the individual. There

seems to be in a crowd a suggestion to the average person of his helplessness. Mr. Bryce in his "American Commonwealth" puts us of the United States upon our guard in connection with the duty of suffrage and citizenship against the fatalistic and deadening effect of numbers. What is one vote among so many? It is safe to say that the small countries, like Greece and Palestine and England, have been more prolific in the creators of the world's art and literature, and in the leaders of its onward movements, than any of the vast aggregations of humanity in Asia. The great men most influential in commerce or statecraft, merchant princes, and lawmakers have not often come out of great centers of population, but from country homes have gone into the cities like Cromwell tramping down from Huntington to London. Professor Sidis says, "Large, massive social organisms produce as a rule very small persons." He puts this still more tersely when he says, "Intensity of personality is in inverse proportion to the number of aggregated men." The application is obvious; the average student, entering one of the great institutions, if indeed he has not already lost his individuality in a big school long drawn out, finds himself merged, if not submerged, in the mass; he comes, insensibly, to feel that he has nothing to do but to walk in the procession, keep the traditions, and be a loyal son, and often it is not until he has escaped the lock step of imperious custom, the incubus of student opinion and the spell of multitudes that he awakens — if happily it be not too late — in the contacts of practical life to what he himself is, and is capable of. It was the testimony of President Porter, writing from the Yale of 1869, that "the first essay of a student's independence is often an act of prostrate subservience to the opinion of the college community." The moulding suggestion is not of individual growth toward an ideal, but of conformity to a type. The Jesuit, by an ingenuous and persistent system of discipline, deliberately seeks to obliterate the selfhood of the novice that he may think, will, love and live in absolute obedience and only as a member of the order. The personality of the man is sacrificed, but the order becomes a mighty force. The truer conception is the development of every man toward perfect freedom according to the type of his own individual being, in obedience, not to cast-iron rules, but to God's own law of life, and that it is only as a man fully finds himself that he becomes capable of the highest service to his fellows. My contention is that to make a person, during the formative period of life, one of a multitude, a single member of a great organism, is not favorable to the realization of his personal ideals.

It is an understood fact that as a rule in the large student bodies, personal enthusiasm is bad form. The common attitude is coldly critical. In the class room the simply logical process by itself ends in *laissez faire* and pessimism, and the practical result is too often a citizen out of sympathy with political and moral reforms and with philanthropic effort.

Dr. Martineau's diagnosis of our time applies, it is to be feared, especially to the universities. "We have the critic everywhere, the lover nowhere." Serious men are asking, Is our higher education rearing up a race of pessimists? To prevent this we must educate the sentiments, call out the emotions, provide impulse as well as training, appeal to the great motives of human nature. Nothing marshals the powers like a great purpose. We must train the will as well as the memory, educate the heart and conscience as well as the intellect.

President G. Stanley Hall has recently written: "The education of the near future will focus upon the feelings, sentiments, emotions, and try to do something for the heart, out of which are the issues of life." He declares that "the highest education is that which focuses the soul upon the largest

loves, and generates the strongest and most diversified interests." These are welcome words from a thoroughly scientific educator. This is distinctly the aim of Christian education, and can, we believe, be best realized in the smaller groups of men. The great teacher makes men think, the greater teacher also makes them feel; the greatest of all teachers was differentiated from the wisest of the philosophers in that he furnished men motive as well as guidance. The truth which he taught, and the most vital truth forevermore, is the truth which a man can become.

The smaller college affords the better opportunity for the personal, vital contact of the large-natured, broadly cultured teacher with his individual pupils, which all agree is the soul of the best education.

The principle of self-activity is at the basis of all true education, and the ideal training would be that which would deal individually with each pupil according to temperament and aptitude. President Dwight, in his final weighty report to Yale, earnestly declares that "the call of the present and the coming time upon our professors and teachers is an impressive and emphatic call to enter into as close relations as possible with the individual students who are under their personal instruction."

"It matters little," says Emerson, "what you learn; the question is, with whom do you learn." Increase in numbers tends, by an inevitable law, to weaken personal influence. President Woolsey is quoted as saying, "Had I my life to live over again, I would throw in my lot with one of the smaller institutions. I could have more influence in training mind and shaping character." It has been recently said of Professor Jowett, "He had more faith in the college than belief in the university; personal superintendence seemed to him a more vital matter than the dubious learning of the class room." Our Saviour, when he would commit to the world truth of priceless value, was satisfied with a single class of only twelve. Principal Fairbairn, from whose "Catholicism, Anglican and Roman" I have just quoted, in his chapter on Oxford (p. 440) reinforces the argument for the college (of course we bear in mind the broad differences between the English university college and the American variety): —

> Oxford has, to the outside imagination, a remarkable unity of character; but, to inside experience, a remarkable variety of temper and tendencies. Each college has its own traditions, methods, capabilities, ambitions, develops distinctive qualities in its men, and appeals to its special constituency; with the result that it affects the university more than it is affected by it. The college is a small and exclusive society, with a completer and more direct control over its men than is possible to the university. . . . The college tutor has more the charge of men, and exercises in a very real sense the cure of souls; but the university professor has more the care of a subject, a field, or a province of knowledge which it is his duty to cultivate and enlarge. The more a tutor feels the men he has in charge, the less will he have of the scholar's mind; the more the professor tills his field, the less can he charge himself with the care of men.

Will not our universities have yet to shape themselves so as to conform to the academic families of the universities of England?

We may learn something here from the history of monasticism. It is of record that the big establishments, grown so large as necessarily to be governed by rules alone, not ruled by the majesty of individual characters, invariably degenerated; and, more, that the new movements of purification of the monastic life invariably came, not from within the mass, but by the formation of new communities, small enough to rally on the personality of a single man, as seen in the formation of Cluny, Citeaux, and Clairvaux.

So far in general; but the colleges in whose behalf I especially speak are a distinctive type. They are all Mildmay oaks, lineal descendants from Emmanuel College of old Cambridge, through Harvard, Yale, Dart-

mouth, Williams, Bowdoin, Amherst, Middlebury, Oberlin, and all the rest of the bright succession, including many noble colleges for women; a great and excellent company, a continental company, and more, for beautiful and fruitful they thrive on missionary ground and on foreign shores. These colleges, founded and fostered by our Congregational churches, all stand for the *Christian higher education*. This is based upon the fact that God is, and that he is over all, and is in all. They do not ignore belief in this fact, or apologize for it or minimize it, nor do they think it enough to put the knowledge of The Eternal into a curriculum as if it could be a separated topic, an elective, along with Anglo-Saxon or the history of the Bagdad Califate. They seek to give it full and practical recognition, to make it the ever-present thought in the light and warmth of which all study and training go on. It is based also upon the corresponding fact that man has an affinity for God, has a religious nature, is essentially a religious being. These two facts logically demand that religious culture be made an organic part, and not an accidental adjunct of education. It refuses to call that training liberal, that education the higher education, which fails to provide for the part of man which is noblest and highest, which fails to recognize the universal aspiration and longing of humanity after goodness and beauty, after spiritual truth, after perfection, after God. If consistent it accounts sinfulness as well as ignorance a factor in its problem, and believes in the Spirit of God as a power available for its work. It recognizes the personality of Jesus Christ, a fact and force as unquestioned as heat, light, or electricity, and no more to be ignored or driven out than gravitation. It is certain that under the unreligious training men dwindle as they grow, and in the name of the spiritual nature protest against any organized educational system for "the extirpation of the religious faculty through disuse."

Thus the true Christian college seeks primarily to educate man as man, to rear "the eternal building." It holds fast to that aim, and after that it seeks earnestly to give a man skill and tools, to furnish him a practical preparation for the sharp struggles of American life. It is also learning more and more to articulate its courses with the technical and professional schools. It believes heartily and increasingly in physical training, and in the training of the æsthetic nature, as well as of the intellectual powers, but it is especially in the name of the moral and spiritual faculties that it joins in the demand of the new education, "educate the whole man."

These colleges seek to be an embodiment of a supreme regard for the worth of the individual human being as made in the image of God and redeemed by the Son of God. The humblest and weakest may not therefore be despised, neglected, or harmed. Each has a right to an opportunity to become all that it is in him to be. This logically carries with it the right to free thought and free discussion. This carries with it the democratic program. It is this principle that has wrought mightily for human liberty and help in the past. This is the true American tradition, the loftiest principle of American republican life. It is to foster this tradition and principle that our republic needs the higher Christian education.

The second common characteristic of the colleges in our order is that while definitely and aggressively Christian, they are genuinely unsectarian. The governing body is self-perpetuating and free under its own charter. No ecclesiastical body, on the one hand, nor state authority, on the other, can exercise any official control in any Congregational college. There can be no compelling hand from place of power. No decree of synod or bishop or council can determine anything. This has been true from the beginning and is true to-day. This is our method. We require no subscription to dogma from any instructor, and we invite every student to

follow his own denominational preference. This is distinctively and historically the spirit and method of Congregational administration. We wish this distinctly understood.

We believe in Christianity as a divine principle of individual and social life, as demanding participation in the world's noblest work. We rejoice in the historical fact that in these colleges of our order, Christianity has been so administered as to transform and mould character, to send forth an unfailing army of Christian men and women as teachers and leaders; to produce intelligent patriotic Christian citizens; and so as not to foster sectarian zeal, or directly serve denominational ends.

This alliance of religion with learning in untrammeled freedom of thought and action, exhibiting evangelical fervor and power, is unique. It is seemingly irresponsible and unguarded, but for religion as well as for letters, it has for 250 years worked well. Of the conditions for a continuance of this alliance I can say nothing, and of the reasons for its continuance I will mention but two.

First. This is an age of disintegration and transition in religious beliefs. The truths of the evolutionary philosophy necessitate a readjustment on every hand of methods of thought and forms of statement. The college student needs help, and has a right to it, not as a student of philosophy or theology, but as a man. It is no time to let him alone. You cannot be true to him at all and neglect him here But religious belief must not be separated from religious life, and help to right thinking logically carries with it the appeal to heart and to conscience, and necessitates a training for both. For such training an environment favorable to spiritual life, a healthful and stimulating religious atmosphere is essential. This atmosphere is a palpable and real thing, as real as climate, and we all understand that whether for character or scholarship it is the spirit of an institution, as of a teacher, that is the determining factor, rather than the curriculum of the one or the method of the other. This atmosphere is an emanation of personality and is conditioned upon contact, natural and constant.

Certainly if Professor Fiske is right in the conclusion of his latest book of evolutionary teaching that "nature's eternal lesson is the everlasting reality of religion," if President Harris was right when he told us from this platform that "the last word of science is God," then the study of nature even cannot be profitably carried on in an atmosphere and under a teacher indifferent or hostile to religion.

The only other reason I shall mention for the continuance of this alliance of religion and learning is a very practicable one.

If religion is still to exist as an organized force, if there are to be churches, then there must be religious teachers and leaders fit to teach and to lead nineteenth-century men and women. If we are to multiply in number and increase in power the lines of force, so as to permeate and possess all the departments of our complex life with a Christian spirit, we must enlarge and strengthen the dynamos at the center. These are the churches; and in every dynamic church there must be a dynamic man. The future of organized religion depends, more than on any other one thing, upon the impression concerning the gospel ministry which shall obtain with our strongest and best young men. The commanding claim of the advancing kingdom of God for the service of the flower of the youth in the ranks of the Christian ministry must somehow get itself heard in our colleges. Despite the fact of an oversupply of ministers at present reported, decrease in the percentage of theological students in our best institutions threatens the future of our churches.

In the final unification and correlation of our complex educational ma-

chinery in this country, it is believed that the university will cease to be a college and a university at the same time, and the college will be content to be a college. That the university will, in the realization of immense coöperative possibilities, increasingly draw to itself the technical and professional schools, while the colleges will come to be as separated from the universities as the secondary schools are from the fully developed college. Free from the domination of both church and state, with an organic capacity for change, fully endowed, perfectly equipped, and superbly manned, true to the original aim and spirit of the Christian liberal education, the college will continue, let us hope, to hold a place of honor and power and to send to the universities a continual stream of individualized, ennobled, aspiring men.

In the interest of the best education, the college should require only such preparation as may be secured by a diligent student at sixteen years of age, then graduated at twenty, with his nervous force unimpaired, when habits of thought have been formed, when moral principles have been matured, and moral earnestness acquired; above all, when right enthusiasms have been engendered, right impulses born, and the line of life work determined, then let the young man and the young woman go on up to the university to find in the contacts there, besides special training, the standards of comparison needed and the stimulus required. Then the complexity and richness of apparatus, of fellowship, and of opportunity, will be no longer confusing, for the aim is fixed, and there will be in the large and diverse student body a suggestive and helpful image of the vaster world beyond.

Brethren of New England and the East, permit me to say that twenty years beyond the Mississippi have produced in me a profound conviction of the value of the Christian academy and college. My testimony is that the best investment the East has made in the West is the Western college. Suffer me also from personal observation and out of a full heart to tell you that the instructors in these institutions are worthy of your admiration, your gratitude, and your help.

Brethren from beyond the seas, you have peradventure wondered, as we also have wondered, at the moulding power upon the history of this great nation of the original New England commonwealth. May we not say that it is most largely owing to this sacred alliance between religion and education? In fuller statement, it was the combination in organic unity with ever-increasing liberty of action of three institutions — the church, the state, and a free education culminating in the college.

"A church without a bishop; a state without a king;" and a college separate from both church and state, open on equal terms to all men, English and Indian, with a compulsory training in the common school for all the children of the people — such was their bold beginning. It was, however, rudimentary and imperfect, the magnificent inauguration upon this new continent of the new democratic Christian age. These three institutions were all in germ purely democratic, and were all profoundly religious; and the substance of the contention of the nineteenth-century Puritan and Pilgrim, standing on the threshold of the twentieth century, is that these three institutions, the church, the state, and the college, shall continue, under changed conditions, expanded and ennobled, in the independence of their separate functions, but in the unity of their common life, purely democratic and profoundly religious.

Address

Charles William Eliot, LL.D., of Massachusetts, President of Harvard University, Cambridge, delivered the closing address of the evening on Congregationalism and Education.

Address by President Charles W. Eliot, LL.D.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND EDUCATION

In the civilized world since the Reformation and among the durable races, when the social philosopher can ascertain what a family, community, denomination, or nation thinks and does about the education of its children, he obtains the best possible indication concerning the probable continuous vitality and usefulness of that family, community, denomination, or nation. The reason is that among these races the transmission of education ordinarily secures, in addition, a fair share of all other material and spiritual advantages. It is, therefore, an interesting question what Congregationalism has thought and done about education. It is not unfitting that the President of Harvard College should speak to the International Congregational Council on this question; for Harvard College was founded by Congregationalists six years after the landing of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, for the purpose admirably expressed in a seventeenth-century sentence which is now engraved upon the college gate: "After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."

The Congregational body simplified the ritual and ceremonial side of worship, and magnified the unwritten prayer and the homily or sermon. Moreover, the Congregational minister was not simply a vehicle for the spirit poured through him; he was a reasoning, judging, persuading man. Hence the Congregational churches have always needed, from the beginning, highly trained, intellectual men for ministers; whereas the churches which rely chiefly on ritual, ceremonial, music, and emotional exhortation can get along comfortably without any priests or ministers capable of close thinking, and able to give their thoughts convincing, logical expression. Such churches may, indeed, produce scholars and systematic thinkers; but not for use in the ordinary service of the churches. But, further, since Congregationalism sets up the Bible as sole authority in religion, as regards both doctrine and polity, the right understanding of the Bible has for it an immeasurable importance. Therefore its ministry, or at least the leaders and guides in its ministry, must not only be possessed of all ancient Biblical learning, but must be free to grasp and to apply all the fresh learning, which contributes progressively, generation after generation, to the better understanding of the Bible. Without such leaders the position of Congregationalism might in passage of time become untenable. Its adversaries might be able to demonstrate that its sole authority was misunderstood. The zeal of Congregationalism for the thorough education of its ministers was clearly an inevitable outcome of its acceptance of the Bible as sole authority, to the exclusion of Pope, bishop, synod, and the historical church.

Again, Congregationalism being democracy in the church, all the mem-

bers of this democratic body, laity as well as clergy, needed to possess the trained intelligence and self-control essential to the well-being of any democracy whether secular or spiritual. It is true, that when the sentence just quoted from "New England's First Fruits" was written, the polity of the New England churches could hardly be called democratic; for the ministers exercised through the civil government an effectual authority. At that time, the New England Congregationalists were seeking liberty for themselves, but were not willing to grant it on their territory to others. The passions and alarms of the period fully account for this temporary stage of New England Congregationalism, which was destined to pass over into entire toleration and pure democracy within two hundred years. The present conception of toleration in religion is a gradual growth through four centuries, and is the principal achievement of the human race since the Reformation. To that achievement Congregationalism has contributed more than any other religious polity, not always by express intention, but because of the inevitable tendencies of its fundamental principles — tendencies which have gradually worked themselves out through three centuries. A democratic church, in a free state which tolerates all other forms of religious belief and polity, must rely on the sound education of all its members to secure for itself wise conduct and permanent development among the other communions.

We are too apt to think of education as if it were limited to childhood. It should continue through life, and all the agencies of society, state, and church should foster this continuous education of adults who in childhood received the elements of mental training. Now, genuine Congregationalism, considered as a promoter of this adult education, has this distinction among forms of religious belief and organization — it is stimulating to independent thought, and actively promotes civil liberty and the practice of self-government. In this respect it differs widely from many religious beliefs and organizations which have been, and still are, very potent in the world. No church which claims an absolute authority over its members — an authority derived directly from God — can be thus stimulating either to independent thought or to self-reliant action. No church which maintains officers or rulers who are the recipients or depositories of authority conferred by the Deity over the lay members of the body can possibly produce any such effects as Congregationalism has produced on human society in the course of the last two hundred and seventy years. Devout members of the Greek church, the Roman church, or the Anglican church must become independent thinkers and free men without aid from their church toward independence and freedom, and rather in spite of, than because of, the polity and doctrine of their church. The Congregational churches, on the other hand, make a direct, positive contribution to the gradual development of civil liberty and of free institutions.

The final verdict of mankind on the wisdom and success of any polity or form of organization cannot be rendered until the tendencies of the new doctrine or method have had time to get full expression. This is as true in matters ecclesiastical as it is in industrial or governmental affairs. It is, therefore, important to mark the great difference between the spread of Congregational polity and the acceptance of Congregational theology. The principles of Congregational polity have penetrated, and now rule, religious organizations which cherish and promulgate theological doctrines altogether abhorrent to the English Independents and the New England Congregationalists of the seventeenth century. The great denominations called Baptist, Christian, and Disciples of Christ are Congregational in polity; the small communions called Universalist and Unitarian are also Congregational in polity, — indeed, these last may be held to be the only

true Congregationalists in America at the present day, since they do not admit that the least authority, whether by contract or by courtesy, resides in a council. This fact means that the influence of the Congregational polity, in favor of education and in promotion of civil liberty, has been far more pervasive than that of the body of theology which two hundred and seventy years ago was accepted by Congregationalists. Yet Congregationalism will ultimately be judged by all its influences and outcomes; and surely it need not shrink from this ultimate judgment. The other denominations which have adopted or inherited the Congregational polity have felt, sometimes more strongly than the Congregationalists themselves, the need of an educated ministry and an educated laity; and accordingly, not only the Congregationalists, but the Baptists, Unitarians, Universalists, and the Disciples of Christ have planted and conducted schools and colleges all over the United States with extraordinary foresight and success down to the present day. The schools and colleges thus founded and conducted by these different religious bodies, bodies which taken together number about forty per cent. of all the religious organizations in the country, although undoubtedly established with a view to maintain a ministry each for its own denomination, and to train up young men in the peculiar doctrines and practices of each organization, have, nevertheless, exhibited a marked tendency toward variety and liberty in education.

If we were asked to express in a single word the outcome of the whole movement called "Congregationalism," should we not all choose the one word "Liberty"? This word also characterizes, in my judgment, the outcome of Congregationalism in its relation to education. A learned Moslem understands by education the committing to memory of the Koran and of the writings of ingenious commentators thereon. A little child in a primary school commits to memory a few sentences of the Koran; the University student at Cairo commits many long passages from the same sacred book and from the commentaries of Moslem scholars thereon. The schools maintained by the Roman Catholic church in the United States, or by the Anglican church in England, have quite a different atmosphere from that of the public schools maintained by general taxation. The influence of independency in England and Congregationalism in the United States has strongly favored gratuitous education at public expense in freedom from ecclesiastical domination. When Congregationalism administers educational endowments, the education provided tends to liberty of thought and action. A wide liberty for the individual is in different degrees a characteristic at this day of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Williams, and Amherst — to name only the New England colleges founded by the religious body expressly called Congregational. In schools and colleges, as in churches, the principle of authority declines, and the practice of uniformity in education tends to be abandoned, while the principle of liberty for the individual in mental training tends to assert itself more and more. I find in this fact an outcome of the precious fundamental principles of English Congregationalism.

In church and state and family the real benefactors of our race are the men, or the communities, that have known how to increase mental and spiritual liberty, and to protect and foster the development of the individual's capacities and character both in childhood and in adult life. Any organization or community which wishes to live in the grateful memory of men, and to serve society in eminent degree century after century, must see to it that all its work is tempered with liberty, and tends to give freer and freer play to the infinite diversity of human faculty and aspiration. That is what true Congregationalism has done, is doing, and tends to do. In the affairs of mankind, both small and great, it is the tendency which

tells. That is one reason why the Congregational polity has lived two hundred and seventy years with increasing dignity and honor, and will continue to grow in men's esteem for centuries to come.

The pulpit and the prayer-meeting have been, in all denominations which follow the Congregational polity, direct means of educating the people in secular as well as in spiritual matters. When books and newspapers were few, and reading was an arduous labor for nine tenths of the people, while, on the other hand, church-going was the regular practice of all reputable families, it was a great thing to have an educated man stand up before the people on Sundays, and set forth to them orally the uplifting themes of righteousness, justice, mercy, and love. It was a great thing that lay members of the churches could exhort and pray at the weekly prayer-meeting. The ministers dealt with secular as well as with spiritual themes. The Sabbath was a day which lifted the New England people out of their "work-a-day" routine to the contemplation of the highest themes, and to the discussion of questions which went to the very roots of individual conduct and social aspiration. This direct educational function of the pulpit and the prayer-meeting has of late somewhat declined, because regular church-going has ceased to be the universal practice among Protestants; but its influence is still strong and wide. To maintain the high quality of this function the churches have only to take the necessary pains to produce an educated and competent ministry.

Finally, what has been, and is likely to be, the real effect of the Congregational system on Christian unity — understanding by that term not uniformity in religious opinion or practice, but unity of spirit throughout all ranks of a diversified society? The superficial view has been that Congregationalism was a revolt, and, therefore, must be in its essence divisive. Whether it be divisive in the long run or not must depend on the kind and degree of unity which society may reasonably seek. Is it not already clear to every candid and intelligent student of history and of human nature that unity is not to be arrived at through common rites or rituals, or through common opinions in religion? On account of the endless variety of taste and temper in regard to observances and ceremonies, rites and rituals inevitably divide men, unless imposed by overwhelming force, the use of which for such purposes the civilized world is gradually abandoning. And opinions and beliefs vary more and more, as knowledge advances and freedom grows. There can be no reasonable expectation of arriving at unanimous opinion in religion. When, therefore, Congregationalism diminishes the weight of sacraments and rituals, and rejects all ecclesiastical authority, it so far forth does away with those supposed grounds or means of Christian unity which are sure to prove ineffectual. In the numerous bodies of Christians who have adopted the Congregational polity, with or without the original Congregational theology, a great variety of religious opinion finds vigorous expression. This condition of things emphatically proclaims that Christian unity is not to be based on any one creed, or on any permanent or unchanging articles or formulas. Congregationalism, therefore, in its development tends to recognize the Christ-like conduct of life, founded on whatever creed, helped by whatever ritual or ceremonial, and grounded on reverence and worship expressed in whatever form, as the only possible foundation for Christian unity. This tendency appears strongly in the institutions of education created by Congregationalism. The colleges maintained by these denominations receive students of all denominations, and grant them religious liberty in accordance with their own wishes, or those of their parents. But the free public school exhibits in its highest degree the unifying effect of the educational policy which is a true result of Congregationalism. Here is a moral

unity, completely independent of rite, ritual, and creed, which can exist only by frankly admitting wide diversity in all these matters as not inconsistent with an effective and admirable unity of spirit.

Congregationalism, then, helps to educate men and women for righteousness, through freedom, to unity, and this is the true goal of modern society.

The Council was dismissed with the benediction by the Rev. John Brown, D.D., of England.

OVERFLOW MEETING AT PARK STREET CHURCH

An overflow meeting was held in the Park Street church at 7.45 o'clock. The Rev. Leavitt H. Hallock, D.D., of Minnesota, presided. The hymn "Come, thou Almighty King" was sung by the congregation, and the opening prayer was offered by the Rev. William H. Allbright, D.D., of Massachusetts. The addresses were by the Rev. John D. Jones, M.A., B.D., A.T.S., of England; the Rev. Hugh Pedley, B.A., of Manitoba; and the Rev. Leavitt H. Hallock, D.D., of Minnesota.

Address

After the address by Mr. Jones, which will be inserted in the Appendix if seasonably received, Dr. Hallock introduced the Rev. Hugh Pedley, of Manitoba, who addressed the meeting in part as follows: —

Synopsis of Address by Rev. Hugh Pedley, B.A.

[After a few introductory words the speaker went on to speak of some of the marks by which the living church of Christ is known.]

In the first place its look is more to the present and the future than to the past. Duty and hope have greater prominence than memory. Its conversation is not of graves and epitaphs, but of tasks and problems. The past is not to be ignored. It has its use. It may furnish inspiration. Even America with her disdain of tradition sends her sons to view the shore at Plymouth, and the monument on Bunker Hill. But to linger upon the past, to make that our warrant for existence, is not wise; it is a sign of servility and decadence. He was a wise thinker who, comparing the church to a tree, said that the root may be old, but the fruit is ever new. It is not what is under the ground, but what is above it that makes either tree or church a benefit to the world. The life of the true church will appear, not in its knowledge of what men accomplished long ago, but in its ability to deal with the conditions and problems that spring up at its very feet. Its right to our reverence will consist not in the Cromwells, the Dales, and the Beechers, whose hands are quiet and whose voices are silent in the sleep of death, but in the young men that are ready to step into the vacant places, and carry forward to higher levels the standard of the Cross that these heroes guarded thus far.

In the second place, the living church is a broad church. It is comprehensive, and its comprehensiveness lies in two directions. It is comprehensive in its receptiveness, its hospitality to all that is noble and worthy. Its dwelling is not in the turret with a narrow slit for a window, but on the summit from which the whole circle of the horizon may be surveyed. It looks for every messenger that comes with the credentials of the Truth; it listens to every message that has in it the accent of holy conviction. It opens its hymn book to every hymn worthy of the name, giving welcome to Bernard the Catholic, to Zinzendorf the Moravian, to Whittier the Quaker, and to all whose song has soared above the low erected walls of sect and creed. It opens its colleges and its libraries to every scientific thinker that speaks with the authority of the honest heart and the expert method. It shrinks from no fact by whomsoever brought. But it does not stop here. A church that is broad only in its receptive-

ness is but a contemptible monster of intellectual and emotional selfishness. If the term "broad church" has been regarded with suspicion, it was because the breadth in question was that of the octopus that waves tentacles and suckers to every quarter of the compass only to gorge its own rapacious maw. The breadth of reception must be matched by an equal breadth of benefaction. The church that is broad in that it freely receives must also be broad in that it freely gives. The narrow church may be compared to the man with a penny whistle who, having learned the tune of a single score, gives out that, and only that. Nor is he altogether beyond our respect, for there are times when the single strain piped out with persevering monotony has its work to do for mankind. The broad church may be compared to the musician, who, having received into his soul the wealth of Mozart, Handel, Mendelssohn, and all the great masters, sits down to the hundred-keyed organ and pours it out in a royal abundance of rich and far-reaching sound.

In the third place, the living church not only *has* a creed, but also *feels* it. It has a creed; otherwise it would be utterly weak. But it goes further. There are beliefs that it is permitted to a man to hold without emotion. He may believe that water is composed of two parts of hydrogen and one of oxygen without any profound disturbance of his feelings. But there are beliefs that it is a shame to hold without great searchings and stirring of heart. Such is the son's belief in his mother's affection, and such the confidence of the lover in the love of his betrothed. Such, too, are the articles of the Christian faith. There must be something morally wrong in the man or the church that believes that Christ died for our sins and rose from the dead and yet remains without any awakening of affection and enthusiasm.

It is one of the commonplaces of intellectual conceit that there is an incompatibility between thought and feeling, that as the intellect grows the heart shrinks. Surely there is a mistake here, and one that may work grievous damage to the church. Thought and feeling are so related that the truer the thought, the deeper the feeling. Thought rightly exercised is that which brings us close to reality; and it is this coming close to reality that stirs the heart. It is the profound thinker that sees in "the meanest flower that blows" "thoughts that lie too deep for tears." There is a familiar hymn which Matthew Arnold called the finest in the English language. It begins with thought, it ends with feeling. Look at the first line — "When I survey the wondrous cross"; that word "survey" has in it all the dignity of a deliberate intellectual process. Look at the last stanza. It is the forthbreaking of an emotion so vast that nowhere in the material universe can it find its appropriate symbol: —

> Were the whole realm of nature mine,
> That were a present far too small;
> Love so amazing, so divine,
> Demands my soul, my life, my all.

Thus in the hymn it is as it ought to be. Intellect and heart are linked together. May it be so in our Congregational churches! If in days gone by we have laid to our souls the flattering unction of intellectual superiority, and have been content to give to Methodism the monopoly of emotion and enthusiasm, let us make confession of our shallowness, and nevermore put asunder that which God hath joined together.

Address

The concluding address of the evening was delivered by Dr. Hallock.

ADDRESS BY REV. LEAVITT H. HALLOCK, D.D.

The honor which has been accorded me of presiding at this meeting may be a testimony to the *Mayflower* heroes; for John Alden was my grandfather, with five "greats" interjected, and Massachusetts my birthplace. I ministered in Maine, preached by the blue waters of Puget Sound, our beautiful American Mediterranean, and now hail from Minneapolis. In all our family of flourishing cities, it is certain that Minneapolis is "the flour of the family," for we ship 20,000 barrels per day of "Pillsbury's Best." But we also head up in and revolve around Boston.

This is a great day for Boston. Englishmen seem as much at home on our streets as Yankees, and one can hardly tell under which flag enthusiasm is most rife. How things have changed!

England once sent her hired Hessians to fight us; to-day she sends her princes of thought to fellowship us. To-day our flags entwine in token of our oneness of spirit, just as the minister pronounces the twain one because they *are* already one before he says the word. The intertwining flags are the recognition of a union already cemented.

Yesterday I preached at old Plymouth between two distinguished Englishmen, Dr. Mackennal and Rev. Alfred Rowland, LL.B., B.A., — a bit of American tongue between two breads, — thorough-breds. They fed the people with meaty thought, and I furnished the flavoring of this new country, and they mingled well together.

We young Americans had a little trouble with our mother in our lusty youth, and we quit the ranch! We grew to manhood, sobered and steadied. During the same period the old folks also fought for individual liberty on the old soil and partly won the fight. Meanwhile we had spread the land over, crossing successively in our settlements the Connecticut, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers, the Rocky Mountains, the Great Plains and the Sierras, and scattered up and down the slopes of the Pacific; lately we put affectionate embrace around Hawaii, and stretched a long forefinger in temporary discipline but ultimate benediction upon the far Philippines; and then, looking back across the sea, we found that in the race for freedom and high Christian civilization our old mother was close at hand. We heard her sturdy shouts for manly and heroic virtue; we found we were singing our psalms of life in the same key; we discovered that "God save the Queen" sounded very much like "My country, 't is of thee," and lo! unwittingly we were keeping step to the same music and marching as one people.

We did not agree to the arbitration treaty, but we arbitrate just the same. We do not swear to be one, but we *are* one; the stars and stripes and the union jack stand for pretty much the same thing. They call theirs a monarchy; we name ours a democracy; the names sound different but the spirit is identical.

England owes us something; we owe England much; but the profounder fact remains that both England and America owe the world more: *viz.*, a higher conception of manhood, a nobler ideal of virtue, a righteous government, a free church, and Christ the source of them all.

In these days we are talking history, and we are making history. There is one chapter little known, but of significant interest at this hour, and now that we are tasting the sweets of "making up" we may speak of past

disagreements with safety, as we trace the triumphs of Christian effort in unexpected phases. Great deeds done for God often result in great gains to the doer.

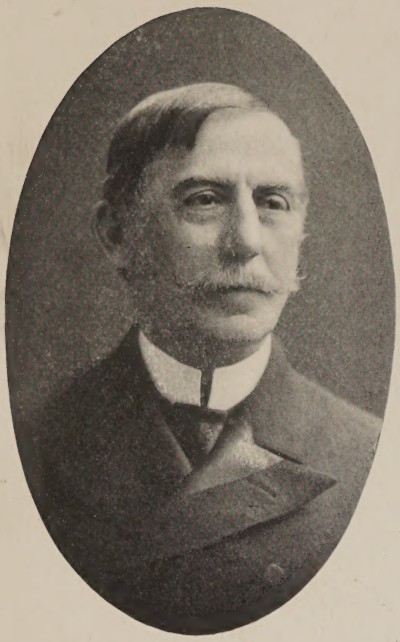
It was in 1842. Marcus Whitman had gone as a foreign missionary to save the Indians of the Northwest. The Hudson Bay Company gave a dinner to their factors, and Dr. Whitman was present. There had been for years a tacit agreement between the two countries that whichever sent actual settlers sufficient really to occupy the land should become *de facto* owners of the same. During the dinner a courier rode into camp announcing the approach of a company of settlers from British America, whereupon one excited priest rose and shouted, "America is too late, we 've got the country." Dr. Whitman heard all, but said nothing. That night he rode home, twelve miles, and told his wife he must go to Washington and at once. In two days he was off, a journey of four thousand miles in the dead of winter, over pathless mountain fastnesses and across turbid icy rivers, to the capitol.

President Tyler and Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, were about negotiating the exchange of the whole Northwest country known as Oregon, for an interest in the cod and mackerel fisheries of Newfoundland. On, through peril and frost and storm, clad in skins and worn with the journey, Whitman arrived at Washington five months to a day after leaving his wife at the steps of the little cottage on the banks of the Walla Walla. By his representations the President was persuaded not to dispose of the territory until Whitman had a chance to take a colony of settlers across the mountains. As the result of that promise early in October, twelve months after he bade good-by to the mission, a great cavalcade of nearly one thousand settlers, with wagons, cattle, and all implements of husbandry, crept down the Blue Mountains into the valley of the Columbia, and took possession of the country in the name of the United States and the old flag.

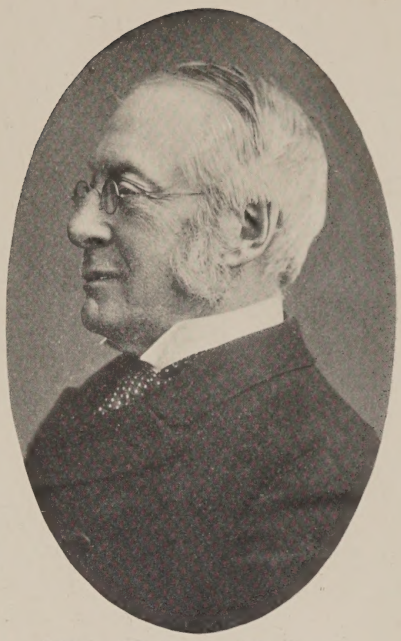
The Ashburton Treaty evaded the issue, but in 1846 the boundary line was fixed at 49, peace remained, and the humble missionary had rendered this nation a favor which statesmen were powerless to secure. To-day Whitman College and a granite monument, largely the gift of the descendants of the Puritans to the memory of a missionary of the cross, mark the spot of his life and tragic death. He put three stars into the blue field of our banner, but the inspiration of it all was Calvary, and the union of Old England and New England, aye, and Newest England, is still Calvary. The learning of the Old Country and her progress, reëchoed in the learning and progress of the New, are the children of our common faith.

Struggling not now for territory, but for righteousness first and freedom second, together will we march, England and America abreast, one army of peaceful conquest to establish and maintain good government, Christian manhood, fine civilization, and the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ in all lands where float our flags.

After the singing of a hymn by the congregation, the service concluded with prayer and the benediction.



REV. HENRY HOPKINS, D.D.,
Kansas City, Mo.



PRES. CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D.,
Cambridge, Mass.
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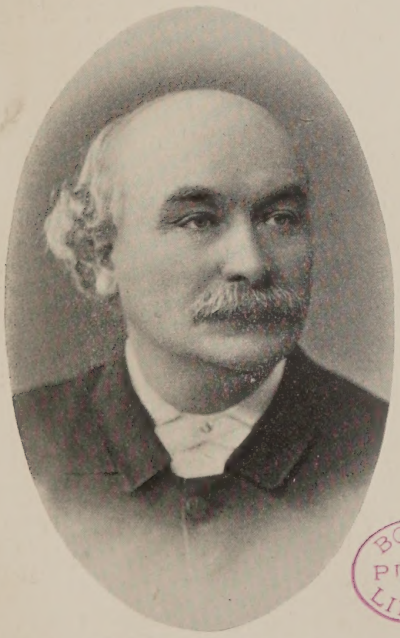
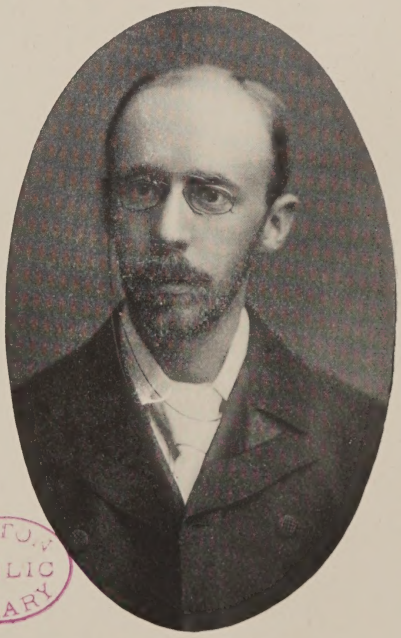


REV. REUEN THOMAS, D.D.,
Brookline, Mass.



REV. WILLIAM B. SELBIE, M.A.,
London, England.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

Tuesday, September 26, 1899

MORNING SESSION

The Council was called to order at 9.30 o'clock, President Angell in the chair.

The hymn "Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings" was sung, and the Rev. Azel W. Hazen, D.D., of Connecticut, led in prayer.

The hymn "How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord" was sung.

Sunday Railway Labor

Rev. William E. Griffis, D.D., of New York, offered the following resolution on Sunday Railway Labor, which was referred to the business committee.

Resolution on Sunday Railway Labor

Whereas, The five great brotherhoods of railway employees, embracing every class of operatives engaged in the working of freight and passenger trains in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, have repeatedly expressed and recorded their desire for rest on the Lord's Day. The four auxiliary organizations representing the wives, daughters, and kinswomen of the railway workmen have substantially reinforced the declarations of the men. All urgently pray the American public not to demand the running of more Sunday trains than necessary, but by refraining as far as possible from travel on the Lord's Day give an increasing measure of rest, enjoyment with their families, and opportunity to attend upon the public worship of God.

Heartily seconding this desire on the part of the railway employees of the North American continent, this International Council of the Congregational churches throughout the world, in the name of the Lord Jesus, affectionately urges its members, by word and act, to create such a public sentiment as will secure for the railway operatives the minimum of labor on the Lord's Day, and requests the ministry and laity to work for the same noble end.

Prayer and Praise Services Arranged

On motion of Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois, it was voted that the business committee be requested to arrange prayer and praise services on Wednesday and Thursday mornings from 9 to 9.30 o'clock.

Address

Rev. William Boothby Selbie, M.A., of England, pastor of the Highgate Congregational church, London, read a paper on the Pastoral Function, Congregational and Civic.

Address by Rev. William B. Selbie, M.A.

THE PASTORAL FUNCTION, CONGREGATIONAL AND CIVIC

We are all probably familiar with the beautiful and pathetic picture which Oliver Goldsmith draws of the village pastor in his day. He tells of one who had spent a life-time among his people, and by his pure and lowly living had won the right to be their guide, philosopher, and friend. He was a true shepherd of souls. "He watched and wept, he prayed and felt for all." He was among them as one who served, "more bent to raise the wretched than to rise." And so holy was his influence and so beautiful was his life, that in the pulpit

> Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
> And fools who came to scoff, remained to pray.

We recognize here an ideal well worth striving for, a work which any man might be proud and glad to do. But we have sadly to confess that the conditions of modern ministerial life have made that ideal for many of us almost unattainable. We are often content to aim not so high, and to draw our influence from less worthy and less enduring sources. And the best evidence that our consciences are not altogether easy on the point is the fact that we are so willing to excuse ourselves by saying that circumstances have made the change inevitable. Whether this is so, or whether, if so, it does not involve a serious loss of power, we may well pause to inquire.

For instance, it has come almost to be taken for granted that there is a necessary distinction, or even antagonism, between the office of preacher and that of pastor. We hear it continually said that the same man cannot combine the two functions, but must be content if he can fulfill one of them passably well. But as a matter of fact, neither function can be exercised satisfactorily apart from the other. No man can be a true pastor without also preaching and teaching, and no man can really preach without the knowledge of his people, which pastoral service and experience brings. We can all of us remember the time when we were sent forth from college as occasional supplies, or "very callow students," as good deacons rather pityingly called us. We can remember, too, those wonderful sermons we used to preach, whose ghosts haunt us to this day, and which can best be described in the words: —

> I shot an arrow into the air,
> It fell to earth, I know not where.

We have something of the same feeling still, at times, in preaching to strange congregations, when we discover how easy it is to miss your mark when you have nothing in particular to aim at. And we realize unceasingly the added power that comes when we have to face the same people Sunday after Sunday. And one is lost in amazement that men can go on preaching for years to congregations among whom they know perhaps only a few families, and with whose needs and sorrows as a whole they never come into close and intimate touch. It is only fair to say, however, that it does not seem possible to continue this for long anywhere. Probably the increase in the number of brief and shifting pastorates among us, which is so much to be deplored, is largely due to the growing neglect of the pastoral side of our work. It is no doubt a good thing to magnify one's office, and if we want Scriptural authority for so doing, it is there to

our hand. But if this means that our high vocation as preachers of the gospel leads us to love publicity and to neglect all work that does not directly minister thereto, then the danger is lest we come to magnify not our office but ourselves. We need to keep constantly in mind the old familiar but ever true description of the Christian ministry as a "watching for souls" and to remember that the pulpit is not the only nor the best watch tower. It is no disparagement to the work of the pulpit to say this. We may well glory in our commission as ambassadors for Christ, as prophets of our day and generation, and know that nothing can ever supersede the pulpit. But we know, too, that our mandate is not simply to fling the message before the faces of men, but to win for it acceptance, and this can only be as there exists a definite relationship between the messenger and those who listen to his word.

And in speaking of this relationship we must be in with the man himself. Successful pastoral work is by no means a question of method or organization alone; it depends in large measure on the character and aims of the pastor. "Take heed to thyself" is the first rule of his office. And a minister's care for himself must begin with his attitude towards and estimate of his people. It may be that the pastoral instinct is born, not made. But most men who are in earnest about their ministry can do much to develop within them that true philanthropy, that passion for souls, that sympathy for human weakness without which their work can never be well done. There is no reason why a minister more than other men should be shy, awkward, critical, given to moods and impatient of intercourse with those who are less highly cultured than himself. He is a shepherd of souls, and the least member of his flock has a definite value in his eyes. He must learn to deal with his people not in the mass only, but as individuals, and to do so not from a sense of duty, but from love. Perhaps it is too often overlooked that the ministry of the Great Shepherd of the sheep was mainly one to individuals. He was prepared to seek souls as well as to save them. And in this respect the minister of to-day may well follow in his steps.

And needless to say, this attitude towards the congregation will greatly affect a man's preaching. For one thing, it will tend to emphasize the distinction between Christians and non-Christians in the preacher's mind. Is not this distinction too often blurred by our ignorance? We preach as though all who heard us were Christians, and the appeal to the unconverted is not as frequent, as tender, as insistent as it used to be. Then again we shall be more given to pastoral preaching than is sometimes the case. There are many great subjects with which the pulpit must deal — subjects theological, ethical, and social. But the average member of our congregations does not come to the house of God mainly to seek instruction on such topics as these. As Dr. Dale says: "Our people come to us wearied with work and worn with sorrow, distracted with the cares of business, anxious about their children, mourning for their dead. They are conscious of sin and are yearning for a deeper and a more perfect peace with God, conscious of spiritual darkness and weakness and longing for the inspiration of the Holy Ghost."

This is the pastor's opportunity and it is only the true pastor who can rise to it. He must deeply sympathize with his people, must be able to understand their needs, not generally, but in some detail, must yearn over them with a deep unselfish desire to help and comfort and guide, if they are not to be sent empty away.

But a minister's care of himself does not end with the cultivation of the pastoral instinct. Perhaps the chief factor in maintaining happy and useful relations with his people is the man's own character. The life he lives

will be of more value than many sermons. There are signs that we do not sufficiently realize the heavy burden of self-denial which this lays upon us, and the scrupulous care which it demands. Here again much depends on our estimate of the ministry as a whole. One of the early New England pastors was accosted before his chapel by a passing stranger with the words, "Are you, sir, the person who *serves* here?" and he instantly replied, "I am, sir, the person who *rules* here." The reply was eminently characteristic of a certain type of Puritan minister, and the example is one which we have been too apt to follow. Is not the very essence of the ministry that it is a service? That we are among men as those who serve is our very *raison d'être*. We cannot therefore live without taking others into account. We cannot do as we like. There are many things which might be lawful for us, but which in view of the influence we necessarily and unconsciously exercise cannot be expedient.

This is not the place to speak at any length of the peculiar difficulties and temptations of a minister's life. We know them only too well. We are all more or less in danger of becoming conceited and self-indulgent, of being slipshod in our methods of work, and official in our tone and temper of mind. And the best way in which we can resist these temptations apart from the quickening and maintenance of our own spiritual life is by keeping constantly before us our relation of service and ministry to our people. It may even be necessary sometimes to remind ourselves that the congregation does not exist for the sake of the minister, but the minister for the congregation. The one test which we need to apply to our work is its effectiveness for the sake of others, and not its bearing on ourselves, our own reputation and advancement. Indeed, the less thought and said of ourselves the better. We shall do well to follow the example of Michael Angelo, who is said to have worn a candle in his cap to prevent his own shadow being cast upon his work. And this will become possible and natural to us if we are always watching for the souls of our people, if the love for them which burns in us is so strong that their faces are ever before us as we read and write and pray, if every sermon we preach, and every visit we pay and the whole course and tenor of our lives have this one aim of bringing those entrusted to our care into closer and deeper relationship to the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

But such a view of his office makes it more than ever necessary for a minister to keep in close touch with men. And it is time now to turn to the more practical question as to how this is to be done. Now let us frankly confess that this is not a very easy matter, and that it has been rendered much more difficult by the great multiplication of machinery and organizations which is so striking a feature of modern church life. Every minister of a fairly large church is expected to be a good organizer, that is, he must have some business ability, some power of managing men, and be able to throw himself with enthusiasm into committee work of various kinds, both among his own people and outside. And there can be no question that work of this kind tends more and more to take the place of the more old-fashioned pastoral service. It has even come to be a fairly common thing to arrange sectional meetings of the congregation during the winter months that the busy minister may have the opportunity of shaking hands with his people at least once a year. And one has heard of churches where many of the people are better known to minister and office bearers by the number of their seat or membership card than by name or sight. Now making all allowance for the changed conditions of modern church life and for the increasing demands which these make on a minister's time and strength, it ought nevertheless to be accepted as axiomatic, that nothing should be suffered to take the place of

personal intercourse between pastor and people, and of the regular visitation of the people in their own homes. In London and in most large English towns this is more necessary than it has ever been. Business hours are longer than they were and the strain of city life is more severe, so that evening meetings are for many people an impossibility, save on rare and exceptional occasions. Then in the large towns, at any rate, life becomes more and more lonely. In a London suburb you may live for years without knowing your next-door neighbors, and in many suburban churches it is often the case that the minister is the one link which binds the people together and to the church. It is therefore essential that he should seek them out in their homes, and that with systematic regularity. This does not mean that he should degenerate into a mere gossip monger, or love to fritter away a pleasant afternoon or evening in the homes of his richer and more cultured people. Such things are only the abuse of a good practice. If a man's heart is in his work, and if he never starts out to visit without putting up a prayer for help and guidance, he will soon find how to use the opportunities which offer. He will often be surprised how much he can do to help, warn, and counsel, and even when he seems to do no more than scrape an acquaintance with people. Such knowledge will stand him in good stead. There will come a time of trouble or sickness when they will turn to him the more readily that he is not a mere stranger. There are no more precious opportunities and none more fruitful than the prayers in a sick room or house of mourning, and for none will the true pastor more diligently watch.

It is impossible to lay down rules for the visitation of the sick. Of all the work the pastor has to do this should be the furthest removed from anything like formalism. He will need to depend entirely on his own tact, sympathy, and spiritual experience. In some senses it is the most wearing and exacting part of his work, but it should be also the most helpful both to himself and to others, and is never under any circumstances to be neglected. Among the greatest pastors our English churches have ever produced was the late Dr. Macfadyen, of Manchester, and I well remember hearing him say that the most really useful part of a minister's work is the private dealing with the people, especially with those in sorrow and sickness. His own success in this respect was conspicuous and contains the secret of no small part of his power. A poor servant girl said of him after his death, "My mother used to tell him all her troubles," and the pastor of whom his people can say that has not much left to wish for on this earth.

Another department of pastoral work, and one that has assumed special importance of late years, is the ministry to the young. The children and young people of the congregation are a direct charge on the pastor's energies and care. He will seek them out for their own sake and also for that of their elders, remembering, as one has well said, that when you lay your hand on a child's head you lay it on the mother's heart. The whole subject, however, is to come up for discussion at another session of this Council, and all that need be said here is a few words by way of warning and criticism. It is quite true that much of the work among the young must necessarily be delegated to others, but that does not in any sense relieve the minister of his responsibility. He will need to keep in close touch with and even exercise some supervision over the work of Sunday-schools, Christian Endeavor Societies, and Guilds. There is a growing complaint that churches fail to hold the elder scholars in their Sunday-schools, and the probable explanation is that ministers and churches have not been towards these elder scholars what they should have been. There is no more important problem before our churches just now than that of the

teaching in Sunday-schools, and the more the minister can help in the work of teachers' preparation, the better for all concerned. Then he must have his own work among the young people in occasional classes for catechumens, for special Bible study, and for the teaching of church history and principles.

Such teaching and supervision on the part of the minister is the more necessary because there seems some danger of exaggerating the merely social and sentimental aspect of the work of Young People's Societies. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the type of religion they mainly represent is not of the most robust or intellectual kind. Nevertheless, they afford fine opportunities for strenuous Biblical study and for some acquaintance with great moral and religious problems, and it is not the least delightful part of a minister's work to seek in this way to turn them to the best possible account.

This, however, is only part of that larger teaching function of the ministry, of which something must now be said. It is above all things necessary that we should come into close and living contact with our people, that the pulpit may know what the pew is thinking about and what the pew needs, and so be able to meet it on its own ground. That low estimate of the pastoral function, which is perhaps too common, becomes impossible when the minister keeps his office as teacher continually before his mind. This office he will need to exercise, not only in private with those anxious inquirers who come to him with minds clouded with doubt, but also in public, that he may strengthen the foundations of men's faith, and lead them to even higher reaches of knowledge and vision. The famous dictum of John Robinson, that the Lord hath yet more light to break forth from his word, may well become the chosen motto for the ministry of to-day. We are the prophets of our generation, and our mission is to lead men along the line of the ever-growing and expanding revelation of God. It is significant that there is an increasing thirst for theological instruction among our people, and the demand is one we must prepare ourselves to supply. The problems of Biblical criticism, the great question of authority in religion, the relation of modern scientific speculation to the word of God, these are matters which are more and more vexing the lay mind and on which we must learn to speak with authority, if we are to have the right to speak at all. There is a great constructive theological work to be done for this age, and much of it can be done better in the pulpit than in the class room. There is need, too, for a new apologetic and one based on a living religious experience, which will enable us amid the removing of those things which are shaken to strengthen the things which remain. Splendid pioneer work in this direction has been done by Dr. Dale, and it is for us to carry on and kindle to brighter flame the torch which he has let fall. All this will make the minister's work in his study as truly a part of pastoral service as his visitation of the people in their homes. It is that he may the better help, comfort, and instruct these same people, that he there labors to keep himself abreast with the thought of his time to understand more of the deep things of God, and to search into the past history of his dealings with men.

But we have now to face the question, Who is sufficient for these things? There can be no doubt that under modern conditions the work of the pastor of a Congregational church is exceedingly heavy, and that in many cases he can only hope to do a small part of what he may consider desirable or necessary. But does not that make it imperative to inquire whether it is not possible in some way to modify those conditions? A few practical suggestions in this direction may not be out of place. For one thing, it is certain that from the pastor's point of view many of our town churches are

much too large. No man can maintain proper pastoral relations with a congregation of a thousand to fifteen hundred people. And as we cannot very well diminish the size of existing churches, we ought to increase the number of pastors. It is often said that among us one man is expected to do work which in the Anglican church would provide ample employment for a vicar and several curates. No doubt experiments have often been tried in the direction of appointing an assistant and co-pastors and not always with conspicuous success. But the question must still be faced, if pastoral work in large churches is to be done at all. The only necessary condition that one would lay down is that the office of pastor and preacher should not be separated, but that all men so appointed must be both pastors and preachers.

Then again, something must be done to lessen the demands which outside work makes on the pastor's time and strength. After all, one's first duty is to one's own people, and it is hardly fair to them to be called on to waste evening after evening in the winter months in making ten-minute speeches at anniversary or other social gatherings. Much the same may be said of half the committees which a town minister is expected to attend. Most of them are far too large and the work of them would probably be better done if it was more left to laymen. It is a safe rule never to undertake any outside engagement unless there is a reasonable prospect of doing some real good by it or giving help where it is really needed.

Then again, there is a fund of energy among the men and women of our churches which certainly does not shine in use, and is often altogether wasted. I say nothing here of deacons, who are a much maligned and most useful body of men. Some of us would be badly off indeed without their constant and unselfish aid. But as a rule the work of a church is left to them and a small circle of helpers in the Sunday-school and various other organizations, and altogether these do not often amount to a third of the efficient workers. In almost every church there are many members who do little or nothing, and who if they were set to work would be far better Christians and might help and relieve the pastor in a thousand ways. Probably we are ourselves largely to blame for this, being too prone to rest content with getting the people to hear us on the Sunday without insuring that their hearing shall result in some definite service in the kingdom of God.

To quote Dr. Dale again: "It is possible that if the church sometimes listened to the more devout of its members, whose circumstances are most unlike the circumstances of the minister, it would discover that there are aspects of truth which are most unlike those with which the minister is familiar. The minister is generally sheltered from the rougher storms which beat upon other men. He knows nothing of the rude conflicts in which some of his congregation have to spend their days. His seclusion from secular affairs often results in a certain softness of character, in a want of fiber and muscle, in an almost feminine delicacy of emotion and in a feminine type of morality. This must affect his apprehension of man's relations to the world and to God, and his ideal of Christian perfection. It is possible that a more masculine element of thought and sentiment might be introduced into the life of the church, if, in free conference, those members of the church whose position and history are most different from his would state frankly what they had learned concerning the way in which God's will is to be done on earth as it is done in heaven."

One more suggestion and I must close. I doubt whether the pastoral side of their work and its necessary relation to good and effective preaching is sufficiently kept before the students in our colleges. There are very few chairs of pastoral theology to be found among us, and as things

are at present, it may soon be possible to have a college manned by excellent professors, none of whom has had any pastoral experience. Yet it is surely at college that the instinct and enthusiasm for pastoral service should be first aroused, and some indication given of the important place it holds in relation to the general work of the ministry. For let us be quite sure again that there is no work more necessary, none more welcomed by our people, and none more surely its own reward than this of pastoral service. It involves an unique relationship and one that becomes richer in opportunities of helpfulness the longer it lasts. It is work which demands our best thought and energies, and will need no small measure of consecration and self-sacrifice. But it is work that is worth doing, and indeed no other will so surely result in what our fathers used to call, in a half-forgotten phrase, souls for our hire and seals to our ministry.

Address

Rev. Reuen Thomas, D.D., of Massachusetts, pastor of the Harvard Congregational Church, Brookline, delivered an address on the topic of the morning, the Pastoral Function, Congregational and Civic.

Address by Rev. Reuen Thomas, D.D.

THE PASTORAL FUNCTION, CONGREGATIONAL AND CIVIC

"*Feed* my sheep," "*Feed* my lambs" — when these words were uttered the nature of the pastorate in the church was indicated. Only as we find the divine ground in which any institution is rooted can we perceive the reason of its permanence. Only as we view any relation in the light of its *ideal* can we estimate it rightly. Until we get down to apostolic foundations we have no assurance of our not being ecclesiastically schismatic. Inadequate views of the pastorate in the churches have tended to gradually minimize its influence in society. Under the guidance of these ideas the following suggestions are offered.

Historically, the antiquity of the pastorate needs very little if any vindication. It is the one office which under some name or other is found in the earliest and all other records of the Christian church. There is less dispute about its necessity and validity than about any other. The more accurate and reliable our knowledge of early church history, the less of doubt have we as to the faith and polity of the apostolic and sub-apostolic churches. Congregationalism is occupied with the essentials only of ecclesiastical life. The pastorate is manifestly one. Whatever additions may have been made in the evolution of ecclesiastical hierarchies to apostolic simplicity, in relation to Congregational efficiency the pastorate is above contention. In the latest, most candid, and most scholarly history of Christian institutions, that of Professor Allen of the Episcopal Divinity School of Cambridge, near by — the contention of the Puritans that originally bishops and presbyters were but one office and that those who were called bishops in the second century were not the diocesan bishops of a later time, but held an office corresponding more nearly with that of the pastor in charge of a local church — this contention is manifestly admitted. Not for any controversial purposes is this quoted; simply that we may have all the advantage properly belonging to those of us who are pastors from that antiquity to which some appeal as giving dignity and sanction and a certain indefinable mysterious worth to an office which, except under depreciation and attack, naturally shrinks from self-magnification.

Is not antiquity on our side, and the latest, most unprejudiced and reliable learning also, when we say that he who is now called pastor was in the second century of Christendom designated also presbyter, teacher, and bishop? May we not also remind ourselves of the strong probability that that high ecclesiastical soul we know by the name of Ignatius, whose epistles were written between 112 and 117 A.D., who wrote "Do nothing without the bishop" and exalted the bishop as the center of unity and of light and leading beyond any other official — that even he was referring to the man who in our day unrobes himself of all designation except that of pastor and teacher? Lest such a suggestion should be received with something more definitely hostile than doubt, permit me one more quotation from the International Theological Library: "The difficulties in the writings of Ignatius are greatly simplified when it is borne in mind that the episcopate to which he urges obedience is a local office, the pastorate of a parish and not an ecclesiastical administration for the church upon a larger scale, as the later episcopate became."

Such quotations might be multiplied, tending to show that the pastoral function in the church was from the beginning — that it was among the essentials of church life — that it has been uninterruptedly continued through the generations (with such additions to the idea as the times demanded), and has been held in honor, not only as of apostolic origin, but because of its constitutional essentialness as focusing the church before the world and dimly and distantly, as a star the sun, representing Christ to the church.

This is our second point — the place of the pastor in the constitution of the church. Every body must have a head, and its own head. The body is one and hath many members, but there can be but one head — though it be a Trinity in Unity. That head must possess thinking power and vision and voice, or it is not a head. The head is for the sake of the members. Between it and the members there must be real unity — an idea which bears upon the mode of election to the pastorate and the adaptability of each pastorate to its place and people. The question which occupies the serious attention of potential pastors not yet permanently adjoined in any ecclesiastical fixity is — How shall I find the body to which I constitutionally belong? Through much tribulation many enter into those conjunctions which, in time and by their happy continuance, prove themselves to be in the divine order of predestination. But we may be sure that if the Spirit of God working in a man has preadapted him to ecclesiastical service, that same Spirit of God will be the Spirit of Guidance. As he that findeth a wife — a real wife, a helpmeet — findeth a good thing and obtaineth favor of the Lord, so he that findeth an *ecclesia* adapted to his idiosyncrasy, in association with which he can, unhindered, work out the best that is in him, findeth a good thing, one of the best things this world can offer, and obtaineth favor of the Lord. As the pastorate is unique in its relations (to use the language of the marriage service), it is not to be undertaken unadvisedly or lightly, but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God. Time, which proves all things, will prove whether the man has had an inward call or whether he has been seduced into assuming the pastoral life by considerations which here and now we need not more minutely particularize. For every kind of consecrated individuality Congregationalism has room. There is no one definite type of Congregational pastor, but the rectifying principle is always at work, and the man without a message may not reasonably expect for long continuance in any place of pastoral influence. Herein is the pathos, even tragedy of the position! At the beginning of pastoral life our hopes are high and our expectations great. We have as yet no idea of the amount

of non-convertibility and inertia, if not positive resistance, there is in human nature, until as pastors we have operated upon it with such use of the truth as, with our peculiar equipment, is possible to us. Those times of fearful joy never to be repeated, which came to us with our first converts, when we found, to our surprise, that our sermons had been the pathway down which the Spirit of God had traveled into some human souls — led us out of ourselves. We had drawn another world into our horizon. No longer were we occupied with ourself and our sermon. No longer were we satisfied if a sermon had about it intellectuality and homiletical propriety, and that dignity which belongs to its place and position; for, to quote the moderator of the first International Council: "There *is* a certain dignity of mental process below which the pulpit ought never to fall because of its alliance with the Holy Spirit." But there came a time in our pastoral experiences when our sermon was only our way of coming into personal relationship with living souls. We were conscious of drawing from deeper fountains of life than those which were simply intellectual. There have been periods in our ministerial life when we came upon experiences which once had created a thirst that could never again be appeased except by drinking of the same living stream. It was as if the Master himself appeared and said, "Let down your net on the right side of the ship and ye shall find." We did so, and enclosed a great multitude of fishes. Was it not a fearful and pathetic experience? Such an experience one never forgets. It creates unrest and misery. Some pastoral experiences are never repeated. They changed us mentally and spiritually. They were to us as assurances that we were called of God to minister. In after times of comparative failure we revert to these older experiences. Then was born in us the true pastoral instinct. We began to understand what the chief Pastor meant when he said, "Feed my sheep," "Feed my lambs." Our sermons became bread-baskets — filled with food. Beforetime, "The hungry sheep looked up and were not fed." Thenceforth we had a clearer apprehension of two relationships — that of strict and undivided allegiance to the chief Shepherd, and that to the sheep of his pasture — to supply them with the food which he himself had given us.

In these reckless days of frivolous and audacious criticism on everything ecclesiastical and civil, it is more than ever necessary that we attain to true perceptions as to the place which the Christian pastorate legitimately holds in the life of the church. Intelligent conceptions as to its sole allegiance to the one Master must be maintained. Its true dignity as an office held under Christ, on behalf of man's spiritual nature, must be zealously guarded. No man can serve two masters. Our usefulness to the church will depend on the simplicity and uncorruptedness of our allegiance to the Christ. That allegiance must be both intellectual and moral. The idea that the pastor of a Congregational church is fettered in his teachings by the general consensus of opinion of a congregation expressed in a creed drawn years ago by a limited number of individuals, and that the hand of the dead is still upon him, is fatal, not only to freedom, but also to influence. Human creeds have an historic place. They are mile-stones on the road of spiritual advance. "This stone, which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house," said Jacob, but he left it there and went on into his future, led by the living spirit of the living God. Nothing brings so much of dignity and solemnity into the pastoral office as that loyalty to Christ which is its first and chief virtue. This may seem to apply all round to every officer and member of the church, but as applied to the pastor, there is an ecclesiastical value in the idea which gives it emphasis. The proper liberty and true authority of the pastorate are grounded in the simplicity and completeness of this allegiance. The

loyalty of the English ambassador at Washington, speaking as he does in the name of his sovereign, has a kind of official value. The fact that he is only the voice of another gives him distinction. Loyalty in word and deed with him are primary. The pastor who is to speak in Christ's name must never give occasion for the singleness and sincerity of his allegiance to be doubted. The pastor is a shepherd. The sheep follow him. He goeth before them. He cannot go before them and follow them. Whom does he follow? Who shall shepherd the shepherds? There is but one answer. Pastoral usefulness and that continuance which is necessary to the highest order of service are often hindered by the practical non-recognition of the sanctity of this relationship, the truth that the relation between pastor and people is not simply a contract between two parties, but between two parties both of whom are in avowed and mutual subservience to a third. Dr. Stimson, in *The Congregationalist*, and Dr. Watson (Ian Maclaren), in *The Outlook*, have very recently called our attention to the disastrous consequences of the obtrusion of what may be called societyism and the secular spirit into our churches. Under these influences pastoral relations are changing so rapidly that the old sacredness is passing out of them. It is not possible for Congregationalism to live and flourish on hop, skip, and jump pastorates.

It is good to learn even from an enemy — much better from a warm-hearted and every way noble friend; and when Dr. Watson, speaking from knowledge and experience, writes: "When the visitor to the United States happens to be a minister, nothing makes him more indignant than to see how his brethren are alternately tempted and browbeaten by this secular spirit, which is not unknown in other lands, but seems to have attained a perfect height of insolence in America," — when one not accustomed to use severe language writes thus, we may fear that the old ideals of pastoral function and pastoral relationship of church and people have suffered serious damage from the invasion of the Holy of Holies by that secular spirit which is "of the earth earthy." To exorcise this evil spirit may require much prayer and fasting. But the true pastor is not a hireling who fleeth when he seeth the wolf coming. If there be a time to prove his divine call to pastorate in the church that is the time — though the wolf wear sheep's clothing. David proved himself a shepherd king in the presence of the lion and the bear.

The adaptability or re-adjustment of the pastorate to the present conditions of society is our third thought. Life, as Herbert Spencer has told us, is the continuous adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. We can only imagine the characteristics of the generations antedating our own. History, however truthfully written, fails adequately to convey the atmospheric conditions of past times. In every-day life the condition of the atmosphere counts for a great deal, especially on Sundays. Every generation, every country, every city has its own atmosphere. The religious atmosphere of Boston is different, very different, from that of London. American Puritanism is not English Puritanism. It is inconceivable that any man can be so stolid as to pass from one to the other without feeling the difference, a difference often not easy to define, arising out of those subtleties of spiritual character which are too deep for analysis, or, as John Fiske would say, in those elementary psychical states which lie below consciousness. That aggressive fighting quality, which makes the atmosphere of English nonconformity so exhilarating, like fresh mountain air, and the nonconformist clergy the best platform speakers and purest politicians in the world, the hope of all honest Gladstones and the terror of all crafty Disraelis, we miss here. A J. G. Rogers on the warpath would be a dreadfully disturbing element in New England, and a Joseph Parker,

using such sacredly profane language about the Great Assassin, would shock our New England proprieties beyond recovery. As in communities in the same century there are moral and spiritual differences, so generations differ in moral and intellectual attitudes, and the question of pastoral adaptability, honest self-regulation for noble ends, as an apostle would say "becoming all things to all men in order to save some" — this question is not, from the practical side, secondary. To study the situation and to study men is a very important part of the pastoral function. I know not where the spiritual temper of the generation to which we belong has been, in a few words, more adequately indicated than in Dr. Fairbairn's "Catholicism Roman and Anglican." The limit of this brief address forbids quotation. Suffice it that the best minds of our day are recognizing that with which pastors have to contend, and pastors must recognize it or their influence over those elements in the community which are most active in social, political, and commercial life will be feeble. That remarkable autobiography of John Beattie Crozier gives the mental processes through which, in a feeble way, multitudes in our generation have been passing. The old ideals have been fading and the new ideals waiting to be born. This age of "steam and iron and luxury and selfishness," however optimistic we may be about it — and we in America to-day are a pretty good illustration of "the careless optimism of a prosperous and proud people" — however thankful for its surface prosperity we may be, however proud of its scientific inventiveness — this age is likely to be one of spiritual unrest, but not of deep spiritual discernment. Those sermons which are most heart-searching and which demand spirituality of life in order to appreciate them, or even to detect what they are about, are not likely to find enthusiastic hearers like those who listened to Jonathan Edwards. If the pastorate in the churches is to be the only profession in which maturity of thought and experience of life are of no value, then in regard to the noblest development of life, the churches are condemned as mentally and ethically imbecile. From a scientific and commercial point of view this is rightly called a wonderful century. Hardly so philosophically and theologically. In these departments most of our best work has been in the line of exposition of the profounder work of other men. If we should recall to memory the names of the writers most frequently quoted in the literature which is popular but not frivolous, the evidence would be abundant that this generation has been dealing with those outside things which indicate an advanced material civilization, with phenomena and not substance — to an extent not paralleled in any preceding generation, except in the colleges and coteries of the learned. It has not been a psychological climate in which we have been living, but a physiological climate.

Materialism in our day does not attempt to justify itself intellectually. The intellectual battle has been fought and won. It simply acts itself out with a sort of nonchalant disdain at being called upon to give any intellectual justification of itself. It leaves the intellectualists to say what they will and goes unrepentingly on its way. It neither justifies nor condemns itself — simply gives itself up to the hour and its pleasures. Its atmosphere pervades the churches as a London fog, generated in the atmosphere outside, enters the building through the swinging doors which admit the congregation. Yet underneath it all is a tormenting sense of righteousness. To that we must appeal.

Into these conditions religion comes, demanding not self-indulgence, but self-control and the perpetual sacrifice of the lower to the higher. Never had religion so much sweet reasonableness as it has now. The severe old Puritanism is dead and the new Puritanism doth not yet appear. In certain directions people are magnificently in earnest. The age is

alive. But in order that the life it is living may be tolerable to itself it needs more artificial diversions than ever before — diversions which run into enfeebling excess, and from an intellectual and moral point of view cannot always be commended. It craves for books which appeal to the sensuous imagination—newspapers which tend to jingoism and grossness of feeling. An unspiritualized intellectuality is the parent of emasculating doubt. The skepticisms of our day are subtler than ever before. Its sins are less heinous, more respectable, Back Bay, not North End, sins, but not the less despiritualizing. As a consequence there is a loss of reverence for time-honored institutions through which the divine life has come to men. There is no necessity to argue that which is generally allowed. As pastors, how can we meet these conditions?

Our pastorate, let us recognize it, has to be conducted in the midst of social and commercial conditions never before existent in the life of the Christian church. These conditions will secure, men think, general prosperity. Here in America we have freedom apotheosized, universal suffrage, free schools, of which we are justly proud, in which every propertied bachelor has to pay for the education of every unpropertied benedict's children—for such education as the community generally is supposed to need for its civil and political life; religious liberty and especially ecclesiastical license, so that schism is no longer recognized as existing, much less regarded as a sin against the Holy Ghost. What more do we need? All that the old English Chartists contended for, we have. All that the English Society for the Liberation of Religion from state patronage and control asks for, we have. What lack we yet? Every pastor knows how deficient we are in that to which reference is made in St. Paul's words: "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man." Our very prosperity is rapidly dividing society into two classes, the reckless and the desperate. Militarism and capitalism are united. We are revising our constitution backward in the interest of a speculative colonization. In such social conditions, what are we pastors of the New Testament type to do? We are not prepared yet to believe that our Lord's words, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," are a fraudulent interpolation. Beacon lights are set on sunken rocks to warn the mariners of hidden dangers. That most shameful trial of the century, associated with the name of Captain Dreyfus, ought to be a beacon light to all nations enamored of militarism.

Many of the habits, the indulgences, the permissions of our social life today, everywhere assumed to be harmless, because not demonstrably immoral and criminal, are not consistent with that regulative spirituality of mind for which the church stands. The pastorate is for the sake of the spiritual life of the people — for nothing else. Whatever tends to promote that life it must favor; whatever in social habit or political allowance or commercial custom makes spirituality of life impracticable and impossible it must oppose. This is no child's play. To awake that spiritual life into action and maintain it in unresting controlling persistence, certain habits have been proved essential. Public worship is not the least. Are there not signs that even the avowed disciples of Christ are falling away from an intelligent perception of what public worship means? Drummond tells us in his own scientific way that, in the case of men and women who do not actively associate themselves with church life, reversion to the old heathen and pagan type of mind is certain. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man become real only under spiritual conditions — conditions which involve worship of God and service of others. To stimulate and cultivate the devotional life is one of the most delicate, difficult, and solemn duties of the pastorate. If it be, as is suggested by that great much-mis-

understood German poet and prophet (from whom Carlyle, Emerson, and others received so much inspiration) that reverence, gratitude, chastity, love of truth and justice are not natural products at all, but must be inwrought by an all-round and never to be relaxed culture, then the culture of the spirit in man is the aim and duty and mission of the church without which, to use the old words, there can be no "progressive sanctification" of the life. Thus public worship and service have a scientific side and a psychological value not sufficiently recognized, I venture to suggest, in our Congregational polity. The spirit in man cannot attain to its highest vision and power, it cannot develop its noblest and most beauteous qualities, except in its godly training of itself in those relations and ordinances which time has sanctified and experience justified.

We pastors owe a debt we can never pay to those great Biblical scholars of the latter half of our century who have made the Bible throb with new life. Their scholarship "prevents us from speaking at random, with an undisciplined reason or intelligence, or from the point of view of a single individual without responsibility for the well-being of the community — guarding us from inward failure or outward disaster." Luther the preacher needs Melancthon "the greatest scholar of his day." Calvin illustrates his own principle that prophecy (pastoral leadership) must never neglect alliance with human learning. In our day no pastor can work with ever-deepening influence who is so anxious and careful about many things that he has not time to take as his daily companions the noblest and most inspiring minds of his generation. To limit the Spirit of God to those emotional occasions which, comet-like, flash across our horizon every now and again is little less than sin against the Holy Ghost — that indwelling Spirit of God "that makes all wise men wise and all valorous men valorous." Christ's pastors are not comets, but stars in his right hand. They shine in one place with a constant and steady light. Re-adjustment to modern conditions under the guidance of our complete psychological and scientific knowledge of man and his world does not involve any controversial repudiation of those eternal facts of revelation which belong to the realm of catholic truth and are always everywhere and for all. The Copernican astronomy did not involve any change in sun, moon, and stars. All that it necessitated was the dethronement of dogmatism and ignorance and the fixed definiteness of knowledge. Stagnant truth, like stagnant water, breeds pestilence. Never before were we so sure that Christology is the only intellectually adequate and permanently practical theology.

I have not ventured into any details of pastoral work. For all these it is sufficient to refer to Lyman Beecher's lectures or to such an exhaustive volume as that of Dr. Washington Gladden entitled "The Christian Pastor." Suffice it to say as a last word that the ideal pastor is he whose spirit is most akin to that of the 23d Psalm, who keeps the sheep from want — leading them in green pastures and beside still waters, restoring their souls — leading them in the paths of righteousness for Christ's sake — yea, being so much to his flock, that when they pass through the valley of the shadow of death, they will have less of fear of evil because he is with them, the messenger of Christ, solace to the agitated and trembling soul. Yet, when we think of it all, of what the man who is a pastor ought to be, of the uniqueness of his position, of the greatness of his opportunity, of his slender equipment, of his human feebleness, the apostle's words become ours — "Who is sufficient for these things?" Ours also the prayer of that choice spirit who in days gone by moved among men in the old country, as belonging to another world — Thomas T. Lynch: —

Dismiss me not thy service, Lord,
  But train me to thy will,
For even I in fields so broad
  Some duty may fulfill;
And I will ask for no reward,
  Except to serve thee still.

Address

An address on the Spiritual Life in our Churches was delivered by the Rev. Joseph Robertson, M.A., of Australia, pastor of the Stow Memorial Church, Adelaide, and Principal of the Congregational College of South Australia.

ADDRESS BY REV. JOSEPH ROBERTSON, M.A.

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE IN OUR CHURCHES

I

Our churches are nothing unless spiritual. Our lot is cast in an active, busy age; and we live in a time when much is made, in the church and out of it, of organization and machinery. Indeed, we may not be altogether free from the danger of having men think that salvation is by public meeting and committee. Against spiritual machinery and organization no word shall be spoken by me; yet it may still be necessary to emphasize the fact that our churches are nothing unless spiritual. It is admitted that those churches have ever exercised an influence, great out of all proportion to their numerical strength, and through their members and adherents played a very important part in such matters as securing civil and religious liberty; advancing education; helping to shape municipal and political life; and in developing works of philanthropy and benevolence; but our churches are nothing unless spiritual.

The place of this Council is holy ground. This nation was created by the spiritual life of our Congregational forefathers. The heroic band who laid the foundations of this nation, with its free institutions, were moved by spiritual forces. They loved liberty, and they would have liberty or die; yet it was not love of liberty only that led to the founding of this nation. They loved God more than they loved liberty, and the liberty they sought was liberty to find and worship him. They came here to plant a church, and in planting a church they founded a nation.

Ay, call it holy ground,
  The soil where first they trod!
They have left unstained what there they found—
  Freedom to worship God.

It was the intense yearning after a deep, true, spiritual life that made the chapter of history which we find such pleasure and inspiration in reading to-day.

Two dangers require to be avoided by our churches. There is, first, an easy, selfish pietism which feels like sitting and singing itself away to everlasting bliss, and that puts not its hand to the work of helping the lives of men. It does not sufficiently realize that if man is a soul, he has a body; and that if he is an heir of heaven, he is meantime a citizen of earth. And there is secondly an active, busy, yes, and a noble service of man which

seeks to brighten his life here and which may be in danger of losing its realization of the unseen and eternal; and which presents a gospel which, as Dr. Berry said, stops short of being a gospel just where a gospel is most of all required.

Christ came not to reform, but to regenerate; and then to achieve reformation through regeneration. And if we are in danger of falling into two opposite camps, divided by these questions, a voice speaks to us saying, "These ought ye to have done and not to leave the other undone."

Spiritual men may need an ethical revival; but the busy organizer and earnest reformer must have the spiritual power which alone can make fruitful the works of love that are being set in operation by the desire to improve the moral and social condition of mankind.

All things on earth are to be made according to the pattern shown us in the mount, and a life of activity for God must spring from a life of communion with God. Our lives must largely be lived on the plains; and we must therefore sometimes stop and rest, and look up and climb the mountain and breathe the air of heaven and eat the heavenly food, and look upon the face of God, that we may receive inspiration and go on the strength of that food many days, and make the things of our earthly life like those shown in the mount of revelation.

May I say here that in this respect great things are expected of this Council? Some of us have come long distances to attend this notable assembly. Everywhere we found as we journeyed that the eyes of many besides our own people were turned to this historic and sacred place, where was to be gathered so much of the strength, wisdom, and grace of our denomination; and a spirit of expectancy was manifest. On this continent we are told that many earnest souls are feeling that some great blessing is near. It seems wise, then, that amid such high themes and questions of such great moment as appear on our program — Theology; the State and Nation; Education; the Ministry; Congregationalism; Christianity — the committee included the practical and pressing one of the spiritual life in our churches.

II

The spiritual life in our churches may differ in some respects from that of a former time. More liberal views are held, and to a certain extent rightly, concerning Sunday; but whether we may not gain a loss by the breadth of our liberality may be a serious question. Probably family worship has gone out of use to an extent that leaves the spiritual force of our churches very much diminished; and the idea of the church and the place of the church meeting may need restoring amongst us.

On the other hand, we have a great deal of spiritual work going on in our Sunday-schools; and in our day this continent and our own churches here have given to the churches of all names and all lands one of the greatest engines for promoting the spiritual life of our churches that this or any age has ever seen.

A member of this Council, a former pastor of our churches, has been raised up by God, to inaugurate a movement which, while it crowns him with world-wide honor, borne with such singular modesty and grace as to commend his work the more, brings glory to God in developing the spiritual life of the young of whom we are constantly speaking as the hope of our churches. Criticise the Christian Endeavor movement, take off any proper discount, and yet what a marvelous work it is! And remember what the same standard of criticism would do if applied to our churches and the Christian lives of older professors. Who can hear the facts with-

out thanking God with profound gratitude for Dr. Clark and the Christian Endeavor movement? Who can hear of the facts without thanking God and taking courage? It is an inspiring thing to hear of two and a half millions of members of this organization on this continent, and three and a half millions in the whole world; and for us in this Council it must be a very hopeful sign that of the three and a half millions of members of societies of Christian Endeavor throughout the world, three hundred thousand are the young people of our own churches.

III

The spiritual life of our churches may be appraised by the measure of peace, purity, and power to be found in them. The time limits of this address will not permit any amplification of that position. Briefly let it be said, the Spirit-filled church will be marked by peace, not of inaction, or of the desert, or of death; but of movement, union, harmony, good will, brotherly love. "The fruit of the Spirit is peace." Again, the Spirit-filled church will be marked by purity. There may be nothing secular but sin; yet there may be an alloy of worldliness or self. How often we must say with the poet, "The world is too much with us." And how much more often must we say with the sage, "There is ever a spot in our sunshine; it is even as I said, the shadow of ourselves." The wisdom that cometh from above is first pure! And the Spirit-filled church will be marked by power. "He was a good man and full of faith and the Holy Ghost, and much people was added to the Lord." Applied to our churches, are these signs following? I think they are. God has not left us without witness. I am not here to find fault with our churches.

IV

And yet a very important question remains, and that question is, Are these things found with us in adequate degree, found with us as they might be and should be?

I desire to avoid controversy and seek that which makes for our profit. There are words like "perfection" and "holiness" bristling with debatable questions. I think it is possible to avoid debate, and those words need not be used by us. Without touching the fringe of that debatable region, may it not be asked if there is not before every one of us a great possibility of a deeper, higher, fuller life? And yet in passing, a quotation might not be without advantage on that point. The late Rev. John McNeil, B.A., (the Australian McNeil), in his excellent little book entitled "The Spirit-Filled Life," a volume which is being used of God on this continent also, has a suggestive word. Speaking of this high experience he says: "But, it is objected, 'that is perfection.'" Then, in parenthesis, he makes this remark: "It is amazing how frightened some people are of being perfect! It were well if they were equally afraid of being imperfect, for it is imperfection that grieves God." He adds, "This dread of perfection has been called by some one 'a scarecrow set up by the Devil to frighten away God's people from the very finest of the wheat.'"

However, I am not thinking of perfection, but I am thinking of something much higher than we have yet reached. With this thought turn to consider the Christian life which is so common amongst us to-day. Surely much of that is never what is meant by the high, hope-inspiring words of the Testament! Think of the position of the believers and the promise of the Gospel. And yet with all the believer's high claims and all the great promises made to him by God, how often do we feel forced to think that our

common Christian life is commonplace and contradictory! We say we are Christians and go to church on Sunday. Do people find out without our saying it that the Spirit of Christ is in us? And do those who have no knowledge of how we spend our Sundays discover from ourselves that we are Christians indeed? Do our wives and servants feel it? Do our employers and employees know it? Do our fellow workmen see it? Is there never such a thing as talking cream and living skim-milk? Read Paul's wonderful prayer for his converts in Ephesus, ending with the words, "That we may be filled unto all the fulness of God." "For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father, from whom every family in heaven and on earth is named, that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, that ye may be strengthened with power through his Spirit in the inward man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith; to the end that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be strong to apprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled unto all the fulness of God." That ye may be filled unto all the fulness of God!

V

So far I have spoken of a much deeper life than we possess being possible for us. May I not say that it is more than possible, and that for us all without controversy, this fuller life is obligatory?

Look at Paul's words to the Thessalonians: "This is THE WILL OF GOD, even your sanctification!" And again, "The God of Peace SANCTIFY YOU WHOLLY." We have seen that this deeper life is certainly possible. Here we see it is the revealed will of God. Is it not, then, obligatory? This blessed experience of the spiritual life is not only a privilege, then. A privilege is something enjoyed by you which I have no right to share. As it has been put by Mr. McNeil, this blessing is not a privilege, but a birthright. It was not intended for a few eminent saints. It was not for a devout man here and a godly woman there, but for all. "The promise is unto you, and to your children and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." It is not a privilege only, but a birthright. And more even than that, it is a duty. It is not something which I may claim. It is something which claims me. It is something concerning which a command rests upon me. It is something which I owe it to God to seek and possess. It is not something which I may enjoy if I will seek it. It is something which *I must have.* "Sanctification," says Paul, "without which no man shall see the Lord." It is not something which a man needs for high service in the work of God, but rather something which, quite apart from enjoyment and apart from important service, every man requires to possess in order that God's will may be done in him.

Has it ever struck you how differently many people die from the way in which they live? Ordinary, commonplace lives, when death is near, sometimes become transfigured. Doubting, halting, hesitating ones become confident, radiant, triumphant. As they draw near to death they make a discovery. They find out more of what God really is, and more of what he might have been to them all the time. They die with a sublime peace, a holy calm, a heavenly joy, and an unearthly glory that makes their end a revelation and an inspiration to witness. And then the thought comes, what a pity these persons did not live, to some extent at least, as they die! How much they miss, yes, and how much God loses through the failure of these Christians to realize in living what God wants to be to us, what he wants us to be to him!

VI

Brethren, I have tried to lead your thoughts so as to avoid controversy, and seek what might be for our edification. May I now as I come to close say a few words to my brethren in the ministry, and to the members of our churches, saying only what I am addressing to my own heart?

And first may I say through this assembly to the members of our churches, this is your matter as much as it is ours who are supposed to be wholly given up to God's service. We are not priests except as all are priests. The whole fellowship must be filled with the Spirit. Now if we were so filled, what lives we should be living, what works we should be doing, how the kingdom and glory of God would be brought in! Numbers are not sufficient. Force, weight, usefulness, influence must be considered. We speak of "numbers"; the Salvation Army asks for "soldiers." Another honored name this country and our churches have given to the universal church, the name of one whom God has most wondrously blessed, even in places where his voice has never been heard—that mighty evangelist and spiritual teacher, Dwight L. Moody, says, in his little book, *Power from on High:* "Sometimes you can take one hundred fresh members into a church and they do not add to its power. If they were only anointed by the Spirit of God there would be great power if one hundred saved ones were added to the church." An old church minute book in Southampton is said to contain a strange entry to this effect: "This year M. and M . . . were removed by Divine Providence to London. This church did not suffer by their removal." How many members might remove, and how many do remove without their church suffering from their removal? This is not a preacher's matter only. The hope of a coming revival is in a quickened church; not in ministers and Christian workers only, but in Christian men and women. It has been well said: —

> The dear Lord's best interpreters
> Are humble human souls;
> The gospel of a life . . .
> Is more than books and scrolls.
> From scheme and creed the life goes out, —
> The saintly fact survives;
> The blessed Master none can doubt
> Revealed in holy lives.

And will my brethren in the ministry permit me to say a word to them, not as one who has reached this experience, but as one who like many of themselves is seeking it, and thinks he sees some blessed possibility for the future? My dear friends in the service of God and men, a high honor has been put upon you and me. We are something less than ambassadors for Christ. We are called of God to serve him, to present and in a certain way to represent and reveal him in the noblest service at present conceivable for us. When I speak to church members I tell them that they owe as much to God as we do; but when we think of ourselves there is a sense in which a very special responsibility rests upon us. We are their teachers, guides, in many cases their trusted friends. Our influence upon them is great. We go to God for them and with them, and who is sufficient for these things? If we go to them from God and for God, how important it is that we go to them in the highest way, realizing that we go with God, our own hearts being filled, not only with the thought and love of God, but with his Holy Spirit.

In the year 1890 the late Rev. C. A. Berry, of Wolverhampton, whose

visits to America and Australia have left such a gracious memory, and whose absence from this Council and whose loss to the world we so deeply deplore, preached before the Congregational Union of England and Wales at Swansea a very striking sermon. That sermon has since been printed in the volume "Vision and Duty" in the "Preachers of the Age" series. That sermon, entitled "Spiritual Power the Need of the Churches," it is more than worth every ministers' while to get and read and ponder. In it he points out that when Christ's work on earth was done there were trained men ready to continue and complete it, but these men were utterly powerless until something happened, and they had gone through a certain spiritual experience, and so Christ said, even to these men, "Tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high." The men were there, but they were powerless. Then Dr. Berry goes further and says, not only were the men there, ready, wishing, willing, but these men had the message. And yet there was no power. Men and message together could do nothing until there came the enduement of power from on high, through the indwelling Spirit. We are Christian men, brethren. We love the Lord. We desire to be faithful. We love to preach him. What is needed? God has not left us without witness, but do we not need this spiritual power, this power from on high? Do we not need more and more this filling with the Holy Spirit?

This Council, which will soon be over, has been an encouraging sign of the spiritual life in our churches. Overflowing congregations have constantly attended its sessions, and powerful addresses have touched and stirred the thousands who have thronged to hear them. Strong thought and deep spirituality have characterized the speeches and papers to which we have listened. But that which has roused these meetings to the highest point of enthusiasm has been that which has touched the spiritual side, and brought us nearer to the heart of things, by bringing us nearer to Christ and to God as revealed in him.

This morning the feeling of the Council has found expression in the resolution just passed, that for the remainder of the sessions a portion of each day shall be devoted to united prayer.

Shall we not seek for this more earnestly and try to carry back to all our churches in many lands the mighty, gracious influence which has so often been felt in this Council?

After all, that is what we want, and that is what the world wants. "Sir," it is saying, "Sir, we would see Jesus." And that is why Jesus came. And that is what the church wants. The late Dr. Allon at the first council of our churches in London, in 1891, speaking on "The Unity of the Church," used these words: "The first and cardinal remedy for the broken unity of the church, therefore, as for all forms of evil, is a keener apprehension of the spiritual; a deeper, more pervading spiritual life; a remedy to be sought, not in external adjustments, but in individual hearts purged of evil passions."

Theological Seminaries Defended

In response to a general desire and by request of the committee, Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., LL.D., made an address at the close of the session in answer to the criticisms on the theological seminaries made by speakers [Presidents Hyde and Slocum] of the previous evening.

Dr. Fairbairn's Reply to Presidents Hyde and Slocum

Mr. Chairman and Beloved Friends,— I thought that you would henceforth be no more troubled with the sound of my prosaic voice; but just as I had finished the needed preparation for departure I received a summons which I did not feel at liberty to disobey. We have had the subject brought very eloquently and very stringently before us of theological education and the theological seminary. Last evening we had a splendid bit of invective, one of the best fighting speeches I ever heard, the only drawback being that it was all fighting into the air. Now, I have no cause to rise up in defense of the theological seminaries of America. They are right well able to defend themselves. Two things, however, struck me in connection with the paper presented: the picture was unrelieved blackness, and it was painted by a hand that, so far as I could discover, had almost the shabbiest idea of theology I ever heard embodied in a paper.

As to the seminaries of this country, I know them by repute and somewhat by experience. It has been my privilege to be a kind of *professor extraordinarius* in more than one of these respectable and historical institutions. But let me put the case from another side. I have difficulty in understanding the utter aridity of institutions manned by men of far more than American or local reputation. I cannot think of Andover without remembering the name of Moses Stuart, and surely theological scholarship on both sides of the ocean, from his day to this, has had cause to honor his name. And I cannot think of Moses Stuart without remembering a distinguished colleague of his, for a while at Andover and later at Union in New York—Dr. Robinson, whose Biblical researches in Palestine introduced the fuller significance of the physical geography and the historical archæology of the Holy Land to the Biblical and educated world. And I can still less think of Andover without remembering a memorable and illustrious name borne by a man as venerable as illustrious who still lives. The theology of Dr. Park is not mine; his theology I have no call to defend. But the man whose teaching ability, whose marvelous power to quicken, is attested by some of the foremost men in the pulpit, in professors' chairs, and in literature in America, cannot have lived an impotent professorial life. And to-day is there not another name still associated with Andover, one which is famous on our side even if it is not famous on your side,—and it is always a reproach that great scholars should not have adequate recognition in their own land,—Dr. Moore, whose work in the Old Testament we on our side are profoundly grateful to recognize? And if I go from Andover to Yale what do I find? Why, the memory of Nathaniel Taylor, is it not still fragrant? And was there not one at Yale who bore the honorable and distinguished name of Leonard Bacon, a man powerful in the pulpit and on the platform, full of wisdom and of wit in literature and in the press? And has there not lately gone from your midst one equally as broad in his philosophical culture, as keen and acute in his theological thought, bearing the name of Samuel Harris? And to-day is there not at Yale a scholar whom all men from our side love to meet, whose incisive speech, whose fund of antique and modern lore and whose sharp wit make his society one of the real pleasures of an American visit—Professor Fisher? And if I should go outside of New England should I not, in seminaries founded by New England men, find men of equal eminence with these? There is in New York a certain Union Seminary, and Oxford has invited two of its distinguished teachers to come and reëdit a famed Hebrew lexicon. Do not undervalue the work your men do.

There may be something to be said on the score of the students. The seminary needs good teachers, but it also needs good learners. The kind of man who addresses men not adequately prepared, where is his power? I do not for one moment wish to enter into controversy touching your reforms. They are your concern. Certain of the reforms sketched by President Hyde were excellent. One of them touched the eleemosynary grant. Be over and done with it! It corrupts the man who receives it, it depraves the church that gives it; it lowers in the eye of the ministry all the men it has helped to educate. For, mark you, you can help, and you can help on terms that ennoble rather than on terms that debase. Make your eleemosynary help eleemosynary no more. Say to your men, "Come, compete. We shall give scholarships. The best men and only the best men shall get them."

Still further, and I speak from my own experience, there is nothing that so entirely lowers the character, reduces the quality and impoverishes the minds of students as lowering the terms of admission. The lower you make the terms of admission, the poorer the men that will apply and the vainer the men that will apply. For just in proportion to his incompetency the student turns out to be vain and impracticable and the minister inadequate and insufficient. Do not be afraid to ask great things of your men. The man who feels himself so good that he must get the shortest way into the ministry in order to exercise his gifts needs only one thing — a still shorter way out of it. The man too good to bear the hardest training to which he can be put is not good enough for me, he is not good enough for the ministry, he is not good enough for any calling.

I have nothing to say, therefore, save this: Raise your standards and stand by them as raised. Do not raise them to the eye or the lip and lower them to experience. Combine these two things: first the abolition of the eleemosynary aid by the creation of scholarships, and secondly, the raising of the standard to the quality of the scholarships by means of the aid you are prepared to offer. And do not think that the man coming to the theological seminary will be turned back, if he has the grit in him, because something is asked from him. You lower everything by asking nothing, or by asking less than and worse than nothing — something utterly unworthy.

Therefore, so far as these points are concerned, I am absolutely and entirely at one with President Hyde. Where I differ, however, is in this: I can hardly conceive that seminaries in this land should be in such a state of unrelieved impotence. Then I further differ, and radically, from him in his intimation that theology is such a poor subject that you must bring in English literature and sociology and Hegelian ethics and other rudimentary things in order to help it out. No; if a seminary starts out to teach theology will it have time to turn aside into the playground and make all manner of fanciful digressions and encroach on the domain of the professors of art or the professors of economics? No! Before you drill a man in the Old Testament and its tongue, before you drill a man in the New Testament and its tongue, before you drill a man in the history of the church and its doctrine, before you drill a man in the apprehension of that doctrine, before you pass him over the history of religions and the philosophy that would interpret their history, before you oblige him to stand face to face with all the deepest questions that can move the mind of man, you will find that you have so taxed him as indeed to bring him to that high and noble education which comes from facing the greatest things in the most sober and earnest spirit.

But this is an International Council. I felt yesterday that you had rather too much of English education in the morning, and in the evening

I felt that we had rather too much of the seminary from an American point of view. I am not at all inclined to accept the arraignment as true of our theological colleges in England. For many more years than I care to remember, I have tried to be the head of a theological college; I have given myself to the work of preparing men for the ministry. At a time in my career when the literary and theological ambition was strongest, and I had faced poverty and hardship and many another labor and physical difficulty that I might keep my soul clean and say the thing I thought and work for the end I had in view — just at that time I was called into England and I stood face to face with the question of the education of the ministry. It seemed to me as if only two paths were open, the one path bidding me turn back and resume under the old conditions studies that had been the passion of my life, the other bidding me set my face to the work of attempting to reconstruct theological education and make men worthier of the ministry. For if I have pleaded with my brethren in England many and many a time for the church supporting the college and the college serving the church, it has been in order that through the college there might come into the ministry men qualified to render it noblest and fittest service. And the fundamental principle which I have ever tried to be guided by is this. You churches say to us, "What kind of men do you send into the ministry?" We have a prior question: "What kind of men do you send into the college?" We can only give what we get. Therefore, instead of taking the pious lad who thinks he has received a call to the ministry and has done nothing to test whether he has received it, instead of taking the lad whose one quality is that he has a desire to be something that he is not and has not the faculty of becoming, let us fear not to fall back on something holier and grander. There was a Samuel praying from his mother's womb. There was a Jeremiah separated from his birth; there is such a thing as the elect in our homes, selected and consecrated from the earliest day for the pulpit. Revive in me the passion of the ministry, and to whom do I owe it? To no church, to no preacher, to no college. I owe it to the mother who bore me. Now in all this blood counts as well as spirit, and blood and spirit must be trained and tried by arduous discipline.

I have seen a wonderful change come over the feeling of the English churches touching the training of the ministry. The colleges apart from Mansfield have federated themselves into a *senatus academicus*, and hold common examinations, testing all the choicest men reared in their respective borders. Why did we in the face of the persecution of centuries and of a hundred things which bade men of independent birth and independent blood beware of such a great university of Oxford, build Mansfield College? Why, it was for this: We had contended for generations that the universities were the national possession, that they ought to be opened to the whole people. How could they be used unless we who claimed and pleaded that they should be opened entered in, prepared to take our share of the burden, our share of the work, and fulfill in a measure the responsibility resting upon us? Out of that feeling and impulse shared by multitudes within our churches came Mansfield College. Certain things it laid down at the outset. One of them was this, and I commend it to you. Every man who is allowed to begin the study of theology in Mansfield must be a graduate or have passed the examination for graduation of a recognized university. We have no difficulty in getting men, though the test is a hard one. For, mark you, graduation is not putting in so much time at college; graduation means that a man has passed a certain standard of examination — for in spite of my friend Dr. Taylor, competitive examination is the life of education. These men are tried, therefore,

in the same arena with the choicest men destined for all professions,— the men intended for law, for literature, for medicine, for science, for the civil service at home and abroad; these are the men with whom our students compete. And we welcome into Mansfield College men who have competed with these men in the honorable academic arena — men who have competed and prevailed. That I commend to you. The tendency to bring the seminary within the university, to discover how the one can come into the other and live there through its life, that is good for the seminary. Then we have our lowest term, which is three years, and our average term, which is four years, the period which most men stay with us. If you ask them, "How do you manage about literature?" they will say, "Oh, we have our literary societies; they belong not to this college or this body of men, but they belong to the university. Men from all colleges join them and there we are forced to hold our own in literary discussions." "And how do you learn social philosophy?" "Oh, we have Mansfield House Settlement in London and our men go down there and stand face to face with the dark problems. They look at them with their own eyes and try to deal with them with their own hands, and they learn more of social philosophy and social problems in one term at Mansfield House than in any number of curricula under any number of professors."

Brethren, I come to speak on this matter in the interests of theology. I want it to resume its high and noble place. There are certain names that in England lift you up and set you on a high preëminence. Foremost among these stands a man who bore the name of Jonathan Edwards, and who is known on our side as he is honored on yours. And what was your eminence in the days of Cotton and of Cotton Mather and of Increase Mather and all the great family of Puritan divines and their descendants? What was your honor and distinction in the days when these places were sacred to religion and to the highest religious thought? Keep that your honor still. Nurse your colleges; broaden them; send out competent scholars and thinkers; and then do not nag at them by jealous suspicion. Of all the things in regard to which I feel a burden and responsibility in life, the greatest is this: to take the son from his family, the child from his church, and lay the hands of my spirit upon him and try to fashion him into other and higher, as it seems to me, spiritual uses. And if, charged with a responsibility higher and larger than the flesh can bear, one is at the same time subjected to ignorant, whispering, nagging criticism, what brave man can stand it? Create your seminaries; endow and equip them; bring them into the life of the university; enlist your strongest and bravest sons. Let every mother say, "My pride shall be to be the mother of a preacher." Let every father say, "I shall not allow my name to descend without one of my sons occupying some honored pulpit." Then, with the nurture of the home, the church and the college, you will send out an army that shall bear aloft its banner, clear as the moon, fair as the sun, and terrible as the banner of God.

It was also the intention of the committee to introduce Prof. George F. Moore, D.D., of Massachusetts, to speak in behalf of the American theological seminaries, but on account of the lateness of the hour his address was postponed until the next day.

The morning session was brought to a close with the benediction by the Rev. Arthur Little, D.D., of Massachusetts, and recess was taken till 2.30 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session was called to order at the usual hour by Vice-President L. D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D.

The hymn "Oh, spirit of the living God" was sung.

Resolution on Disturbances in Samoa

Dr. Bevan presented a resolution relative to disturbances in Samoa, which was referred, without reading, to the business committee.

Address

Mrs. Elkanah Armitage, of England, delivered an address on Woman's Work.

ADDRESS BY MRS. ELKANAH ARMITAGE

WOMAN'S WORK

It is not my intention to-day to discuss any special methods of Christian work. I am too imperfectly acquainted with the Congregationalism of the United States and of the English colonies to dream of talking about methods to people who could probably give us suggestions in any branch of Christian effort. I had much better confine myself to general principles.

The church is an institution for forming character. The end of the church, like the end of man, is the glory of God; but the glory of God is shown most of all in redeemed human character. Women have an immense sphere for forming character in the home life. But it would be absurd to ignore that the greatest of all the changes which the nineteenth century has brought has been the entrance of the disinherited classes into a measure at least of political power and of educational opportunities, and that this revolution is widening the sphere of women, both in the world and the church, in an undreamed-of way. It is the spread of democracy, and emphatically of Christian democracy, which is doing this. It is of supreme interest to us, who have now the honor to be your guests, to note the triumph of Puritan ideas on this great continent, of ideas which were originally brought here, not by the French Revolution or by the disciples of Jean Jacques Rousseau, but by the Separatist churches of the seventeenth century.

To many people the word Puritan suggests only the negations of Puritanism; its "Touch not, taste not, handle not;" its frown on innocent pleasures; its carping over trifles which it magnified into crimes. Thus a great English statesman said in public not long ago that if there was anything which he detested, it was the spirit of Puritanism, — forgeting that the asceticism and the narrowness and the intolerance of Puritanism were faults which it had in common with all the religious life of its age, and from which it could only gradually shake itself free. But when we, the children of the Puritans, speak of Puritanism, we do not mean its short-sighted and short-lived negations, but its great and abiding affirmations.

It affirmed that every human soul has direct access to God, without the mediation of any priest or ritual; and that every human soul is directly responsible to God, and cannot shift the responsibility on to any other.

These great Puritan ideas are the root-ideas from which the modern Anglo-Saxon democracy sprang. For when you declare that all human beings stand on the same platform before God, you have a true basis for human equality, and, indeed, there is no other basis; and when you declare that every human soul is directly responsible to God, you not only touch the springs of personal initiative by awakening personal responsibility, but you affirm that every human soul has a right to development,—a right, that is, to obey God by following his law of development.

Just lately, a book has been attracting a good deal of attention in France, whose title is: "What is the Reason of the Superiority of the Anglo-Saxons?" The writer notes that all over the globe the Anglo-Saxons are becoming the masters, that they succeed in the work of conquest and colonization, while the Latin races fail; and he comes to the conclusion that the reason is that the Latin races are trained to look to the family and the state for all initiative, and so are kept permanently in leading strings, while the Anglo-Saxon, on the other hand, is trained to depend only on himself, and thus the personal initiative, which is the secret of the success of nations, is developed to the utmost. No doubt this is true as far as it goes, but M. Desmolins overlooks one important fact, that the Anglo-Saxon, and especially the Anglo-Saxon of the free churches, who has played such a great part in the colonization of the new worlds, has had a religion which, by setting him face to face with God, alone, and responsible, has been a most powerful factor in quickening that individual initiative which he rightly judges to be the secret of Anglo-Saxon greatness. Whereas a man who commits the direction of his character to a priest, weakens his own moral initiative and his will power.

Puritan religion appeals to the will, to the fully developed personality. America has been said to be the country of will; but the writer who said so failed to trace the intimate connection between this will power and the old Puritan training.

And it was inevitable that the Puritan democratic idea should work out in the emancipation of women. They too were at last seen to be human souls, directly related to God and responsible to him. And thus we have reached those great changes of the nineteenth century, the opening of the higher opportunities of education, and of a share in public life, to women. More and more we are verging to a state of things in which a woman will be free to succeed in any career she chooses, if only she has the ability. I am not going to make any such mistake as to attempt to say where this revolution ought to stay. It is inevitable as the law of evolution itself; and depend upon it that Nature contains within herself her own safeguards for her own evolution.

But can we not see that this enlargement of the education and of the sphere of women comes exactly at a time when the problems of the world and the church demand all the wisdom and knowledge and sympathetic understanding that can be brought to bear on them? And it is largely because of the immensity of these problems that women are being pressed into the public service, in a way that would have made our grandmothers shudder.

Both America and England and her colonies have this vast problem to work out, how to Christianize the democracy. There are many people now who tell us that democracy is a failure. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that no country has as yet succeeded in establishing an ideal working democracy. Certainly the old Liberal creed, that you have

only to give a man free institutions to make him a free man, and worthy of freedom, has proved itself a mistake. But we believe in democracy because we are Christians, and heirs of the great Puritan tradition. We believe that every human being has his calling of God to develop in his image; and, believing that that calling can only be taken up and obeyed by free personal choice, we cannot believe that any members of the race are intended to be kept permanently in leading strings. We do not believe in a heathen democracy, where the selfish struggle for life is the only law. It is for the church to make democracy a success by making it a Christian democracy. And, such being the greatness of the task, what is the special part of women in it? What can women do for the salvation of the people, for the building of the city of God among the free nations of the future?

I should like to think that the influence of women on the new democracy of the future might resemble the influence of St. Francis of Assisi on the history of the church, which was in the best sense of the word a feminine influence. He and his followers made religion human, in those dark times when the church seemed to have forgotten her mission. They lived in fellowship with suffering humanity, and in fellowship with nature; and they brought men back to nature. They saw their brethren and sisters in all mankind, and in all God's beautiful world they reverenced his handiwork. And thus, in spite of their poverty and asceticism, beauty sprang up in their footsteps. Art entered on new life as she strove to paint the scenes of gospel history, made pictorial for the first time by the simple, homely, *human* language of the Franciscan preacher. Men looked on the flowers of the field, "our sweet sisters, the flowers," as St. Francis called them, and saw for the first time that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. And behold, the stone work of church and minster began to blossom into lovely wreaths on capital and architrave; the grotesque ornament of earlier times disappeared before fairer patterns, sought from the humble meadows and woods of the craftsman's home. And the very effigies of the dead underwent a change from the new spirit. They no longer draw the sword in defiance of death, but, with hands folded meekly in prayer, wait their doom in humility and faith. And the crowning fruit of the Franciscan influence was the great poet who sang of the love of man for woman as a thing not of earth only, but of heaven, and thus lifted it out of the dust and mire of the barbarian ages into its native air.

Now, should it not be a special province of women to make religion human, and to spread its sweet humanities as a savor of life unto life, in the midst of the ferment of the democracy of the future? Surely we make no exaggerated claim for women in saying that they have already shown their capacity for doing this. Has it not generally been the mother who has taught the child his relationship to the great divine Father and the dear Brother and Redeemer in a way so simple, but yet so solemn and real, that for the whole of his after life it was a reality to him? The Christian religion is mainly a relationship; it is the fellowship of the Father and the Son and the Spirit. Anthropomorphism, if you like; but we have no other measure of the divine than the human; and yet we are capable of conceiving relationships which transcend the human, and of molding human relationships on a pattern in the heavens. If St. Francis made religion human, it was because he saw the divine everywhere around him. Tolstoi, in his novel, "Anna Karenina," describes how astonished his hero was to find that the peasants and the women who lived around him, and who were perpetually dealing with the realities of sickness and sorrow and death, were not afraid of these things, while he

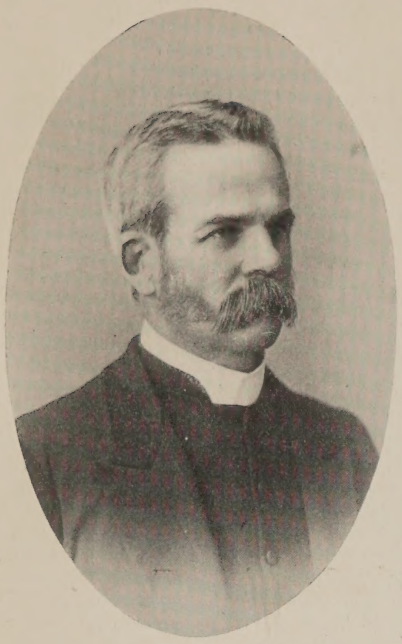
himself was horribly in fear of them, and dreaded to see any one die. They had the simple idealism of faith, which made them able to handle even the most cruel realities without fear, because they saw the heavenly side of them.

And because I believe that women have a special aptitude for this idealism of faith, I do not regard it as more than a passing phase that so many women at the present day have completely thrown off their allegiance to the Christian creed, some riding forth to save the world on cardboard horses of theory, others falling victims to some one of the thousand crazes of this restless age, only to change it next month for a new one, ever seeking for some new Abana or Pharpar in which to bathe, and certain only of one thing, that in the waters of Israel there is no longer any virtue to be found. It was inevitable that the widening of woman's horizon in this century should be accompanied by some of the shocks and sorrows without which no revolution can be brought about. But if there is such a reality as the relationship of the human heart to the heart of God, then, sooner or later, the womanly heart will find its way back to that relationship, and then the finer educational opportunities and the larger entrance into life which are now open to woman will only help to widen her outlook and to give sanity to her judgment.

And may not women, by holding fast their own faith in Christian ideals, help to save the Anglo-Saxon democracies of the future from the mistake which is made, for example, by so many French critics of Anglo-Saxon success, the mistake of thinking that that success has been won merely by hard common sense, and unscrupulous pushing, and exclusive devotion to material ends? The Pilgrim Fathers were idealists of the most ardent kind, and it was largely because they were so that they founded the great American empire. In the splendid national art gallery of New York you have Bastien Le Page's noble picture of the dreamer who saved France; and that dreamer was a woman. We cannot all dream on so splendid a scale; but it may be the work of all of us to see the heavenly vision that lies hidden behind the commonplaces of daily life. To nourish such visions, to feel and maintain the sacredness of common things, of common relationships, of daily experiences, is a function for which women should be peculiarly fitted. I have seen people riding in a railway carriage through beautiful country, absorbed in reading some silly tale, while nature was unfolding before them a lovely panorama of mountain and stream and woodland. Alas, thus do too many of us ride through life, indifferent to the great moral perspectives to which our words and actions might be linked. Where there is no vision, the people perish. Let us hold fast to our visions. Let us hold fast to the visions of our forefathers, interpreting them in accordance with the needs of our own times and countries.

And certainly a democratic age will make great demands on the idealism of faith, in many ways. It is not always easy to believe that every man is a brother. It demands faith to see the image of God in human faces which are degraded by sin. It is not by reasoning but by love that such a faith in human possibilities is reached. The democracy of the future will need all the forces of sympathy and love which are stored in women to fulfill its own ideals.

And may it not be the special province of women to keep alive those virtues which a democratic age is likely to neglect? Such virtues as humility, for example. In that wonderful storehouse of Christian common sense, the "Lives of the Fathers of the Desert," it is related that St. Anthony, having fled to the desert from the temptations of the world, found that the desert also had its own temptations. And one night he saw in a vision the whole earth covered with the gins and snares of the



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enemy, and he cried in anguish, "Lord, what shall save a man from perils as thick as these?" And a voice from heaven answered him, "Humility, O Anthony, humility!" How can humility flourish in a society where every man is pushing and striving with all his might to be foremost in the struggle for life? Yet the very ugliness of this struggle, the ugliness of human character without humility, throws us back on Christian ideals. Whether the democracy succeeds or not, the Christian ideal of character must be realized. I do not say that humility is a virtue for women only; I think it is the crowning grace of a man; but certainly it is easier to women than to men, and should be held by women as a pearl of great price, which has been specially committed to their keeping.

Yet I am far from thinking that these realities of character are easily reached. It is no light thing to be good. Women are not saviours of the world; they are poor human sinners, beset by human temptations. The secret of St. Francis' influence was learned in the school of Christ by penitence and self-surrender; and this is the true school for us all. We none of us get to the rock on which our religious life may be surely built till we know that we are sinners, and are glad to touch the hem of his garment. Life is made very easy and pleasant, to-day, for many women. While some are more and more involved in the struggle for bread, there are others who seem to have nothing to do but to drain one cup of pleasure after another. We have dropped, to-day, the negations of Puritanism; we no longer think well of its asceticism; we are in no danger of trying to please God by rejecting his good gifts; but the necessity for self-sacrifice will still offer itself continually, if the will of God is to be done on earth. "Go where thou wilt, seek whatsoever way thou canst," said Thomas à Kempis, "still shalt thou find the cross." The women who followed Jesus on earth did not forsake him at the cross, or betray him in the judgment-hall. Will they be as faithful in the future? Will they ever deem it their highest reward to hear the heavenly voice, which says, "O daughter, great is thy faith"? If they are thus faithful, they will count among the regenerative forces of the future. What great things women may yet do I do not venture to predict; but, in the changes which the twentieth century may bring, I trust their eyes may be fixed on *being* rather than on *doing*, and that they will never forget that the greatest of all functions which a woman can perform for the commonwealth is to be a *nourisher* of great hopes and lofty ideals, and that this may be the function of the least among us, as well as of the greatest.

Address

Miss Margaret J. Evans, A.M., L.H.D., of Minnesota, Professor of English Literature and Dean of the Women's Department at Carleton College, Northfield, followed Mrs. Armitage with an address on the same general subject, Woman's Work.

Address by Miss M. J. Evans, A.M., L.H.D.

WOMAN'S WORK: A CHANGE OF EMPHASIS NEEDED

I

In an old Roman palace hangs a picture of two women facing each other. One, with jewels in her braided and ringletted hair, with one hand toys with the transparent veil which floats over her gay garments;

with the other hand she holds up a little flower. She looks out at the spectator, and every line of her shapely, complacent face says: "Behold me, and the flower which I have plucked." The other woman, in a sober, religious garb, and with thoughtful face, has one hand on the arm of her companion; with the other hand, she, as she gazes wistfully into futurity, points upward. The picture is Da Vinci's conception of Vanity and Modesty. It would indeed be vanity — emptiness — for us as women to hold up for admiration to-day our little flower. Deeds may be trumpet-tongued. In our words we would rather emulate Omar's lily: "With ten well-developed tongues, the lily never speaks." But even Modesty gazes into the future, and we, too, ask what is before us.

II

Women constitute a large majority in the membership of the Christian church, and are by this fact responsible for her prosperity. Not only by their numbers, but by their activity and interest they may decide the prevailing tone and atmosphere of the church. After deducting much for traditional timidity, for any possible lack of independence of opinion, for habitual unwillingness on the part of women to accept leadership, it must still be acknowledged that they cannot evade the responsibility of being a decisive factor in the condition and work of the church.

Of the aggressive work of the Protestant churches, Dr. Lyman Whiting collates for us glad facts: The world's total of missionary societies is three hundred. The English and American societies expended last year about thirteen million dollars. The last roll of missionaries numbers eleven thousand six hundred and fifty-nine. When this country began, in all the world one hundred and seventy persons only were in foreign missionary service; now twelve thousand, or seventy-three fold increase. Dr. Dorchester shows that the increase of Christians is nearly three times the increase in population. The increase has also been three times that of the great religions of the world, the increase being of Islams thirty-two per cent.; of Jews, thirty-three per cent.; of the Roman Catholics, ninety-five per cent.; of the Greek church, one hundred and eighty-three per cent.; and the increase of the Protestant churches, two hundred and sixty-three per cent.

As a denomination of American churches, the blessing of increase has been given also. Our missionaries now number five hundred and forty-three. Dr. F. E. Clark assures us that in the three denominations which have welcomed most heartily the Christian Endeavor societies, the accessions on confession of faith during the last ten years have more than doubled. Another estimates the increase as fifty per cent.

The Christian church, as a whole, is doubtless directly or indirectly the real inspiration and support of most of the philanthropic enterprises of the age. The church is, too, the great conservator of morality. Beyond dispute the church represents also the highest spiritual life, as well as the most aggressive enterprises for the salvation of the world. Yet neither in growth nor in spirituality can the church boast of high attainments.

Looking at the actual situation in the churches and their communities, the empty pews, the few additions in comparison with the unchurched masses, the growing disregard of the Sabbath, the non-observance of family prayers, the apparent diminution of private devotion, the lack of response to sermons, the worldliness which eats like a canker in all our hearts — every thoughtful Christian must be perplexed, if not cast down.

A recent writer says: "It will be conceded by many that the controlling desire of the Christian world to-day is not to attain to the spiritual life."

One may honestly doubt whether a high degree of spiritual life is always or generally the result of our present church methods or life. An old negro, in reciting Cowper's line:

> Judge not the Lord by feeble sense,

rendered it:

> Judge not the Lord by feeble saints,

to which all may eagerly say "Amen!"

Yet it is evident that the churches, in number large enough to be appalling, exhaust their energies in endeavoring to secure the spiritual culture of their members. They attempt nothing farther. Many of them say in frank Saxon, "We have all we can do, and more, too, to support ourselves." These churches struggle pitifully to pay the pastor's salary and the running expenses of the church, for the sake of the church. Their highest aim is — making no accusation of worldly motives — to secure the spiritual edification of those who support them; and they fail to secure any high degree of edification, after all the struggle.

We are told that five sixths of the members of our churches manifest no practical interest in anything outside of their own local churches; that two thirds even of the women of the church take no active part in other Christian enterprises; that as a denomination we give less than a dollar apiece for the salvation of heathen nations. It is as evident as disheartening that a large proportion of our churches are so absorbed in the struggle for existence that they have no strength for anything else. At the end of the year they are where they were at the beginning. Even in the lives of the members, they can show few results which may be counted as actual gain, and they have attempted nothing else. It suggests the Illinois farmers of old days who "bought land to raise corn to feed stock to sell to buy more land to raise more corn to feed more stock to sell to buy," etc. Does the empty song repeat itself? Women cannot evade responsibility for the unsatisfactory conditions.

In the ruins of Baalbec lies on the ground, almost detached, the largest carved statue in the world. Near by, in the temple of the Sun, is the empty niche destined for it. When will the Christian church take her rightful place?

III

The church has three great functions: that of sacramental remembrance, of the edification of its members and their families, and of evangelization. The early church emphasized evangelization.

In that germ of the Christian church, the association of Jesus with his disciples, it is evident that, although they learned daily from the Master, they placed the chief emphasis upon evangelization. The disciples met to listen to the great Preacher, to pray and praise together, and, at the Passover, to keep their rite of sacramental observance. But there can be no doubt that from first to last the stress in their associated life was laid upon that thought which led Peter and James to leave all and follow him: "Come ye after me, and I will make you fishers of men," and "Henceforth ye shall take alive men."

The apostolic church emphasized evangelization. Sacramental remembrance was enjoined upon them at the Last Supper. The two other functions of the church were impressed upon them at the Ascension: that of spiritual edification in, "Ye shall receive power"; that of evangelization in, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me . . . unto the uttermost part of the earth." But the Scripture account leaves no doubt that, in the mind of

the ascending Lord, the emphasis was upon the witnessing, and that the power promised was given that the church might be witnesses unto the uttermost part of the earth.

Yet the men and women of this early church, with passions like ours, needed another lesson concerning the place of emphasis in its three functions. Then to Peter was sent the vision from heaven, and the reception of Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, into the church, placed forever for loyal hearts the emphasis in church functions upon evangelization. The results are historic. Professor Stokes well says of the great difference in the church's life and activity before and after the conversion of Cornelius: "The admission of the Gentile satisfied the unconscious cravings of the church . . . and we read no more of mere desultory efforts, but of increasing, indefatigable, skillfully directed labor, because the church had at last been taught of God that her great task was to make all men know the riches hidden in Christ Jesus."

The growth of the church in the first three centuries indicates the effect of the emphasis then placed upon evangelization. At the end of the first century the little church had increased to not far from five hundred thousand members; at the end of the second century, to two millions; at the end of the third, to five millions. Some authorities give ten millions for the number of Christians in A.D. 325. This was nearly one tenth of the entire population of the Roman empire, and included a large part of the population of all the cities. As we know, soon the name of villager or agriculturist became the equivalent of pagan and heathen. There were few or no paid missionaries, but every Christian merchant, artisan, sailor, or servant was an evangelist.

Other results were in accord with spiritual law. The apostolic church did not neglect the other two functions of the church. The emphasis upon evangelization inevitably resulted in the advancement of the other objects of the church. There was every week the rite of sacramental observance; and the members of the church were so built up that for Christ's sake they remained steadfast, although they were "tortured, not accepting deliverance; they had trials of mockings and scourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments, being destitute, afflicted, evil entreated." A sturdy Christianity indeed! Can the church show for its centuries of devotion to the spiritual development of its members any richer result? The evangelistic, apostolic church was a spiritually developed one. In all succeeding ages, the church has not only grown, but prospered within, as it has put Bible emphasis upon evangelization; while devotion to spiritual culture has resulted only in a hermit sainthood, or that of a St. Simeon Stylites, which may say:

> I, 'tween the spring and downfall of the light,
> Bow down one thousand and two hundred times
> To Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints.

The Brahmin was right when he said to a missionary, the best representative of the church: "We are finding you out. You are not so good as your Book. If you were as good as your Book, you could conquer India in five years."

IV

That the church as a whole is to-day putting the chief emphasis upon the spiritual edification of her members, and not upon evangelization, few will deny. In the Sabbath services — how they are services in any real sense of the word "service" is hard to see, — thought is concentrated

upon the growth in grace, the spiritual comfort and nurture of the attendants, and the sermon is directed chiefly to mature Christians. In the midweek gathering, our aspirations are voiced — three weeks at least out of four — in "Abide with me." In the social life of the church, it is generally those of the church's families who are drawn together. The same note is struck in the religious life of the family. In contributions, how many churches give as much for broad evangelization as for their own expenses? In all the activities of the church, attention is so largely fixed upon the church itself that outsiders seldom think of it as having any other object for existence.

The churches themselves frequently, perhaps generally, look upon missionary sermons, secretaries' appeals, and reports of progress in God's kingdom, as episodes in the great epic of church life, and come back with relief from these so-called "outside things" to the main story.

That all churches and all members do not take this attitude is evident from the growth in missionary interest, but that this is the common attitude can hardly be gainsayed.

Children sometimes amuse themselves, and puzzle their companions, by the recitation of certain lines wherein familiar words and expressions are made unintelligible to the uninitiated by a change of stress of voice on words or lines, as in: "In pineta'ris, in mudeel' is." By this process of transference of stress, the most familiar words lose their significance, and become puzzles.

A similar unnatural change of emphasis in the living statement by the church of its mission has apparently deprived the statement also of much of its original significance. The removal of emphasis in the objects of the church from evangelization to edification has resulted in slight edification, little evangelization, and great practical difficulties. A saint who is only a saint is not a saint. A church which orders its life chiefly for the saving of its own life exemplifies the truth: "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it." A church which thinks and plans and prays and gives chiefly for the church is not usually eminent for spirituality. Nay, more, a church which thinks, plans, prays, and gives chiefly for running expenses and the so-called "support" of its pastor, so develops the natural tendency of its members to become self-centered that it defeats its own pecuniary object. Then by many the payment of their share of the expenses for their own spiritual nurture, food, and raiment comes to be regarded as benevolence, gifts to the Lord, to be given grudgingly or withheld at pleasure. Lack of training in giving for the evangelization of the world leads directly and quickly to lack of readiness to bear the expenses of the church itself. On the other hand, a church trained to consider evangelization its most important mission, and to contribute liberally for that object, seldom has difficulty in providing for its own needs. God's blessing rests upon such a church. Moreover, few Christians contribute as much as they are able to do for the support of the church or for the evangelization of the unsaved. Trained to give for God's plans, they recognize more willingly other demands.

V

Undue emphasis upon edification has had most baneful results upon the position and work of woman in the church. Her place and activity as portrayed in the early church have become something quite different. Even Judas did not ask why the contents of Mary's alabaster box were not sold to buy a new synagogue carpet! Joanna and Susanna "ministered unto him of their substance," but they wasted no energies over the

frescoing of the upper chamber. Lydia may have used some of her rare purple for the church which she began at Philippi, but Paul commended the women of that church and asked coöperation with them because, he said, "They labored with me in the gospel"; as Tryphena and Tryphosa and Persis the beloved "labored with me in the Lord."

In the modern church, much of the work of women has become trivial and undignified; it exhausts all their energies without due compensation; it is often unbusiness-like and wasteful from a material point of view; it is usually burdensome and galling to women themselves, and finds a grudging response from others of the church, who consider the work petty and unworthy.

Some of the labor which custom and tradition have assigned to women is not in itself unworthy. The most fastidious Rough Rider did not disdain to do even scavenger work for his Cuban camp, and thus transmuted homely tasks to heroism; but he did it that the army might advance to victory and conquest. Woman's work too often puts her among the sutlers and camp-followers.

It is the motive which dignifies all noble labor. So long as the purpose of woman's work is chiefly to minister to the edification of the church, so long will it inevitably tend to degenerate into ministrations for the material comfort or æsthetic pleasure of herself and others, and so long will her work lack dignity. When she realizes, and enables the church of which she is the larger fraction to realize, that the chief object of the church is not to absorb the spiritual food now disdained for very plethora, but to use acquired strength in the onward march to victory, then will she redeem her work from frivolity and reproach.

A pastor says of a church carpet that it apparently cost eight hundred dollars, but that, counting the work and worry of the women, the hearing and seeing involved in the entertainments, the illnesses contracted from the nervous strain, the return of the patronage of other denominations, and, most costly of all, the demoralization of the church and the curtailment of legitimate giving, the carpet really cost four thousand dollars. The most costly part of the demoralization was doubtless in the degradation of the ideal of woman's work. Her mission, as that of the entire church, is to devote her powers to bringing the unsaved in her home, in her community, in her nation, and in the whole world, to Christ. All labor which does not conduce to this perverts a means to an end.

The church carpet, the frescoes of the walls, the new furniture, the appliances for the social life, domestic interests, may well be cared for by the oversight of the women of the church, but the cost of these things is, as in a private home, a part of the running expenses for the personal comfort and pride of those who enjoy them, and should be provided for as such, with the fuel and the insurance. To exhaust women's energies to procure these things is a worse waste of power than the traditional use of force enough to drive a pile-driver in pinning on a bow of ribbon.

God has given us deeply religious natures, finest spiritual perceptions, intensity of highest emotion, capacities for noblest service; and we, like a woman who makes a doll of her child and calls her motive love, spend these noble gifts on the ruffles and gewgaws of the church's garments! "'T is vanity, not love, sets love a task like that."

Further, the necessity for replacement forbids any end to this waste of power. Every participator in such work sympathizes with the little girl bidden, in some household emergency, to fry the griddle-cakes for breakfast. After cheerful but brief labor, she came in with the declaration, "I 'm not going to fry another one. They eat 'em up as fast as I fry 'em!"

So far and only so far as the griddle-cakes activity of the women of the

church is transmuted into life, into the life which manifests itself in labor, not in mere feeding, is it worthy. Emphasis upon the direct ministry of love to him who longs more for the soul of one lost sheep than for the satiety or comfort of nine hundred and ninety-nine Jeshurans will give the activity worthiness.

VI

A transference of emphasis to evangelization in its fullest significance is needed in pulpit and pews. Women have responsibility for securing this transference. The pulpit, although it has its own individuality, responds in large measure to the demands of the pews. Hence, "Help those brethren" to a transference of emphasis in the themes of the pulpit, is also to the majority in the pews a timely injunction.

At present in most — or the best — of our churches, of the hundred and four Sabbath services, six Sabbaths of the year are devoted to sacramental remembrance, seven or eight are given to a presentation by the pastor, missionary, or secretary, of the great missionary enterprises of the church; a few services may be consecrated to evangelistic appeals to the unconverted; the evangelistic *spirit* is manifest in other sermons; the gospel invitation is included in the presentation of many themes; there is generally in the pastor's prayers a postscript for the coming of God's kingdom. But, judging from observation and published reports of sermons even in our best pulpits, with a few exceptions, seventy-five per cent. of the pulpit themes and of the emphasis of the church services have in view the spiritual edification of the church and of its guests. Out of a hundred and four sermons, eighty-four for our own comfort and growth, and twenty for God's great plans!

It is doubtless true that there is no longer in the pulpit the old separation between secular and sacred themes; but the separation between the presentation of God's desire for the salvation of the individual soul and of his desire for the conversion of the world still exists. Yet Mr. Hugh Price Hughes voices the theory and ideal of the Christian pulpit: "The primary duty of the church minister is not to comfort and edify the church, but to preach the gospel to the unconverted. Let Christians edify one another." The Christian pulpit, that "modern throne of power," has, as its great opportunity, the manifestation of its belief in this "primary duty of the church minister," by preaching to the unconverted, and by arousing the church to evangelistic endeavor for the unsaved about them and in the world. So far as women are, in any sense or degree, the earthly "power behind the throne" of the pulpit, their opportunity is to secure this practical restatement, with fitting emphasis, of the great functions of the church.

With the transfer of emphasis, the morning service will help the great mass of the "uninterested," who are gathered only there, to see their privileges as co-laborers with God, and, instead of providing, as now, spiritual pabulum for those grown fastidious as summer boarders, it will add to the church daily. The evening service will never lack timely themes. The prayer-meeting will lose its self-centered life to save its spirit. The edification of the church will not be neglected, but secured, through active evangelization.

Professor Hunt's recent article in the *Homiletic Review*, on "The Decline of the Pews," draws attention to the semi-serious doubt in the pews, the coquetting with error, the hypercritical spirit in listening to preaching, the unreasonable demands upon the pulpit. His statement, among others, that "the great need is . . . more faith in the divine institution and mission of the Christian church," finds corroboration in

similar expressions everywhere; such as that the Lord is limited in his work by the unfaithfulness of the church to its responsibilities and possibilities; that the churches are timid in undertaking great work, in attempting to reach non-church attendants in their communities, many churches giving no thought to this; that few churches are entering into the wider missionary work in a way at all adequate to the promises of power to back them in such enterprises; that any pastor will say that one third of his members only make up the praying and working force; that half the population of this country never sets foot within a church. Such utterances from thoughtful and observant writers surely indicate more than the inevitable dissatisfaction with human frailty and imperfection.

When these expressions are put forth, with the fact that last year the number of additions to our Congregational churches, from the labors of 625,864 church members, was only 2,370 — and with the fact that last year our expenditures for ourselves increased by $173,813, while our gifts to all benevolences decreased by $525,405 — what shall we say of our concentration of effort upon the edification of the church?

Ought the strength of a family to be exhausted in taking its food?

Necessity may seem to compel new churches untrained in the Lord's work to exhaust their energies upon themselves instead of using them for the Lord's plans; but what shall we say of mature Christians in a mature church, whose music and ministrations for themselves cost more than their missions for our Father's purposes?

A little dumb girl was last winter brought to St. Paul to meet her father, whom she had not seen since she had entered the school for the deaf and dumb. When she opened those dumb lips, from which he had never heard an intelligible word, and uttered, as she had been newly taught, the word "Fath-er!" his sobs of joy aroused contagious sympathy in every one present. The childish utterance, "Abba, Father," rejoices our Father, but he expects mature deeds from his older children. The church in the early ages of Christianity did not linger in the first stages of growth.

The transference of emphasis is needed for this materialistic age. Luther's age needed emphasis upon that truth flashed upon him as he knelt on those marble stairs at Rome, and made them forever sacred by trampling superstition under his feet, and walking down them as he repeated it: "The just shall live by faith." But, as I saw, on one Good Friday, the stairs covered with hundreds of sobbing penitents, and watched their feverish kisses and embraces bestowed upon the figure of the crucifix at the top of the stairs, the conviction came that we all, in every age, need Luther's experience: "When any one comes and knocks at the door of my heart and asks, 'Who lives here?' I reply, 'Martin Luther used to, but he has moved out, and Jesus Christ lives here.'" No longer I, but Christ Jesus! The mind in Christ Jesus longs for the time when every tongue shall confess him. Since "work for man must be done by man," that time will come when the heart of the church is set chiefly upon evangelization.

The transference of emphasis from edification to evangelization would manifest the difference between Christianity and other religions. I heard Canon Gore once sum up his experiences in India by saying that the difficulty of introducing Christianity among the Hindus arose from their lack of three essential characteristics which Christianity produced, — a sense of individual responsibility, a working instead of a worshiping religion, and a consciousness of the brotherhood of man.

The three characteristics of the Christian religion bring their responsibility to the women as to the men of our churches. The "Each one of you shall give an account of himself," "Be ye doers of the word," "All ye

are brethren," find adequate manifestation only in emphasis upon the main function of the church.

The transference of emphasis to evangelization would make another appeal not now strongly urged to those outside the church. Dr. Lyman Whiting narrates the choice, three hundred years ago, by the Austrian emperor as his monogram of the vowels a-e-i-o-u, the initials of the Latin sentence, *Austria est imperare orbi universo*, "Austria is to rule the world." He points out an evident truth when he says: "The aspiration, the strain of the *imperare universo* is very deeply rooted, yea, quite inborn in the soul of man. . . . A dominion-seeker would be a quite correct ethical definition of man. It is in him because behind him there is a divine and sovereign personality infusing man's moral nature. That is the power which is to have dominion from sea to sea, and to the ends of the earth. Into humanity that imperial impulse has come."

The call to heroic action draws noble natures; it drew the first disciples; it drew Paul when Ananias was bidden, "Show him what great thing he must suffer." The appeal to the dominion-seeker in man fills our armies and our noble posts everywhere. The appeal, "Come to conquer the world for Christ," would draw into the church many noble men and women who now refuse to come for the fellowship of the saints there.

The practical transference of emphasis would give breadth to our branch of the church of Christ. Fifty years ago Miss Barrett wrote to Mr. Browning that she always went to the nearest dissenting chapel of the Congregationalists "from liking the simplicity of that praying and speaking without books . . . and a little, too, from disliking the theory of 'state churches,'" and she adds: "There is a narrowness among the dissenters which is wonderful; an arid, gray Puritanism in the clefts of their souls; but it seems to me clear that they know what the liberty of Christ means far better . . . and stand together as a body on higher ground."

The fifty years have brought breadth, and made music, art, and poetry, warmth of passion and love of the beautiful, aids to the development of Christian life; and we have kept, too, the liberty of Christ and the higher ground. But how the narrowness of sectarian jealousy, of ignorance of the noble work of other denominations, of rivalry between one benevolent society and another, and between the men and women in Christian work, would pass away from among us, were the main, instead of the secondary, stress in our church life placed upon broad evangelization, and if we knew all Christian workers as friends and allies who help us to attain our ends! How emphasis on evangelization would lead to broader, deeper spirituality!

VII.

From the transference of emphasis would result certain special blessings in women's missionary work. It would change the motive from pity to loyalty and love. Pity was a strong motive in the organization of women's missionary societies. When Luther's daughter died, he tried to console his weeping wife with the thought of what the little girl had escaped by death: "Don't take on so, Kate," he said; "this is a hard world for women."

Pity for the women of the false religions, for whom this is indeed a hard world, has aroused us; pity for their unutterable physical suffering, for their ignorance and mental vacuity, for their slavery, their utter darkness and hopelessness.

But pity is an ephemeral emotion and wears itself out. Pity necessitates, too, a knowledge of conditions, and that is difficult to diffuse among

the masses in our churches. Pity is also an emotion which, if inadequately expressed in action, is weakening to character.

A motive stronger than pity may be urged in missionary work — enthusiasm for our Leader, and love and loyalty to him. The great mass of the women of our churches are quite frank in declaring, "I am not interested in foreign missions — or in home missions," as the case may be. "These heathen women or these degraded women are not attractive to me." But no loyal or loving woman may say: "I am not interested in the chief object of the church which I have voluntarily joined, or indifferent to the Christ-given plan for that church." Of the labor and effort required to build "this church to the Christ of God," we can only say: "We have promised, and dare we the vow recall? To do it because we love him, we love him, and that is all." Love and loyalty and sacred obligation, as well as pity, urge that our best energies go to the evangelization of God's whole world.

VIII

Women may accomplish, if they will, the change of emphasis in their own work, if not in that of the whole church.

A German landlady told me of once overhearing a celebrated actress practice for an entire day on one line of Schiller's "Mary Stuart." It was that line in which Mary answers her companion's remonstrances upon her gaiety over her temporary release from prison with the words: "Lass mich ein Kind sein, sei est mit!" "Let me be a child, be one with me." All day long the actress practiced this line, shifting the stress from one word to another in her effort to secure the correct emphasis for the most vivid portrayal of Mary's character. She knew that it was in her power by her rendering of this one line to fix permanently in the hearer's mind her own conception of the poet's ideal.

The change in women's work will require more than one day. It must be a growth. The change will be a revolt against her own weakness and narrowness, and love of approval; against tradition, expectation, and apparent necessity, and against long custom whose weight is indeed

Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life.

But women have those essentials to all highest success in labor, freedom, and responsibility. It is not beyond their power, as it is within their sacred obligation, to bring all their church work to the test of having as its chief end not material comfort or luxury, nor even the edification of the church, but the rescuing of the unsaved. "Does this work emphasize the evangelization of the unconverted as the chief work of the church?" If it does, spiritual life will also be quickened by it.

An Indian rajah for whose new bride Mr. Kipling, father of the poet and story writer, had decorated a palace, asked the painter to select from a casket a jewel for her. Mr. Kipling's choice from the marvelous glowing gems, such as only Oriental monarchs own, was a magnificent diamond. "Give her this," he said; "no woman could withstand that." But the rajah shut the diamond again in the casket, which he hugged jealously to his breast, and exclaimed: "Nay, such gems be not for women!" What gems of service are for woman, only she may decide. Will she redeem her work, and, so far as it is in her power, that of the whole church, to beauty and glory? She owes to the entire church culture and inspiration in missionary work.

IX

The revolt against tradition and custom involved in a radical change of emphasis in woman's work must be an individual revolt from unsatisfactory activities to direct, active participation in the evangelization of the world. She will find abundant, rewardful labor in that field. Each woman may for herself test her individual gifts of service by their direct or indirect value to the plans of God, knowing that the service which endures this test fosters her own spiritual life and that of those associated with her. Each woman may loyally eschew all church work which demands her time and strength without compensating results in the accomplishment of the main evangelistic purpose of the church; or she may remain only partially conscious of her high privilege. Mr. David Rice Atchison was President of these United States for an entire day, and slept the hours away without realizing his unique honor.

As to each woman is granted the heavenly vision, she may put away childish things and manifest sympathy with the great plans of God, and so "press on to full growth."

The restoration of the apostolic emphasis upon evangelization in the threefold purpose of the church will restore to the church and to women their glory and power.

There abide always in the Church Militant remembrance, edification, and evangelization. The greatest of these hastens the coming of the Church Triumphant and eternal. Over the entrance of Milan Cathedral are carved three mottoes: under the sculptured cross, "That which troubles is but for a moment"; under the roses, "That which pleases is but for a moment"; under the great central arch, "Only that is important which is eternal."

At the close of Miss Evans' address, the hymn "My dear Redeemer, and my Lord" was sung.

Address

Grace Niebuhr Kimball, M.D., of New York, Assistant Physician at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, gave an address on Woman's Work in Foreign Missions.

ADDRESS BY GRACE N. KIMBALL, M.D.

WOMAN'S WORK IN FOREIGN MISSIONS

In the constitution of human society there is an inherent and perpetual demand for the powers and activities of women, as such, outside of the home.

In the church, from Deborah and Dorcas to the present day, with an ever-widening scope, women have worked at the behest of Christ in ways in which they only could fitly labor. Moreover, as society develops, there develops with it a borderland of activity, wonderfully expanded and expanding in our own time, wherein the *person* — the individual, irrespective of sex — conditional only on natural fitness, may have free course and usefulness. What is true of church and society at large is equally true of that branch of unitedly human and divine activity which we call foreign missions. If, therefore, in the course of this paper I seem to

digress from my special subject, it is because I am following into this borderland the women already working there.

After the Pauline era we hear very little of women as propagators of the faith, save as they became such by queenly influence in pagan kingly households. A mythical St. Bridget or St. Ursula will give us the type of those who devoted themselves to the propagation of religion solely. It is not, perhaps, until our own continent was opened up as a vast missionary field to the church that we see women becoming distinctly foreign missionaries. Then it was that the devoted women of France, with a heroism altogether worthy of their later Protestant sisters, took their lives in their hands and crossed the seas to inhospitable shores, and to conditions of the greatest hardship and danger, that they might, according to their own honest faith, Christianize the savages of the New World. To the reverent soul it cannot fail to be an uplift to stand where they stood in the old towns of Canada, and to feel what heroic lives were lived there for the faith. And in the heavenly courts may it not be that there is found a choice inner circle, where such souls as Mother Marie of the Incarnation, Sister Marie de St. Bernard, Jeanne Mance, Ann Hazeltine, Harriet Newall, Fidelia Fisk, yes, and our saints of later day, may hold sweet converse and render heavenly service — kindred souls of heroism in the kingdom of purified vision?

There is much that is instructive, inspiring, and greatly reassuring in the long vista of missionary work since St. Paul, which I may but dimly refer to, with the purpose of recalling to our minds that foreign missionary work did not begin under the Williamstown haystack or on Cary's cobbler's bench, nor is the total of its achievements to be reckoned from that time. It is well for us to remember that modern missions are not the new and questionable thing that some would have us think, but the grand and worthy continuation of that growth of the kingdom of God which began with St. Paul and St. Barnabas, nay, even with the breathing of the divine spirit into man.

But, fascinating as this wider view is (and, as a practical suggestion, I recommend excursions into this realm of history as a recreation of zeal for our local missionary societies), we have to deal, to-day, with women and women's work and women's opportunities in the foreign missions of our Congregational churches at the present time. And, speaking as an American delegate, I can present only the work of our American churches.

Gentlemen and ladies, the work which I have the honor to represent before you to-day, and the number of the workers, are far larger and far more important than, I believe, you all realize. Do you realize that nearly two thirds of all the missionaries of every Protestant denomination in the world are women? Do you realize that out of the 539 missionaries on the roll call of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at the present time, 351 are women — a virtual two thirds?

Our program committee has, for the first time in our Congregational annals, invited women to a place upon the platform of a great denominational council. Personally, and as a lay-member of the Congregational church, I appreciate the high honor; as a woman, I appreciate the justice of it. In behalf of my fellow women, I would express the satisfaction which I am sure all must feel that the time has come when safely, wisely, justly, the fading ghost of the veil of the harem and the zenana may be swept away in our church life, and the fit person shall take up the fit task. We have lived to see the day when women hold place as corporate members of our beloved American Board. We shall live to see women on its Prudential Committee. We shall also live to see the 33 per cent. of our missionary workers now tabulated as "other women" and "assistant

missionaries" given the honorable and deserved name of "missionary," and the right to vote with their fellow laborers. These high honors and great tasks have come and will come to them, not by strife and not by crying aloud, but because the gospel of Christ and the grace of God have raised them up and made them fit.

Let us call up in hasty review the work beyond seas which these "wives" and "other women"—this 66 per cent. of the working force of our Foreign Missionary Board—are doing. Nearly one half—or one third of the entire force abroad—are primarily occupied in the noble work of serving as joint head to a Christian household—a work which, in the whole history of Christian Protestant missions, has been, next to the direct work of the Holy Spirit, the most powerful, most persuasive, and most pervasive agent in advancing the kingdom of God. The history of this influence is too well known by us all to need enlargement. And yet, to fully understand it, it is necessary to watch the social reaction, as it takes place slowly and naturally, through years, between a heathen community and a Christian household. "Only the wife of a missionary," we hear them say of themselves, sometimes. Yet what does this mean? A light set upon a hill that cannot be hid, showing by the steady illuminating of constant example the relation of Christian man to Christian woman, the dignity of Christian motherhood, the sweet orderliness and joy of a home where all are in God's image, knowing not greater or less. Compare the vast differences in sociological results which obtain as between celibate Catholic missions and Protestant missions; and, while other causes are potent, none are more so, I believe, than those which hinge upon the family life. So whenever a man goes as a missionary, it is important that he should have the crown and complement to his usefulness, the wife. But not so with women—women, more self-sufficient, more capable of doing their work of themselves and by themselves. And so we find, in addition to the "wives," this noble body of "other women,"—outnumbering the men by a few,—each one of whom is in responsible charge of some department or sub-department of the work.

The large majority of these women are engaged in educational work, in which they are helped in very many instances by the married women. To the wives of the pioneers in almost every mission station belongs the honor of initiating schools, gathering the children first in the little home sitting room, and teaching them with infinite labor and patience, that they might read the Word of Life. Thus was the foundation laid of all the schools and colleges which now stand witness to the fruition and to the promise of our missions. But it is to the unhampered hands of these "other women" that the church has come to look for the greater development of the work of education among children and girls.

The success of the evangelist—man or woman—among adults of non-Christian peoples varies with the character of both evangelist and people. But, at best, the history of missions will show how slow to understand, how unwilling to accept, and how unstable to retain is the mind of man, once grown to maturity in ignorance, superstition, and vice. Consequently the heart of the evangelist grows heavy, and the hairs of his head grow white with unanswered yearnings of soul, with joyful confidence betrayed, and expectations unrealized. The grip of habit, superstition, and vice is an awful and a deforming power. And yet the annals of the gospel of Christ are full of triumphs of those saved—but as by fire. But for those whose mission is to the young, how different the outlook! Even in darkest heathenism, the infant comes trailing some shreds of the clouds of glory, so soon, alas, to be marred and dissipated by the rude atmosphere around him. But in spite of the inevitable influence of heredity and

environment, the child mind, the little undeveloped brain in which is wrapped up that intangible something which we call spirit — character — that brain in its period of growth and development is above all others the field for missionary labor and for the grace of God. There is a deep physiological and psychological truth in the words of our Lord, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." And that saying, now an axiom, in mission work in great cities at home, "Our hope is in the children," is no less, but rather more profoundly true of work abroad. In the immediate, inevitable appreciation of this truth lies the germ from which has sprung the enormous growth of the educational work of missions. The only fault to be found with this growth is that it has not grown enough, that in a very large number of our stations the teaching force is too small, the equipment of the schools is too imperfect, the methods not sufficiently up to date, because the churches at home are not spending enough upon them.

The time was when, in most missionary stations, the mission school was the only school. That condition in many communities has, by virtue of this work, changed; and we have need to quicken our energies lest the taught outrun the teacher; lest native, non-Christian schools, taking incentive from our educational work, excel in equipment and method the mother institution. It is not enough that a station should have schools; they must look keenly to it that they are the best schools — the best in teaching force, the best in equipment, the best in method. All over the world the desire is more for education than for Christianity. If non-evangelical schools are better pedagogically than mission schools, they are going to wield the influence.

While it would be a far more grateful task to bring before you in this connection the goodly achievements of our devoted missionary women, I consider it more salutary to us to inquire what they need to render their self-sacrificing labors adequately productive; wherein we, whose agents they are, are neglecting to properly coöperate with them. Let us turn a few pages of the reports for 1898, and see if I am justified in suggesting that our schools are deficient in teaching force, in equipment, and in method.

The Women's Board reports 323 schools under its charge. We have 178 women employed in independent work, five sixths of whom are teachers; 323 schools supervised by 150 American teachers, granting a large share of competence to their native assistants, still to my mind lays us open to the charge of insufficient teaching force. Competent as the native teacher may be, she still needs the example and influence and direction of her American chief to ensure the best work. When this is not the case, missionary educational work is no longer needed. Where are the thousands of women, graduates of our colleges and normal schools, student volunteers, who should honorably, helpfully, and usefully fill these places? Where are they? They are all here, ready and eager for work, a drug in the home pedagogical market. They are only waiting for the churches to get down to business, to really call them and make provision for them, and they will go. But the churches do not call them, do not make provision for them. Why? Because they do not realize that the schools already existing are inadequately supplied with teachers.

Let us turn the pages of the reports again, and see if our schools are properly equipped, if they are set forth as proper exhibits of American Christian education. From Africa, a school with already fifty boarding pupils shows the lack of equipment in having neither school-room nor kitchen, and the evening sees the entire fifty huddled into one room. Do our American churches consider this a worthy exponent, even in Africa, of our school system? Why is this? The report says, because funds are inadequate. Another speaks of the success of the school in Gazaland —

the only one in that land — as being marvelous in view of the discomfort and insufficient facilities for carrying on the work. In the Adabazar high school, eighty-seven pupils to sixty seats, and so on. There are, I believe, a very small proportion of our schools on mission ground that do not seriously lack, in vital matters of equipment, that which would render them worthy examples of our Christian civilization. Their great power has been and is, humanly speaking, in the splendid devotion of the women who carry them on, and who, by the amplitude of their Christian force and grace, cover up material deficiency. Yet the time comes sooner or later — has come in Japan, Turkey, and elsewhere — when the native community becomes both critic and competitor, and there is where danger lies for our work. Let the churches at home, with practical business acumen, see to it that the much given already, fail not of proper fruition for lack of the complementary more. Let us not ask of our missionaries longer that they make bricks without straw.

I shall say nothing of method. Let us remember, however, that what is promulgated among us to-day is known in Turkey and Japan and India by the next mail; that many of the peoples among whom we are working are wonderfully keen intellectually, and so the raw recruits, as well as our tried workers, have need to inform themselves not only in the theory, but in the practice of their art, as it progresses. And the churches must provide the means for them to do so.

Leaving the work of women in the Christian household and as educators, we come to that noble band who are working as evangelists. It is impossible to give the exact number of the women engaged in this branch of the work, for every good missionary woman "does the work of an evangelist." Many of the wives devote all the energy they can spare from household and maternal duties to evangelistic work among women, and many classed as teachers do the same. In fact, the missionary woman is, *par excellence*, a person who does what her hands find to do. There are very few useful things that in my own experience I have not seen them do, from laying stone along with the masons to expedite the building of the long-desired school, to standing in the pulpit to preach.

Foremost among our evangelists are Miss Hance of Africa, Miss Charlotte Ely of Bitlis, Miss Shattuck of Oorfa, Miss Seymour of Harpoot — names made familiar and admirable for their long years of heroic service. They are bishops, ordained by God to the laying on of hands to all good work. In the district covered by their mission stations, they make regular tours, now to one region, now to another, spending three to six weeks in each tour. Community after community is visited in turn. Arrived at a village, what is the work before them for the day or week allotted to it? The Christian community is gathered together for special services. If the local pastor or preacher is in difficulty with any of his flock, a reconciliation is sought; if he is cold and apathetic, a quickening and encouraging is labored for; if the people are falling behind in spiritual zeal, in morals, or in financial matters, they are stimulated to better things. The Bible reader is conferred with, advised, encouraged. The condition of the schools is investigated, suggestions made, and encouragement given to teachers and pupils. Those in sorrow, sickness, or distress are visited and ministered to. Those without the Christian community are approached and conciliated as opportunity offers. Respect is paid to local officials, and the heroic woman is on her horse again, and off, through cold and storm, it may be, to her next appointment; and so the winter months pass in this noble toil.

The fourth and only remaining organized department of women's work in foreign missions under the American Board is the medical work.

The medical department was instituted primarily as a safeguard to the

missionary force itself, and secondarily as an arm of the work. But up to the present time its development has not been at all commensurate with its opportunities. In our 101 stations, with 539 missionaries, we have a total of 38 doctors of medicine, 17 of whom are clergymen and 4 are wives. These, consequently, do not devote themselves exclusively, or even preponderatingly, to medical work. We have, then, but 17 doctors in active practice, 6 of whom are women. When we think of the swarming population in the midst of which each mission station is placed; when we think that this population is living, not under the control of a board of health, with sanitary regulations and a knowledge of the laws of hygiene, but in absolute ignorance of this, — besotted with malignant superstition, — when we remember that one article of our Lord's commission was "heal the sick," have we not formulated all that is necessary as a plea for medical missions in general? Nor do I need to dwell upon the adaptability of women to this work, or upon the conditions of life in our mission fields which render her labors especially necessary. I will only say that by personal experience I know that a woman physician can, without embarrassment, care for a very large proportion of male patients, while she has a work of her own among women which the male practitioner can only carry on under the greatest embarrassments.

We may not pause to pay even passing tribute to such women as Dr. Woodhull of Foochow, Dr. Bissell of Ahmednagar, Dr. Parker of Madura, and Dr. McCallum-Scott and Dr. Curr of Ceylon; but we may and should use even the meager accounts which exist of their work to indicate to our thoughtful minds the opportunity, the unspeakable need, and the strategic importance of this branch of missionary service. There is no country except Turkey where a woman physician may not go without let or hindrance. There is *no* country where she will not meet a welcome scarcely accorded to any other worker. If we realize that the average population accessible to each of our one hundred mission stations is about 200,000 people, and if we realize that we have an average of but one medical missionary to every three stations, we must admit that we have an enormous field in which to wield one of the most powerful missionary agencies that we possess.

Singularly enough, this is, or might be made in any country, one of the least expensive departments of work, because most capable of developing self-support. There are no communities so poor or so rude but what they can and will pay the physician for his or her services in some way, if they are taught to do so. If they have been brought up to receive the services gratuitously, they will naturally be the last ones to protest against so convenient a custom. But in every community the majority can pay, and thus enable the doctor to succor the less opulent minority with little recourse to outside aid. This is especially true of dispensary and domiciliary work. The expenses of a hospital are greater, and perhaps the majority of hospital patients become such because of their greater proverty. But I am sure that every one of us who has had begging to do will bear witness to the fact that it is a comparatively easy task to raise money for hospital work. The great need and opportunity for men medical missionaries is not within my domain. The urgency and need for women doctors, and the wonderful opportunities open to them, I cannot too strongly express. Six women physicians to one hundred mission stations, and not one station of them all where such a worker would not be a strong reinforcement; few where she is not greatly needed, and none, save in the Turkish Empire, where she may not readily go and work.

Why are not more sent? Why do not more women ask to go? They

are not sent because our churches do not understand, do not realize the inadequacy of the present work, nor the imperative opportunity that this work opens up for their missions. More women do not go, because the churches do not demand them. Labor in every department is regulated by demand and supply, no less in missions than in manufactories. When the churches call for missionaries, missionaries in abundance will be forthcoming. Mission boards are merely the distributing agents. The churches are in absolute control of the missionary stock market. Few pastors realize this, and fewer churches. But it is a fundamental fact. Most of us here present to-day represent some individual church. Most of us have officially, or might have unofficially, great moulding power in that church. Home problems are weighty, but no less weighty is this problem of what we are going to do with our foreign missions. The church of former generations prayed strenuously for the open door. Let us receive the abundant answer to their prayers with effort as strenuous, and with a Christian intelligence worthy of our predecessors.

Many of us here present have also in the divine providence been placed in positions where we have much to do with young life, where many maturing men and women turn to us for advice and guidance as to their future life. Of the problems of young men, analogous as they are to those of young women, I will not speak. But how many young women come to pastor or friend for advice: "What shall I do with my life? I am a Christian. I wish to serve God and man. I am educated, and can perhaps specialize still further. The profession of teaching is crowded. Medicine is crowded with men, if not with women. Literature, journalism, art, demand unusual talent to ensure success. Business is crowded," — and so on down the list of occupations for women. Who has not seen many and many a choice Christian young woman perplexed and downcast that no answer came to her demand for a chance to join the ranks of useful labor? Why are we not free to say to her confidently, "Use your ability and equipment in foreign mission work"? Why do we not dare to say to her, "Fit yourself for a teacher, or study medicine, or equip yourself for some form of hospital, orphanage, or college settlement work, and then apply to a mission board, and go abroad where you are so sorely needed"? Because the churches are not demanding her services. The Mission Board asks for workers, but until the churches demand them, the call will not be answered.

Great changes and great expansions have been taking place and are taking place in Christian life at home. Corresponding changes and expansions are its legitimate fruit abroad. As in every great movement, so in this, there is danger— danger of getting away from the all-pervading religious motive and spirit. But, recognizing and guarding against this inherent danger, the duty and the privilege of the church are to expand symmetrically at home and abroad. What is needed, and appears as the legitimate fruit of the Christ life at home, is a hundred fold more needed abroad, both as a succor to destitution and distress and as an exponent and preacher of the love of God.

We are sometimes tempted to think that our American churches are declining in missionary interest. I do not believe it. I believe that they have stepped out of the past and have not yet stepped into the future. The numbers of those more or less interested in missions in our churches and congregations are far larger than ever before. But they are asking, "Lord, what wouldst thou have us to do?" Our American Board, moved by this spirit of the times, is laboring wisely and well to bring to the churches the answer to this dumb questioning. And the answer is *specialization*, individual church responsibility. This reply is being

accepted, and every church which does so accept is feeling the impetus and the solving power of it. It is one thing to feel that you are supporting five hundred missionaries and one hundred mission stations. It is a far more practical and stimulating thing to know that you are responsible for one or two missionaries and for a definite part of the work of a definite station. Similarly, it is one thing for a church or individual to feel that the missionaries are preaching the gospel and doing good in a general way. It is a far more practical and stimulating thing to know that they are using all the methods and devices of Christian benevolence and helpfulness that have been found to embody the fruitage of Christian life at home, and that they are manned and equipped for such service. Money is needed, workers are needed. Make the need definite and practical, and it will be generously met. Comparatively few will give largely, or go far, if the work is hazy and indefinite. Many will do both if they see something clear and definite to be accomplished. Hence, as a woman speaking for hundreds of fellow women, eager and free to make their lives tell for God and humanity, I would plead for greater expansion and specialization of our work abroad, and for specialization and expansion at home.

The number of churches in our denomination is known; the number of members and adherents is definite; and the individual and aggregate wealth in each is also capable of a certain estimate. The foreign mission work undertaken by the denomination should not be allowed to exceed the reasonable ability of the churches to provide men and women and money for that work. I presume a careful investigation of this relativity at the present moment would show that the limit is not reached. If this limit is exceeded, then common honesty and prudence demand that we reduce our undertakings to the measure of our ability. If the limit is neither reached nor exceeded, let us as ministers and as church members acknowledge the fact and treat it as we do our other business liabilities. Let us remember that the immediate responsibility for our missionary undertaking rests upon us of the churches. The responsibility of our mission boards is but secondary and mediate.

Fellow Christians, the underlying thoughts which I have been impelled to bring before you on this important subject are applicable, I am aware, to no one sex, to no one church, to no one country, but to all who in our day love and seek the upbuilding of the kingdom of God in all the world. I have not spoken in detail of the grand achievements of our missionary work of this country. I have not brought up before you the blessed and inspiring memories of those women who have wrought nobly in the past, and who have gone on to their higher service. I have not dwelt upon the work of those who, the heat and burden of the day over, are here among us with the benediction of saintly old age. I have not put into words the thoughts that are in all our hearts of the women who, as we are here enjoying this plentitude of Christian fellowship, are standing alone, brave, inspired by heavenly fellowship, to do the work to which they have gone forth. The past has rendered its account of success and of failure. Our business is with the present and with the future. At home the ministry, medicine, and the teaching profession are all overcrowded. Where is the church of any size which has not in its membership young people — especially young women — whose abilities and possibilities are going to waste for lack of definite opportunity? Who shall say, also, that there is not abundant treasure held in Christian stewardship in our churches which is being corrupted by the moth and rust of acquisitiveness or of indifference, and which might be rolling up heavenly interest by sending the men and women to the work which needs them and which they need? So would our pulpits abroad be full, our schools be put on a footing of efficiency and equipment that

would make them great beacon lights. So should we see medical missions with proper hospitals and dispensaries multiply; and orphanages, recently thrust upon us by unusual exigencies, but not yet adopted as a part of our church work, would grow into an important, as they are a Christlike and an indisputably efficacious arm of missionary work. Homes for widows in India, industrial schools, where these are so much more needed than are ordinary schools, and all the devices which the missionary now regretfully resigns because of inadequate appropriations, would then start into spontaneity in the presence of more workers, and in the knowledge of the direct sympathy and coöperation of the churches at home. So, when the demand abroad is endorsed and enforced by an equal demand at home, let us not fear that the men and women will not be forthcoming.

The recruiting bureaus of our army in the Philippines do not lack men, nor, if in need of their succor, would they lack women; and yet the cause is not one of especial patriotism. No more will the army of God abroad lack recruits when once our recruiting agents, the mission boards, are authorized by the churches to do their work.

At the conclusion of Dr. Kimball's address, the afternoon session was brought to a close with the benediction by Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D., of New Jersey, and a recess was taken until evening.

EVENING SESSION

At 7.45 o'clock Vice-President Rev. Samuel E. Herrick, D.D., of Massachusetts, called the session to order, and the hymn "I love thy kingdom, Lord" was sung.

Prayer was offered by Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., of Illinois, and the devotional exercises concluded with the hymn "Onward, Christian soldiers."

Address

The subject of the evening, "The Young People," was spoken upon by three speakers, the first of whom was the Rev. Cornelius Howard Patton, D.D., of Missouri, pastor of the First Congregational Church, St. Louis, who spoke upon Recruiting the Church.

ADDRESS BY REV. C. H. PATTON, D.D.

RECRUITING THE CHURCH

It must be evident to all as we proceed with the sessions of this Council that our program is exceedingly rich in the discussion of live themes. The atmosphere of our meetings has been electric with questions of the day; and even where the themes have been old, the spirit of their treatment and application has been conspicuously fresh and vital. But to-night we are discussing a topic which is, perhaps, the most modern of them all. It fairly thrills with the life of to-day. We have but to mention the young people's work to bring a modern Christian gathering as under a magic spell. And it will not be surprising if this staid assembly to-night should kindle with something of the life and enthusiasm of those great gatherings of young people banded together for Christ and the church, which are one of the leading features of our day; and which, I may add, we are proud to claim as the latest gift of Congregationalism to the institutions of the church at large.

The young people's work stands primarily for the recruiting of the church, and it is under this aspect that I wish to discuss it to-night. Our thought in this country during the past year and a half has been much taken up with the recruiting of armies. What with the raising of a force of two hundred thousand volunteers for our war with Spain, the doubling of our regular army, and the more recent addition of twelve new regiments to our forces in the Philippine Islands, we have become somewhat experienced in the methods and materials out of which effective armies at home and abroad may be created. This intense military activity lends itself the more readily to our topic as we consider that out of it has come to the thoughtful observer something more than a fund of anecdote and phraseology adapted for spiritual uses. In this military uprising we have seen come to the surface deep

motives of the youthful heart. The energies, ambitions, and capacities for toil and danger which constitute American greatness have been marching in array before us. Surely there is much to learn which is fundamental to our Christian campaign.

Taking my hints from this military experience, I wish to point out two ways in which our church recruiting service may be improved. If in doing so I am forced to dwell somewhat upon the shortcomings of our present method, I trust it will not be understood as a hostile criticism, but as a friendly suggestion, arising from one who glories as much as any in the wonderful work already accomplished among our young people. The two suggestions I desire to make are in the line of natural growth from the noble beginning already made.

I

Nothing surprised the world more in connection with our recent war with Spain than the fact that so vast an army was collected with almost incredible rapidity from the flower of our youth. From the ranks of the highly educated, the wealthy and the cultured classes, no less than from the so-called masses, the most manly and heroic offered themselves in vast numbers. Bright young lawyers, promising physicians, bank tellers, college athletes, the leading spirits among our young men in all callings rushed to the recruiting stations, side by side with the "brawny sons of toil." The competition was so sharp from all points of the land as to give us an army recruited from the best rather than from the worst elements of society. As we looked on in those days many were the remarks made after this fashion: "Oh, if the church could only get such a response for the far greater and more glorious work of saving our country from sin and winning the world to Christ!"

Such exclamations contain the unavoidable suggestion that the church has not been winning to its service in as large numbers as might be expected the flower of our youth. I have no doubt that is the strict truth. For several years I have made it a point to question intelligent pastors in different parts of the country as to what extent the church is successful in winning the intellectual and forceful young people — the young men and women who are making a marked success of their lives in professional, business, and social ways. The answer has been sadly uniform in stating that comparatively few of this class are drawn to the church by the ordinary methods. Young people there are, often in abundance, of ordinary ability, but far too few who by their attainments and promise command the highest respect of their fellows.

Of course all admit there are many notable exceptions. We need make no apologies for the quality of the leading spirits of our young people's societies, nor do we fail to honor the essential worth of even the humblest Christian. Let that be fully understood. But nevertheless, the impression I have mentioned is too firmly fixed in many minds to be entirely wrong. Not a few pastors find that even among the young people who are members of their churches the line of social and intellectual cleavage runs sharp and distinct between those in the societies and those out. This is not a matter which statistics can prove or disprove. I simply cite the opinion of observant pastors that we are not getting into the church through our young people's societies our proper share of the more talented youth. If this is so, let us in candor acknowledge it and seek to find its remedy. Christ has a right to all, and especially the best. It is said that he once looked upon a young man such as we have been describing and loved him. Let it be our purpose to approach the problem in that attitude.

If in so doing we are led to question and study these outside young men

and women, we may be surprised to learn that many of them, perhaps the majority, are not living what we would call sinful lives. Nor is their attitude toward the church as unwarranted as it may appear. Undoubtedly they are greatly at fault in excusing themselves so freely from Christian worship and work, and especially in looking down upon their fellows who find satisfaction and joy in the service of the church as ordinarily conducted. There can be no question that their criticisms, expressed or felt, can be partially accounted for on the ground of a lack of real consecration of life to God. I am not defending any faults there may be in the large class of young people we have in view. But, as I have tried to mix with such in business places, on athletic fields and in society, and have sought to draw out their innermost thought about the church, I have found them to be in the main true at heart. In all other spheres except that of the church they are found doing their share nobly. They are desirous of turning their lives to good account. Some of them are professed Christians, and would welcome an opening for Christian work which appealed to their conscience and reason at the same time. Among them are not a few college graduates who were brought up as the children of the church. But in taking their diplomas after their academic career and starting out in life with earnest purposes, they do not find the church attractive to them either on its intellectual or practical side.

It is easier to criticise these young people, and even to ridicule them, than it is to win them. But it is the business of the church to win them, and to set their fine talents to work for Christ. It will be a sad day indeed for the church if it loses its hold upon the more intellectual young people and ceases to command the services of the natural leaders of the coming generation. I have heard mature Christian business men, the pillars of the church for many years, talk on this subject in evident alarm.

Many things may be said upon this subject. Many things, I hope, will be said. I have just one suggestion to make. May it not be true that of late we have neglected too much the heroic element in religion; that the church has not asked of the young what our country did when hundreds of thousands of youth replied, "I can" — service which costs something, service which is definite, and rich in practical results because rich in self-sacrifice? Have we not made the young people's societies too much of a social club and too little of an army? We have thought the young people wanted to be amused, and must be coddled into the church by sociables and easy ways of being religious. Perhaps the young people, the best of them at least, prefer sterner stuff; and would be more in the church if more rather than less was expected of them. If Christianity is anything it is heroic. It demands a man's best and it demands the best man. There is that in every youthful heart which recognizes the grandeur of the appeal to forsake all and follow Christ. The appeal may be rejected, but the youth, the real youth, will not be gained by reducing its intensity. The talented and rich young man whom Jesus loved went away sorrowful, but the Master did not change in one iota his stern conditions for entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

The story is told of Dr. S. Baring-Gould, the author of that grand hymn, "Onward, Christian soldiers, marching as to war," that he wrote these words as a processional for his choir boys, who bore in front of the procession a brazen cross, which at the end of the ceremony they deposited in the chancel, — "with the cross of Jesus going on before." But when the bishop came, being an exceeding low churchman, he ordered the bearing of the cross discontinued, which the obedient rector acquiesced in. So upon the next visit of the bishop the boys came in without the offensive symbol, but singing their song as follows: —

Onward, Christian soldiers,
Marching as to war,
With the cross of Jesus
Left behind the door.

Whereupon the enraged bishop deprived Dr. Gould of his charge; which, however, I understand, was restored to him later through the influence of Mr. Gladstone.

I have sometimes thought that in too many of our churches we have allowed our young people to do in reality what Dr. Gould's choir boys did in ceremony — leave the cross of Jesus behind the door instead of keeping it in the front. They have crowded into the procession in astonishing numbers, of which we are justly proud. We call it the most characteristic feature of the church in this age, and this is undoubtedly correct. We do well to glory in all these things. But let us not forget that at a similar juncture in our Lord's career, when many were pressing to join his band, he turned upon them with what seemed harsh tests of discipleship. To one who shouted "Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest," he replied in the memorable words, "The foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." We recall, also, his equally searching answer to the man who would first go home and bury his father. The severity of Jesus' tests of discipleship on the side of personal consecration was the strength of his appeal, one great secret of his success. His comprehensive and inflexible demands appealed to all that was noble in men and especially in the young. While many went back and walked no more with him, the band of young men and women who remained were of such quality as to turn the world upside down.

In every age of the church it has been so. The best minds, the flower of the youth, have been drawn to the service of Christ by large demands being made upon them. The heroic appeal has won every time. It was so in the days of the early persecutions. It was so during the crusades. It was so in the Reformation. It was so in the beginning of modern missions. It is so to-day. Witness the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, the response to the appeal of our American Missionary Association for teachers in Porto Rico, and the long waiting lists of cultured young people desiring to engage in social settlement work. Kipling has shown us in one of his poems that every age is heroic, that romance is not dead. I believe we live in a heroic age. There is a vast amount of heroism in common work-a-day life all about us. Let it not be forgotten that no call was made for heroic service during our recent war which did not bring an overwhelming response. When Lieut. Hobson asked for volunteers in his perilous task of sinking the *Merrimac* in the harbor of Santiago, hundreds came forward, and men wept when they were refused. One junior officer being desired, the whole mess responded. In a similar though less dramatic manner, the instinctive heroism of the youthful heart was manifested in all parts of our country.

Now the church to-day offers as fine a field for this spirit as was ever known. We hold the truest and highest sphere for self-sacrifice. Let us not be afraid of it. Let us be afraid only of easy standards of Christian life and work. If we have not gained as many from the flower of our youth as might be expected, it is because we have not honored them with a strong enough appeal. We have not set them noble tasks which call out the best there is in them.

Our Christian Endeavor leaders have done well to emphasize this aspect of religion by placing before the societies more and more the great plans of God, and urging the young people to enter into them with all the

enthusiasm of their natures. The good citizenship movement and the great missionary activities of the church have been persistently urged upon the young people from headquarters. If there has been any fault it has been with the local pastors and managers who have it in their hands to direct the policy of the young toward the heroic aspects of Christianity. Let this be done. Let our young people have the inspiration of engaging in a great work, of being honored with the majestic commissions of Christ, of being laborers together with God, and they will certainly draw to themselves in increasing numbers the best youth the world affords.

II

What has been said thus far relates primarily to the recruiting back to the church of those who have fallen away, or who have not been drawn to its service at the most opportune time. A still deeper phase of our theme relates to foundation work with the little children, by which there should be coming into the church a steady stream of recruits ready in spirit and equipped in mind for efficient work.

You will recall that early last summer our government found itself in a serious situation with reference to the army in the Philippine Islands. The terms of the volunteers in the field had expired, while as yet no provision had been made for regiments to take their places. Suddenly it became evident that Congress had committed a serious blunder in not adopting a recruiting policy of sufficient permanency to carry us over such a military emergency. It is apparent that even with the most strenuous efforts to make good the oversight our cause is likely to suffer seriously from this governmental short-sightedness.

It was in very much such a situation that the church found itself a few years ago. Our churches were manned to a large extent by adults whose period of activity was rapidly drawing to a close. They had been recruited out of the rich family life characteristic of former generations. Those were the happy days when the children upon growing up settled in the same town with their parents and took their places in business and church relations as a matter of course. That time had passed. Family life no longer fed the church by a natural necessity. Few children upon reaching maturity remained in their native towns; and fewer still united with the church as being brought up so to do. There was danger of a serious break in the Lord's army.

The seriousness of this painful fact seemed to burst upon the church quite suddenly some twenty years ago. Under this stress we acted very much as did our government last summer. We did the best we could under the circumstances, and sought by improvised methods of a special nature to fill the gap. Our great Christian Endeavor organization arose. Young men and women rushed to it in great numbers, and accepted an exacting pledge of loyalty. Many wonderful things were accomplished with which we all are delightfully and thankfully familiar. I need not recount them here. It was discovered, however, that the lack of a far-seeing policy of church enlistment could not entirely be overcome in that way. An earlier beginning must be made. The little children must be trained for Christ and the church. Then came the junior work, whose growth has been exceedingly significant. Here, to my mind, lies the real key to the situation. Unless I very much mistake the trend of the Christian Endeavor development, the junior work will increase more and more until it becomes decidedly the big end of the movement. That it may be so should be the sincere wish of all who believe in a far-seeing policy for the perpetuation and increase of the church.

I wish to suggest that in the natural development of this junior work we shall be forced to change considerably our purpose and methods. The life set before the children in our societies has partaken far too much of adult Christianity and far too little of true and natural child life. We have placed before mere babes in intellectual and spiritual experience the expressions and ways of grown youth and even of mature Christians. The idea seems to have been that children of eight and ten years of age must be urged to act as nearly as possible as do the adult members of the church. They must be able to pray in public, speak in meeting, lead devotional services with all the confidence of clergymen, and even to face great assemblies in public address. The plan of organization has been modeled upon the older societies. The little folks must have their various officers and committees, conduct their own business, and provide their own social occasions. They must do whatever the "grown ups" do. That has been the idea. And their wonderful ability to imitate their elders has been commented upon widely as a sign of the wonderful power these children will have in the church in coming years. Real instruction, adapted to the budding child mind, educational work according to scientific principles, has been definitely discouraged in some quarters. Well, some remarkable showings have been made as to the smartness of the American infant. But to some of us the showing has been more sad than pleasing. It has seemed to encourage one of the most unfortunate tendencies of American life, the robbing of child life of its real power and charm, as the little ones are pushed into a show of independence amounting to self-assertiveness.

You will recall that upon a certain occasion the Master placed a little child in the midst of his disciples and said, "Except ye turn and become as this little child ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." It was a most emphatic appeal to adults to imitate the qualities of little children as of supreme importance in gaining eternal life. Now in our superior wisdom we have exactly reversed the method of Jesus. We have placed a full-grown man with all his ripeness of experience and power of expression in the midst of little children, and in effect have said unto them, "Except ye turn and become like this adult ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." I have vividly in mind a painful scene in a great convention of young people during an hour when the junior work was being set forth largely by juniors. A little boy of eight years was lifted onto the platform to make an address. He was introduced as one of the most remarkable boys in the city, quite the life and strength of his church, we were led to believe. All eyes were fastened upon him as he made his bow successfully and began his remarks. But in a moment a look of terror came into his face as that vast audience rose up before his vision. He began to hesitate, and then stopped, twitching his hands nervously. The prompter down in the front repeated his lines in a loud voice, and the presiding officer urged him on. But in vain. The poor little fellow burst into tears, until seeing in the front seats the face of his father he stretched out his hands in mute appeal, and his father at last gathered him into his arms and bore him sobbing from the hall. The painful significance of the whole thing was even more apparent the next day when the newspapers, with conspicuous headlines, published in full the address the little boy would have made. It was an astonishingly precocious setting forth of the importance of little children in managing the affairs of the church. One sentence I recall. He said, "I like to run things sometimes, don't you? And so I am glad that the little people can run some of this big convention ourselves, and not let the big people run it all. For once, then," he went on to say, "we little people have a chance to do something without

the big people bothering us." He was a dear little boy — as much so as his parents and the church people would let him be,— but I fear our Lord would not have chosen that particular child to place in the midst of his disciples. I also fear his case is unfortunately typical.

Now this state of affairs has come largely from trusting the training of the children to well-meaning but uninstructed and inexperienced young people. It is a curious commentary upon our estimate of the importance of child nurture that in most of our churches, aside from what is done in the Sunday-school, it is left to a society of young people to select a leader for junior work. Generally such a leader is self-constituted and has few qualifications for the work beyond zeal. Is it not time we adopted in our churches a scientific and far-reaching educational policy? Can we afford to conduct the recruiting service of the church in such a hap-hazard, hand-to-mouth manner?

If I may venture to outline a policy, I will say: First, each church should insist upon the pastor having immediate oversight in this work. Pastors may well be chosen with reference to such service, men who are able and willing to shape and carry out a wise policy of religious education. I would strongly urge that the pastor personally take charge of the junior work, and lend to it all the force of his personality and the influence of his office. Nothing he can do in the church outside of the pulpit is more important than this. But if he cannot undertake this extra burden, he should select the most capable person to be found, preferably a mother or a trained teacher, and place her in charge, himself coöperating and suggesting at every important point. Let it be remembered that our churches have this matter entirely in their own hands to shape as they please. The organization of junior work along national and international lines leaves large liberty for local adaptation. I am persuaded that here, as in the case of the older young people, any faults that may exist arise mainly from a lack of local supervision rather than from policies advocated at headquarters.

The second suggestion is that the major part of the exercises, when the children are together, should be strictly educational, even more so than in the Sunday-school. A course of study should be laid out, running through say three winters, based upon questions and answers to be committed to memory, covering the general truths about the Bible, a simple statement of Christian doctrine, a setting forth of the elements of the Christian life, and instruction upon the church as to its nature and its activities, especial attention being paid to our great missionary operations. This course may be supplemented by attractive and helpful exercises of a lighter nature; and the hour each week end with a devotional season in which the older children, having been previously instructed as to prayer and the other elements of a religious service, may take part in simple childlike fashion.

The third suggestion is that this policy of child-nurture should be so much a part of the church constitution and life as to form a requisite for church membership among the young, except where special reasons make it impossible. On the one hand, it should gather up the children from the families in the parish and out, and on the other, bring them into full, intelligent, and ever-growing church membership.

If I may speak personally, an experience in strictly adhering to the educational method from the beginning of my ministry convinces me that children not only of the religious but also of the non-religious families may be led to Christ and brought into the church with a certainty and security which is most inspiring. The fruitage of such work is so constant and so abundant that nearly all other labor seems poor in comparison.

The experience of many pastors has proved the entire feasibility of this general method, and its great superiority over the ordinary way. The history of the ancient church abundantly sustains the argument for placing the emphasis upon instruction in the training of children for church membership. Luther, Froebel, and Bushnell have laid a philosophical and theological basis for such a policy. The change in family customs in the times in which we live demands it; and the natural — rather let us say Providential — development of the junior side of the Christian Endeavor idea is forcing us in the same direction.

Brethren, we are in the midst of a new Children's Crusade. The old Children's Crusade was a failure, one of the saddest spectacles in all history, as the children of Northern Europe, the flower of the youth, poured out their lives in a useless and misguided enthusiasm. I plead that wiser councils may prevail in our day. Let us stimulate the heroic spirit in our youth of suitable age, let us arouse enthusiasm to the highest degree, that in the consecration of their best powers our young people may be drawn in even larger numbers to the church, and be led to attempt great things for Christ. But, above all, let us lay well the foundations in early childhood through wise instruction under careful leadership, that the church may be recruited steadily and increasingly, not for a temporary crusade, but for the conflict of the ages. And so shall we sing in the grand fullness of its meaning: —

Onward, Christian soldiers,
Marching as to war,
With the cross of Jesus
Going on before.

Address

The second address of the evening on the general subject, "The Young People," was delivered by the Rev. Charles Edward Jefferson, D.D., of New York, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City, who spoke on the topic, Work among Young People.

Address by Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D.

WORK AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

The nineteenth century will shine in history as a century of discoveries. An English scientist has given us a list of them, but he has omitted the greatest of them all, the discovery of the child. Accurately speaking, we should say the "rediscovery of the child," for the child was first discovered eighteen hundred years ago by the Carpenter of Nazareth. In the first century of our era Jesus took a child and set him in the midst, and he has done it again in the century which is now drawing to a close.

He has set him in the midst of the artists. Ever since the days of Joshua Reynolds artists in increasing numbers have been painting children. Not only do they paint little princes and princesses, but they paint ragamuffins and street urchins. The world would rather look at the faces of children than at the angels of the mediæval masters. A child is more interesting than an angel.

He has set him in the midst of the poets. It was not until the days of William Blake that poets began to gather round a child. Nearly all the child poetry of the world's literature has been written since the days of Wordsworth. Now the poets are saying with our own Longfellow: —

Come to me, O ye children!
And whisper in my ear
What the birds and the winds are singing
In your sunny atmosphere.
Ye are better than all the ballads
That ever were sung or said,
For ye are living poems,
And all the rest are dead.

He has set him in the midst of the psychologists, and they are studying him furiously. They are looking at his motions, they are listening to his language, they are peering into his little mind, and tabulating all they see there. The evolution of a solar system is not so fascinating to the philosopher of to-day as is the unfolding of a soul.

He has set him in the midst of the church. We have our Children's Sundays and our Christmas concerts and our Sunday-school picnics, our cradle rolls and baby bands, and innumerable societies for the instruction and safeguarding of the children. The greatest work which the church has done in the nineteenth century has been done among the young.

Three great religious movements have made the century forever glorious, all three of them born of a passion to save young people. First of all and greatest of all is the Sunday-school. Although it was born near the close of the last century it is distinctively a nineteenth-century movement, for this is the century in which it has been developed into an institution of world-wide usefulness and immeasurable and transfiguring power. On this single continent there are to-day nearly 150,000 Sunday-schools, with a million and a half of officers and teachers and almost twelve million scholars. Twelve million human beings, the majority of them children, studying the Scriptures! Look at that and you can behold with the eye of faith Satan fallen as lightning from heaven!

The second great movement of the century is the Young Men's Christian Association. The century was nearly half over before the first association was organized; but already the movement has struck its roots down into the soil of more than forty countries, and enrolls an army of a quarter of a million of men. Out of this young men's movement has sprung a Young Women's Christian Association, which, although as yet only in the days of its infancy, has a membership of nearly forty thousand. And out of these combined associations has sprung in these recent days the Student Volunteer Movement, which has already circled the globe with its victories, and promises to do more for foreign missions than any other organization that has ever attempted to stir the hearts of men to obedience to the great marching order of the King: "Go ye, and disciple the nations." Fourteen hundred volunteers are already in the foreign field, and four thousand others are in training. Six thousand students are studying the problems of foreign missions, and increasing streams of money are flowing into our missionary treasuries from our halls of learning. The colleges of the world are being knit together into a compact brotherhood whose purpose is to claim humanity for God.

The century was more than three quarters gone before the third great movement of our age was born. It was in 1881 that the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor started upon its phenomenal career. At the end of eighteen years it has 56,000 societies, with a membership of 3,400,000. But these figures do not tell the full story of its conquests. Like the river of God it overflows its banks, and in all parts of Christendom new societies with new names spring into existence, begotten by the spirit which the Endeavor movement has created and strengthened and

instructed by its example and its methods. A million and a half of young men and women, although marching under other banners, belong to the great Endeavor army. Five millions of the young people of the world organized into a training school for Christian service in less than two decades! It is one of the miracles of Christian history. The future historian of the Christian church will say that Christendom entered upon a new era that February night when in the city of Portland the first Endeavor society was formed.

Where is that man who said that the church has lost its grip, and that Christianity is a decrepit and declining thing? Let him read the history of the last fifty years, and if he has eyes to see he will see. But I am not asked to do the work of an historian to-night, recounting with hallelujahs the things already done. I am asked to be a prophet, bidden to gaze into the century that is upon us, and to report what I see. Not what have we done, but what shall we do, that is the question.

And my answer is: Pay more attention to the home. The home is the making place of Christians, and it is because so many Christians are made otherwhere that we have so many Christians who are maimed and disappointing. All acute thinkers from the time of Aristotle have seen that the family is the unit of society. It is the fountain out of which all the streams of life proceed. The Christian church must lay its hand with redeeming pressure upon the family. For the family is in danger. The great conflict of the coming century is going to rage around the home. Multitudinous forces are gathering to disintegrate the foundation stone on which our civilization rests. Steam and electricity by teasing men to travel tear them in increasing numbers from the family hearth. Philosophies, specious and satanic, are undermining the sanctity of marriage. Commercial life and club life and social life have all conspired to take parents from their children. The multiplication of religious organizations has weakened the sense of parental responsibility, and fathers and mothers have too often turned over to others duties which God gave to parents.

The result is that the church does not hold her children as she ought. Every minister knows that around his church there are three zones of people, all of them descended from Christian stock. In the inner zone are people who are in sympathy with the church, though not members of it. They attend its services and contribute to its support. In the middle zone are men and women who, though born in Christian homes, never go to church. They do not hate the church, but its forms to them are weariness, and they are deaf to its appeals. In the outer zone are the publicans and sinners; men and women who were rocked in Christian cradles and kissed by Christian mothers and taught by Christian teachers, but who have given up both religion and morality, and have nothing for the church but flippant scorn and bitter hatred. There is a leak somewhere. In spite of the long line of organizations marshaled with such consummate skill for the protection of our children from the cradle to adulthood, too many of them get away from us. The chain seems to be unbroken and unbreakable, but alas! the first link is the weak link, and because the first link so often snaps, we suffer humiliation and defeat. Every organization would do better service if supported better by the home.

Has not the time come, therefore, for a new study of the family? The home is a divine institution. It is God's way to set the solitary in families. He educates the race through the discipline of the family. Under the Jewish dispensation religion went by households; so it did when Christianity was young. Baptism went by households, as in the case of Stephanas and Lydia and the Philippian jailer. The Lord's Supper went by households. The eucharist was celebrated in the house. The church

was in the house before it worked its way out into society, and the church in society must inevitably limp and fail unless we keep alive the church in the house. Instruction went by households. Apostles in writing to the saints had a message for the children. No child was to be called an alien, even though only one parent was a Christian, for even in that case a child was not unclean but holy.

We ought to face, then, the question, Is a child born of Christian parents inside the church or outside? If it is outside, then the kingdom of God is one thing and the Christian church is another thing, for Christ has explicitly declared that children are in the kingdom of God. If the child is outside the church at birth, can it be carried into the church in its mother's arms? If not, then the disposition of the church is not the disposition of the Master, for he said: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." If the child is in the church, then it should be recognized publicly and continuously throughout all the years. The church should baptize it, if not in infancy, at least as early as the child's mind is capable of grasping the significance of the ceremony. And if we baptize our children, why have they not a right to the Supper of the Lord? On what ground do we make such wide distinction between the two sacraments of the church? How can we in reason say that a child has a right to the symbol of God's cleansing power, and no right to the symbol of God's sustaining grace? If the little Jewish boy was permitted to partake of the paschal lamb, certainly our children ought to partake of the symbol of the broken body of the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world. If baptism goes by households, so also ought the eucharist. A new glory will come into our churches when parents and their children shall take the bread and wine together. Many a boy would have been saved to the Christian church had he not been trained to feel himself a vagabond and outcast on every Communion Sunday.

But there are other ways in which this recognition can be made conspicuous and effective. At the age of seven children may be presented with Bibles in the presence of the congregation. At the age of thirteen they may be examined publicly before the church on the fundamentals of our faith. Their names should be printed in the church directory from the date of baptism. Their needs should be recognized in the sermons of the preacher. If St. Paul in his loftiest letters did not forget the children, no Christian minister need feel it beneath his dignity to give a paragraph now and then in the midst of his most ponderous discourses to the boys and girls who have been baptized into the name of Christ, and whom the New Testament reckons among the faithful and the saints.

But recognition is not enough. Children must be fed. The problem of the Christian church is at bottom a problem of feeding. The first line in the bill of instructions given to the chief of the apostles is divinely significant — "Feed my lambs." If the church fails to grasp the meaning of the first line, all its after life is bound in shallows and in miseries. Children must be fed. If they are fed, they will be born again in the nursery. It is no more necessary for a child to be conscious of the second birth than of the first birth. Conversion is a process that ought to be begun in the cradle. If children are fed they grow. If they are fed on the life of God, they grow into the image of his Son. A child ought to be nourished by an atmosphere of Christian love. Atmosphere is the spiritual milk which little children drink and build up into character. When the mind unfolds, the Scriptures should be studied. Father and mother should unfold the Word. The father is God's first priest in history and in all life. If the parent priest shirks or falters, all other priests are engaged in a well-nigh hopeless task. If Christian men in the few

leisure moments of the morning feed themselves on newspapers, and take no time to feed their children on the Bible, let no one wonder if the Christian church runs the race that is set before it like a limping giant with a wounded heel.

Parents must be assisted in this instructional work. Oh for a catechism in all our churches throughout the world! The catechisms of the sixteenth century have been outgrown, but the need of catechetical instruction will never be outgrown so long as the human mind retains its present structure and is held in the grip of the laws which have governed it from the beginning. The church has never made lasting conquests, except where it has used the interlocutory method of instruction. The Jewish church built itself four-square and impregnable by this method of question and answer. It was by the same method that Christianity made its first great conquests. When Julian the Apostate wished to check the growth of Christianity he stopped the mouths of Christian teachers. When Martin Luther wished to fortify Protestantism against the attacks of Rome he wrote two catechisms. When John Calvin undertook to establish a system of church government that neither men nor devils could tear down, he wrote a catechism. When Rome determined to break the power of Protestantism she betook herself with new fervor under the inspiration of Loyola to catechetical instruction. With all her follies and crimson sins Rome goes on her conquering way because she knows the value of a child. The voice of Xavier still rings through all her councils: "Give me the children until they are seven years old and any one may take them afterwards." There is no more impressive spectacle to be seen in St. Peter's to-day than the sight of a priest on Sunday afternoon catechising the little Italian boys. There in earth's greatest temple, filled with immortal marble and matchless paintings, at the very center of the splendor sits a little child with a priest by his side. That is a picture worth looking at, for we are in danger of forgetting that any church, even though its history runs back to Plymouth Rock and Scrooby, is crippled and doomed that does not catechise her children.

Instruction — painstaking, continuous, systematic instruction — this is the crying need of the Christian church of our day. We are living in an age of books, but in our day, as in the days of Hosea, God's lamentation is: "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." Thousands of Christians are scared by higher criticism because they do not know what higher criticism is. Thousands are confused and bewildered, fumbling at duties and stumbling over mysteries which are no mysteries at all. Thousands are cold and indifferent because they do not know the things which brace the will and set the blood on fire. Thousands are carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and by the superficial speculations of deluded women. Any Simon Magus who gives out that he is some great one is certain of a following. And every sort of superstition and delusion and hallucination can count its converts by the thousand because God's people are not instructed. We have had Niagaras — yes, Noachian floods — of exhortation; let us now have clear-cut, courageous, constructive teaching!

It is not unlikely that the greatest advance that the Christian church is going to make in the twentieth century will be in the expansion of the Bible school. The Bible school is only in its infancy, and of what it is capable of becoming we have scarcely dreamed. We are just beginning to realize the necessity for it. America started out with the Bible and the catechism in her public schools. The catechism long ago disappeared, and the Bible is departing, and they will never come back again. Our public schools are destined to be secular. But it is becoming increasingly

clear that secular education is not enough. Men may know the three R's and not know him whom to know aright is life eternal. Men and women versed in science, art, and literature are not strong enough to build enduring nations or a victorious church. Without moral instruction and spiritual training humanity is lost. All around our school-houses we have been building penitentiaries and jails, and the jails are as crowded as the schools. We have discovered that educated men can get into the penitentiary, and that cultivated people can be hoodwinked and gulled by any high-sounding falsehood that comes along. Never have we had more education and never have we had more cranks and fanatics and dupes. Thinking men are asking, what shall we do? The Roman Catholic church has given her answer in brick and stone from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Her answer is the parochial school. What shall our answer be? The Bible school. Not the Bible school as we have it now, but the Bible school indefinitely expanded and perfected. Why should it not be made more flexible and all-embracing? Why should not the time of its sessions be determined by the demands of the parish? And when necessary, why should there not be a session of the school at every hour Sunday afternoon, and on every afternoon of every week, and on every evening of the week, so that all classes of people might find it possible to attend? And why should not the curriculum of the Bible school be vastly expanded? Why should not our young people be taught the history of the Bible, and the history of doctrine, and the history of the Christian church, and the scope and aim of Biblical criticism — yes, and the history of Congregationalism? Our heroes and saints have written a book of Acts worthy of a place by the side of the book written by St. Luke. Why should not our young people know the rock whence we were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence we were digged? With this larger conception of the Bible school we are going to give a new dignity to teachers. They are going to be recognized more and more as ministers of the Lord, ordained for a divine and difficult service, and trained and furnished by competent instructors. Some day Christian men and women gifted for the work of teaching will be ashamed to do what thousands of our best people are doing now — turning their back upon the greatest opportunity which God can give a human soul. Christians who teach in Bible schools are writing God's thoughts on minds which will live when the last of the stars has burnt out, and are hastening the coming of the city with the jasper walls and the gates of pearl.

We are passing into a century which is going to be swept by tremendous intellectual storms. The winds of doctrine spoken of by the apostle were only zephyrs compared with the gales which are going to blow. For three hundred years we have been teaching men that every man has a right to think for himself, and now we must take the consequences. Books are multiplying, libraries are growing, the air is filled with all sorts of philosophies and sciences, speculations and interpretations. Men everywhere are reading, men everywhere are thinking. They must be guided into the thoughts of God. Ours is preëminently a teaching church, and if we do not teach we are basely recreant to our trust. Attacks, furious and multitudinous, must be expected upon every doctrine of our faith. We must teach our young people how to meet these assaults. The young men of Europe in mediæval times flung themselves in magnificent crusades upon the Holy Land, in frenzied efforts to tear Christ's sepulcher from the clutches of the Turk. Young men and women of the twentieth century must march in many an arduous crusade against an enemy more wily and determined than the followers of Mohammed. Never shall we fight again with carnal weapons for the defense or advance of our religion, but war

must there always be. The sword for our warriors is the sword of the Spirit. The sword of the Spirit is the Word of God. What is that Word? The church must seek for it as for treasure hidden in a field, and having found it, must take it and break it and feed it to the young.

The world is increasingly preoccupied and conceited, and the church like a timid Timothy blushes and hesitates. Paul says to her: "Take heed to thyself and the teaching." The world is increasingly inquisitive. It has written interrogation points over every book of Scripture, and across every form of spiritual experience. Peter says to the church: "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." The world is increasingly furious in its pursuit of pleasure and of fortune. The forces of materialism are tremendous and aggressive. Only men of firmest fiber and instructed faith, men with convictions that have been forged and tempered in the heat of God's eternal love which burned its way into our world through the heart that broke on Golgotha, can carry the cross through the coming storms. Listen to what the Spirit of the risen and reigning Christ is saying to the churches. We have heard it from the beginning, let us hear it now again: "Feed my lambs. Shepherd my sheep. Feed my sheep."

Address

The third stated address on the general subject of the evening, "The Young People," was delivered by the Rev. Charles Silvester Horne, M.A., of England, pastor of the Kensington Congregational Church, London, who spoke on the Young People and their Work.

Address by Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A.

THE YOUNG PEOPLE AND THEIR WORK

I have been invited by our optimistic committee to attempt the admittedly impossible task of speaking about the young people and their work within the limits of twenty minutes. The suggestion recalled to me the ancient domestic belief that it is desirable that young people should rather be seen than heard. Repression was once a possible policy. It is no longer so; and, truth to tell, compression has become almost as difficult. Whatever opinions may be held as to the quality of our work among the young, as to its quantity there are not two opinions. Not many years ago our societies were few and far between; now they are many and closely associated. We have large confederations designed to give our young people the sense that they belong to a great movement and are part of a mighty whole. Sidney Smith's description of Scotland has become famous. He said, "There's a tree here and a tree there; and, hullo! there's another tree." The description might be applied to the England of a few years back, so far as young people's societies were concerned. There was one here and another there, and, "hullo, there's another society." To-day, alas for that church that has not a society devoted to the interests of the young! Most churches have many societies. The children have their Guild or Junior Endeavor society. The young men and women have their institutions. A celebrated lady character in fiction held by this creed: "Man is an animal made by Providence naturally troublesome." A creed, as we know, is an opportunity for exceptional doctrine rather than for exact definition, but let the good lady stand for the church, and "man" in her affirmation for the young,

and you have the creed of a generation back. The children were animals made by Providence naturally troublesome. In some places of worship they were relegated to back galleries where they were more frequently heard than seen; and where they had no opportunity of taking part in the service except by dropping things quite by accident on to the heads of the seniors who sat below.

Now, we have changed all that. It is a common thing for ministers who can to preach briefly to the children on Sunday mornings; and, it should be added, it is not an uncommon thing for ministers who can't. It is no longer regarded as a usurpation of the rights of the adult if a children's hymn is introduced; and people who are not exactly children have been surprised before now in the act of very hearty participation. As for young men and women, their opportunity was never so large as it is to-day. They are eagerly welcomed into our churches, and encouraged to take active and audible part therein. So marked has this change been, and in some places so sudden, that gray heads are being shaken over the fact that we are in some danger from enthusiasm unbalanced by a sense of responsibility. They tell us that we have awakened a disposition to rush in where sober-minded angels fear to tread; and that they are keen to enter every open door who have a very imperfect sense of what they will do inside when they get there. Power in the young no doubt has a tendency to go to the head, and the most serious situation has been created in those churches — they are not many — where the new blood has refused to coalesce with the old, and the younger element in the church has concluded the older element to be the Government and itself the Opposition, has laden itself with burdens of abuses and grievances which are usually quite imaginary, and has thus created an uncomfortable sense of division and almost of schism where any such feeling is fatal to unity and progress.

The existence of such a danger does something to define the purposes of our young people's societies. They are to prepare for the life and the work of the church, but not in any degree to supersede it. The social, intellectual, and spiritual education of these societies is to produce more capable and enlightened citizens of the church and of the world. It is to broaden and strengthen the mind, deepen and discipline the affections, purify and intensify faith, stimulate and clarify conscience. The gravest danger undoubtedly is lest the life of our societies should become more interesting, more attractive, and more important than the life of the church; and the church have less to offer the young than is offered by their own societies. Truth to say, the life of the church is often dull; for we have not quite outgrown the belief, against which Dr. Dale protested, that dullness is necessary to dignity; and if a sort of somber respectability is not dignity, it is the best available substitute. The church life, I repeat, is often dull and uninteresting, while life in our societies is full of vitality, and overflowing with unconventional animation. I am not at all sure that if Christ came to one of our modern churches the church meeting would be the occasion when he would feel most at home.

I have been present again and again at meetings of some of our young people's societies which have illustrated to a wonderful degree the freedom, the fellowship, glad and devout, the spontaneity, the general confidence and affection which should distinguish the family life within the Christian household. At such times I have said to myself, if Christ were to come among us again in the flesh, it is here that he would discover the kind of life and spirit which he intended his church to manifest. Don't misunderstand me. The remedy is not to make our societies less interesting, but to make the life of the great central mother society more

interesting and more representative. Some one has said that in making our young people's societies so admirable we are in danger of building beautiful and spacious porches admitting to an unlovely edifice. But if this be true, I repeat, the remedy is not to deform and disfigure the porches, but to restore and beautify the edifice. Then the sense of disappointment and incongruity will disappear. That it is necessary in this way to strengthen the bond between the church and the societies that cluster round it will be generally admitted. It is perhaps a bolder statement to make that we must keep our societies well in touch with the world.

Of course we have societies which are specially designed to keep in association with us those young people who, if not yet in the church, are at least within the life of the congregation. We have our societies which assume at least in every member a certain positive sympathy with the Christian life and faith. I have no word of criticism for such a work, until the statement is heard that such societies solve our problem. Then I join issue. Those who are to be found in these societies are those who are in least danger from the temptations of what we call the "world." The mass of young people whom it is our prime duty to seek to influence and help consists of the giddy, the flighty, the frivolous, the thoughtless, the indifferent. There is nothing positively vicious about most of them. They are only undeveloped intellectually and spiritually. Such innocent interests as they have must be recognized by us, and we must seek to attach them to us by the golden bond of friendship. Let me sketch briefly a society of the kind with which I happen to be very well acquainted. The church with which it is connected is situated in a suburb of London where there are very large houses of business.

One minister, realizing the temptations to which the young women employed in these business houses were exposed in the evenings, opened a guild for them. A committee of the girls themselves consults with a committee of Christian ladies as to the interests likely to prove most useful and popular. Some wish to learn French, some dressmaking, some music, some elocution, some cooking, some housekeeping. All need physical exercise in the form of musical drill. So classes are formed, and the premises of the church are soon alive with happy, eager guild members; and each evening, when the various engagements are over, these girls, who are most of them far from home, gather together for family worship, to sing and pray before they go their several ways. Many hundreds of girls have passed through that guild and gone forth to all parts of the world; and nothing could exceed the gratitude expressed by them for such an influence during their life in London. Now, my experience is that while that guild aims at appealing to the outsider through the taste or interest which is strongest in her, its best work has been done and its noblest influence exercised by those who have given themselves in the very spirit of Jesus to making friends with the members, causing them to feel that they are not outside Christian associations.

I do not lay claim to any great experience, but what I have had has gone to convince me that our societies are very largely made up of those who would have been good anyhow. The Christian Endeavor societies have succeeded in banding together those among our young people who are naturally most devout and most earnest. In many parts of England these societies are doing signal service to the churches. But in my judgment — I speak but for myself — you cannot meet the needs of all neighborhoods by any one form of society. If one kind of society does not succeed, break it up and start another. There is nothing more ruinous than idolatry of the letter here or anywhere. The only difference between

a groove and a grave is a matter of depth. The one vital necessity in any society is that it should work. And if our present methods do not reach and influence those who are outside our church life, then for God's sake let us have done with them, and adopt others that do. In regard to this problem of work among the young, there is another point that I must mention. We must take count of the advance of education, and there must be full opportunities in our societies for the free exercise of the intellect. The fact of the matter is, the secularization of the intellect has been going on apace. That faith and reason are foes is, if not an open avowal, an uneasy suspicion among thousands of people, and especially young people, first conscious of the privilege of their mental franchise.

The Biblical discussions invited by the Christian Endeavor societies are excellent; but it seems to me increasingly important that there should be a competent leader in the chair. Ministers as a rule to-day err in underestimating the thinking and reading of their young people. Books, newspapers, magazines, reviews have broken up the monopoly of the study once for all. In many, many instances that I know the heresy of the pulpit is the orthodoxy of the pew; and the people are far less amazed at the boldness of their minister than he imagines, and far more surprised at his timidity than he suspects. If Biblical discussion is to be a reality and sustain the interest of keen young minds, and if it is to result in spiritual stimulus, and not mere dialectical satisfaction, it must be wisely guided by some man or woman whose views are neither too fluid nor too fossilized.

Bible study is still the prince of studies; but there must be mind in it. To exercise the intellect in high and sacred truths is to hallow it; and I am personally very jealous of our young people's societies that they should attract to them those in our congregations whose mental powers are most strong and keen. At the present time I greatly fear that we cannot lay claim to much success in this direction. Our ablest young people find what they feel they need elsewhere, in various clubs and societies which have no religious basis, and from many of which all theological discussions are rigidly excluded. Neither, I fear, is the responsibility for the alienation altogether theirs. The fact is that serious and fearless study of the Bible, and the social and theological problems it presents, has been discouraged.

I could not conclude this sketchy and unsatisfactory paper without a reference to one of the most encouraging signs of the times to us in England. The new interest taken by the young people in our Congregational history, and their enthusiasm for our principles, and for the famous exponents of those principles have amazed and delighted us all. It is possible to make too much of ancestry; it is possible to live too much in the past. There are men who never did a deed for freedom or righteousness in their life, even by mistake, who are boastful of their Puritan descent. There are men and women who are outside all our moral crusades of to-day, living on the ancestral heroisms achieved at Naseby, or Bunker Hill, or Gettysburg. If you challenge their right to wear these fadeless laurels, they show you a top-boot of Oliver Cromwell, or a quill-pen of John Milton, ticketed under a glass case, so that there can be no mistake about it.

You may remember that it was the custom of Falstaff to lie down on the battlefield and pretend that he was dead. But when the battle was over, he used to carry back to the camp the body of an eminent warrior whom some one else had slain in proof of his own personal prowess. There are many Falstaffs in life. There are people who are always killing dead causes. Their courage is prodigious in the presence of the slain. They are Protestants of the sixteenth century, and Puritans of the seventeenth. They are Reformers of all that has *been* reformed. They are friends

of all the liberties of the past, partisans of the chivalries of days gone by. But let any evil of to-day raise its head, and they lie down on the battlefield and let the issue be decided over them. They have no interest in any controversies that are not historical; they have no heart for any fight that is not already won.

This won't do. Give me the young man who never heard of Cromwell or of Brewster, but who is wide-awake to the significance of every modern campaign against social and moral iniquities. Give me the young man who does not think that every national danger disappeared with absolutism at Worcester, or that every form of slavery perished at Gettysburg. But, if possible, give me the young man who knows to what traditions of sacrifice and moral enthusiasm he, in God's providence, is heir. Give me the young man who has drunk deep of the spirit of those mighty progenitors of ours who knew the worth of national and ecclesiastical liberty, and joyfully paid its price. Then let him turn — yes, and let his sisters in the same spirit turn — to the life of to-day. Let young America and young England enter into solemn and sacred covenant and confederacy to aspire and labor, spend and be spent, suffer and struggle, think and speak, live and die, to make righteousness, peace, truth, brotherhood, freedom no longer the rhetoric of the platform or the pulpit, but the dominant sovereign facts of the life of their kindred nations, for the happiness of their peoples and for the instruction and inspiration of mankind.

Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D., invited to respond

On motion of Hon. T. C. McMillan, of Illinois, Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D., of Massachusetts, President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, was invited to respond to these addresses on the Young People's Work, which he did as follows: —

Response by Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D.

Mr. President, — I am very grateful to Dr. Jefferson for his kind and generous allusion to the young people's work as represented by the Society of Christian Endeavor and to the others who have spoken on this subject, for their approval of the leadership of the work, and for their wise and kindly suggestions which we will gladly take to heart. I do not wish, nor is it necessary, to defend the Christian Endeavor societies, but a few words concerning the character of the young people engaged in Christian work are not out of place.

One of the speakers, if I have not misunderstood him, believes that the young people in our churches and Christian Endeavor societies are below the average. The implication seemed to be that most of them are intellectual weaklings. If this were true, I should also remember that the Bible itself tells us that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." I should remember that our Lord's early disciples were fishermen and tax-gatherers and common people, and also that the opinion of this Council, often expressed, is that Congregationalism has sometimes made a great mistake in catering to the educated classes and neglecting the common people.

But while this is to be said, I wish emphatically to express my opinion that the young people in our churches and Christian Endeavor societies are not a whit inferior in any real trait of manliness or womanliness or intellectual vigor, and are superior in spiritual earnestness and devotion to those outside. There is one small class that is conspicuous by its

absence, and that is the class called "society young people"; but then, this class as a rule is not found in any kind of strenuous Christian work. It *patronizes* the Sunday morning service and certain forms of benevolence, but is not at home in the prayer-meeting or the Sunday-school or the Christian Endeavor society. As for the rest, all kinds are in the church and in the society — the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, the influential and the uninfluential. This democracy is the glory of the work. The average young people, neither more learned nor more ignorant, neither more graceful nor more awkward, neither richer nor poorer, than the average of the communities in which they are placed are found in these societies. These societies have their full share of the brightest, strongest, keenest minds. There are thousands of school teachers and hundreds of thousands of scholars in the society, but I rejoice that there are hundreds of thousands also that are not of this class. The common young people, too, the average boys and girls are here, and for this I am profoundly grateful. I will leave it to the pastors in this audience — I will leave it to the pastors of America, if this is not the absolute truth.

Once more, let me say that I do not believe that any wholesale criticisms of Junior superintendents are deserved. If I know anything about these superintendents, they are among the most consecrated and devoted women in our churches. They have taken up the work out of love to God and the little children. They have not taken it up for their health, or their profit, or for the honor there is in it, for they are likely to receive more criticism than praise; but they are carrying it on persistently, patiently, faithfully, out of love to Christ and his little ones. I have seen no sign of unpleasant precocity among the Juniors except in very rare and isolated cases. The very nature of their meetings debars such exhibitions. You find such occasional unpleasant precocity more frequently in the day schools and in the Sunday-schools and in our families. But shall the public school and the Sunday-school and the family be condemned because of the occasional prig and precocious youngster?

I agree heartily with the suggestion that the pastor should give more time and attention to this department of his work. Would that pastors everywhere might do so. But it is because they have not seen their way to the taking up of this work and carrying it on that these devoted women (the Junior superintendents) in thousands of our churches are, under the circumstances, doing the best they can.

I hope, too, that the Junior society will never be made simply a primary Sunday-school class where *instruction* is the one sole purpose of the leader. Surely there is a place in our churches for *training* as well as for *instruction*, and why should we trench on the functions of the Sunday-schools? The Sunday-schools we must have; the Junior societies cannot and should not take their place, but neither can the Sunday-school take the place of the Junior society, where children learn to work by working, and are trained by simple appropriate service and confession for larger service and fuller confession. In these Junior societies, too, there is a splendid opportunity for the catechetical instruction so ably advocated by Dr. Jefferson, a feature I have long advised and which I hope will be taken up more and more widely.

Brethren, the work for the young people during the last twenty years in our churches has been no holiday affair. It has cost a multitude of unselfish laborers hard work and pains and care. It has involved long journeyings and many anxieties. But these cares have not come from the young people, from any lack of their loyalty to the church, or from their unwillingness to enter Christian life and work. Large as the kindness already accorded by our churches and pastors is, am I presumptu-

ous in asking for a larger sympathy? May I not assume, as a Congregationalist, a right to ask particularly of all brother Congregationalists for the affectionate interest and hearty support (which indeed most have given) to efforts which God has blessed and which only sectarians have tried to hinder?

During the last fifteen years the average additions to our churches on confession of faith have increased over one hundred per cent., and these additions have come almost wholly from the ranks of the young. During the last fifteen years the gifts of the young people to our denominational missions have increased more than twenty-five per cent. During the last fifteen years the young people have increased signally in their love and loyalty to their own churches; and their activities have increased, I think it is not unfair to say, tenfold. But, brethren, earnest coöperation and sympathy with the young people by all pastors and churches would still more largely increase their activities and double the accessions to our churches over again. For this coöperation I plead, generous and hearty, such as Congregationalists so well know how to give, such as a multitude already do give. Give this, and the young people will bless you for your advice and accept your suggestions and rejoice in your counsels and go forward to larger and ever larger work for Christ and the church.

After the benediction by the Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois, the Council adjourned until Wednesday morning.

OVERFLOW MEETING AT PARK STREET CHURCH

Park Street church was again well filled on Tuesday evening with attendants upon the Council who could not gain access to Tremont Temple. Rev. Principal Joseph H. George, D.D., PH.D., presided and made a few opening remarks. The delegates from Hawaii, Rev. Messrs. Kauhane, Timoteo, Ezera, and Desha, sang their national anthem in their native tongue. The speakers were Rev. J. M. Ezera, of Ewa, Oahu; Rev. Jacob John Halley, of Australia; Rev. Stephen L. Desha, of Hawaii; and Mr. R. J. Bennett, of Illinois.

Address

Principal George introduced as the first speaker of the evening the Rev. J. M. Ezera, of Hawaii, whose address, as interpreted by Mr. Gorham D. Gilman, Hawaiian Consul General for the New England states, was as follows: —

[When Mr. Ezera was introduced, and before he began his address, Mr. Gilman said: —

I will state that Mr. Ezera is the pastor of one of the Congregational churches about seven miles from Honolulu, at a place called Ewa, where is one of the largest sugar mills on the islands, and adjoining a pearl harbor of which you may have read in connection with the interests of the American government there, this place having been taken possession of as a great naval station.]

Address by Rev. J. M. Ezera

Mr. President, — I give you greeting. [Mr. Gilman here interpolated the following explanatory remark: The word *Aloha* is a general word of salutation in the Hawaiian language, and is used for a welcoming and also a departing address. It is one of the sweetest words in any language because it means, in truth, love. Mr. Ezera brings love to you and to the Christian company with whom he has met since he has been here in Boston.]

My thought in coming to you is to tell you of the work which has been done in the Hawaiian Islands in the name of Jesus. In 1820 the islands were enveloped in great darkness, and gross blackness covered the people; but the missionaries, carrying the light of the gospel, went out from this country and came to us, and we are enjoying that light as it is shed abroad upon us. The first thing I will tell you will be something about the missionary work. When the missionaries first arrived at the islands, one of their greatest difficulties was their utter ignorance of the language. There was no written language at that time and consequently they labored under peculiar difficulty. But there was One with them, the Lord Jesus Christ, who had prepared in their hearts the thought to go to those islands, and who prepared the way by which the darkness should be rolled aside and Hawaii should come into the light. They came to the chiefs of the island, our fathers, and they said, "We come to bring you glad tidings." It was through the preaching of these glad tidings that a great door was opened in those islands — a door by which we also have been able to come back to you and bring you these tidings from Hawaii. The seed

REV. J. M. EZERA, Ewa. REV. J. KAUHANE, Waiohinu.
REV. OLIVER P. EMERSON, Honolulu.
REV. E. S. TIMOTEO, Honolulu. REV. STEPHEN L. DESHA, Hilo.

THE HAWAIIAN DELEGATION.

was faithfully sown. It has ripened and it has grown into a large tree which shadows the land, the tree of righteousnes for our people; and now the child and the man of gray hairs (and the man with the shiny head who is interpreting literally what I am saying) are enjoying the blessed life which has come to us.

We have come, four of us here, to represent as best we may Hawaii to this great Council. We are all Hawaiians, although as you look upon us you will discover that there is some little shade of difference in the color of our faces, yet we are all at heart Hawaiians.

Just as here in Boston you have your churches, your associations, your Christian Endeavor societies, your Sunday-schools, and all the other associations and work that is done within the church, so out there the work is going on in the same way; it is one and the same work.

I have but a few words more. There are others on the platform who are to speak to you. We have come here for the purpose of coming into contact with the Christians of this place, that we may learn something from you and your ways and that we may go back encouraged by the help we have received from you as we have associated together while sitting together in heavenly places during the days of this great Council. My word to you is this: do not hesitate in sending out those who will continue this great and good missionary work. Our fathers have passed away; the children are taking their places; but we still need the encouragement which we look to Boston for, as Boston was originally the starting point of this great missionary work. Strive to find some help for us, for we still need help. We have children growing up, as you have children here, and we want them to go in the right way. Our fathers and mothers have, as your fathers and mothers have in years gone by, shed many tears and offered many prayers for their children that God would bless them and their work; and so my word to you to-night is, continue in the good work; send us helpers and strength.

Address by Rev. Jacob J. Halley, of Australia

Mr. President and Friends, — I did not fetch my consul along to translate my Australian for you, so I must try to worry along as best I can without an interpreter and you must try to understand my tongue without having it interpreted to you. I come from Australia. I suppose that your geography perhaps has indicated to you that it is a small island lying somewhere about the Equator. Professor Holloway, whose pills I presume you have heard of even in Boston, used to advertise that his pills might be obtained "from respectable druggists in all parts of the civilized world *and Australia*." Well, whether Australia be civilized or not, it is from there that I have the pleasure of coming and speaking to you to-night. Australia is not such a little island. If you leave out Alaska we could put the whole of the United States into the middle of Australia and leave a good bicycle track all around it. Nor is Australia such a very distant land. It only takes twenty-three days to go from Sydney to San Francisco, calling at Samoa and Honolulu on the route, and we are beginning to feel very near to you American brothers of ours. I do not want to be called a jingoist. I believe, as Mark Twain says, that "the meek shall inherit the earth," and the British, being the meek, have inherited most of it; yet I should not be at all sorry if you were to extend your protecting flag as far westward as Samoa, and we would like to extend our protecting flag over the islands between Australia and Samoa. Thus at Samoa we Australians and you Americans would meet and twine the

stars and stripes of America and the union jack and the southern cross of Australia into one flag. Upon my word, I think you Americans are imperialists. I believe you would like to have a big empire outside of your own. I will say that we Australians are not at all sorry to have you as our neighbors in the Philippine Islands. At the present time we are sending a steamer full of frozen meat every week for your troops in the Philippines. We are generously supplying your troops with food and we will continue to do so as long as "Uncle Sam" will foot the bills. So that I feel, in coming here, that I am coming rather to neighbors than to very distant acquaintances.

I claim, Mr. Chairman, to be a son of the Puritans. I am a descendant of that same Rev. Henry Jacob who was the first Separatist minister in the City of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, so I have a very good Puritan descent. It is therefore an intense pleasure to me to come to Boston because we old Puritans, to whatever nationality we may belong, look to Boston and New England as a kind of sacred ground. We look upon your rocks and stones as sacred — albeit as we walk your streets they are not always very good for tender feet. We have read and have nourished ourselves when we were young very much on Harriet Beecher Stowe's wonderful stories of New England life — stories that when one has read he often turns back to again. I have also read with a great deal of pleasure the stories of Nathaniel Hawthorne, your great New England writer. But I must say, in all frankness, that some of my illusions have been taken away since I came into this country of yours. For instance, Mrs. Stowe makes all her young people go out after what is called in her books "wintergreen." Hepzibah's children are always running after wintergreen; the loafer of the village is always out after wintergreen. It figures largely in all her stories, and so I was intensely anxious to taste wintergreen. A fair American young lady offered me the other day two or three wintergreen lozenges. I modestly took one and broke it into halves and then into quarters. I ate one quarter, and I vow to you, Mr. Chairman, that if ever I am in a besieged city and every ounce of horseflesh has gone, and every cat and every dog and every rat and every mouse has been consumed, then I will take wintergreen again. I am happy to say, however, that two other great viands for which you are famous, baked beans and brown bread, have so appealed to me that I am once more a profound believer in Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe.

But let me return to the subject of the evening. This great Council of ours has gathered here in the interests of Congregationalism and of that Puritanism which has come down to us through all these centuries. I know how hard a thing it is to address an overflow meeting. I know that however much a speaker may try to overflow himself, it is one of the hardest things in the world to interest an overflow meeting. However, we must not jibe, as we people in Australia who have so much to do with horses would say, but I must try as best I can to get my neck and shoulders into the collar and somehow or other to pull the coach along, knowing too that I have not to do it alone because we have here these splendid Hawaiian brothers who will help. When we were on the steamer coming to this Council we stopped at Honolulu, and as we approached the wharf we were charmed to see a man, very nearly six feet high, standing there crowned with flowers. There were flowers on his hat and around his neck. I said to my friend Dr. Bevan, "You may be quite certain that that man is one of the delegates to our Council, being sent off with honor by his friends in Honolulu." It was our friend here, Mr. Desha, who soon came into the ship with us. He had been crowned with these floral tributes because he had been so much honored in his island home. This Con-

gregationalism of ours runs in some way or other right around the world. We have a different ancestry but we all come from the same fathers, whom we honor so much. We have nothing to be ashamed of in our ancestry. We have nothing to cause a single blush to come over our faces when we think of those forefathers of mine and of yours who long ago fought the battle for civil and religious liberty.

> In our halls is hung
> The armor of the invincible knights of old;
> In everything we are sprung
> From earth's first blood, with titles manifold.

And it is that "first blood," that splendid chivalry of the ages when men could live and die for their principles and their liberty, that brings us together at this great Council of ours. But we must ever remember that it may be a very good thing to have a noble ancestry or it may be a very bad thing. It is a very bad thing if it is to be said of us when we think of our ancestry, as it is said of the potato, that the best part of it is underground. It is a good thing to have celebrated fathers if we remember that that fact is only to incite us to worthier deeds, incite us to fight in our own day the battles we have to fight and to do our part in bringing in that kingdom of God and of righteousness for which they lived and died. I take it that our Congregationalism still stands for what it did in the days gone by. I take it that it still stands for liberty of thought and for liberty of action, that it still stands for the right of men to a sight of God, to carry out their own thoughts and principles and to worship God in that manner which the Spirit shows best to their hearts. Men sometimes seem to think that all is done that needs to be done in this land and in the land to which I belong by Congregationalists. In America and in Australia we have torn down the last rag of state patronage, of state endowment, and thrown it on the rubbish heap. That is what our fathers fought for. Some say to us to-day, "Your *raison d'être* is over. Why need you exist any longer as a denomination? Why need you trouble to build churches? You belong to the great army of the Lord: simply change your places and join some other regiment." We answer that our work is not yet done. God still has work for the Congregational churches to do all around the world, not only in that old England where still they groan under a state church, where still they have to feel, as it were, almost the lash of some cruel taskmaster as they try to do their work in the villages and rural places of that land, but also here in America, where for all these decades of years you have been engaged in work. So also in that great new land of Australia, which has only had its white population for a little over a hundred years. Melbourne and Victoria have only come into existence within the lifetime of many who are present here to-night. Melbourne is a town as large as Boston, with 440,000 inhabitants. Still in these lands we have our battle to fight for liberty of thought. Sir, we believe that still God is revealing his light to nations as he has been revealing it in the scientific discoveries of the days in which we live. So God is ever revealing light to men, not only in scientific discoveries, but in those things that make for man's higher and nobler nature. And there are none so free as we are to proclaim the new thoughts and to lift up the torch of the new light that God sends into the world. For we, bound by no subscription to creeds, even though those creeds were written by the wisest men of the centuries gone by, are free to tell men that God is their Father, free to declare the brotherhood of humanity, free in all our pulpits to declare that the day is coming when kings shall rule in righteousness, when princes shall decree justice, when the rich shall not grind the faces of

the poor, and when the poor shall not envy the rich. We have our evangel to the world, an evangel that I think God has perhaps in some way especially entrusted to those free churches which in the past were loyal to him and loyal to their Master Jesus Christ.

But we are standing for liberty of action. What a wonderful thing a Congregational church is! Sometimes it seems to be the weakest possible thing. A few men and women gathered together into a church not like this great church in which we are to-night, but perhaps in some small conventicle hardly bigger than that First Church in which we bowed in reverence in Salem the other day, the congregation perchance illiterate, the membership composed of two or three men and a few faithful women like the Marys and the Marthas of old, ever near to the Master, — it is a weak thing and does not compare with the great ecclesiastical establishment supported by the state and with creeds that run back into the centuries gone by. But such a church is strong. Try to crush it and you will find it something that will not be crushed. Why? It has liberty of life and liberty of action. It has not to ask any bishop whether it may put up a cross behind the pulpit or not if it chooses so to do. It has not to get permission from anybody to put an organ at the east end or the west end of the church, or to add a spire to its modest building if it likes. It has not to get the leave of synod or presbytery or assembly to adopt a new hymn book if it gets tired of the old. So that a Congregational church has perfect absolute liberty of action, and it is because our Congregational churches stand for liberty of thought and liberty of action that whether they be many or few they must still be a power in the land. Sometimes when it is pointed out to me how many are the churches of other denominations, I say, the question is not *where* is the church, but *what* is the church; and that church must indeed at the last be the enduring church and the triumphant church, not where the Bishop or the Pope is, but where Christ is. Now it is this that makes the power of our Congregational churches — the same power which at Naseby Field thrust a monarch from his throne and sent him to lose his head at Whitehall. It was that power which enabled you to shake yourselves free from the fetters which had held you and to proclaim yourselves a great nation. It was that same Puritan power that enabled you, when those dark days came upon you, when it seemed almost as if this great republic which had been reared by the thought and the energy of some of the wisest and the best men the world has ever known was to be wrecked, — it was this same power which enabled you to still raise your standard of principles above the storm, and with your wise man, Abraham Lincoln, at the helm to guide the bark of state into safety. It was this great Puritan spirit that ever declared for liberty and that freed your slaves. England did a noble thing when with forty millions of money she bought out the stain of slavery from her flag. You did a more noble thing when, not with any corruptible thing such as silver and gold, but with the best blood of your sons, you bought out the stain of slavery from your flag. It was this same old Puritan spirit battling for liberty. May that spirit of liberty ever be the spirit of all our churches, so that we may say,

Spirit of freedom, on!
  Oh, pause not in thy flight
Till every clime be one
  To worship in thy light.
Till where the mountains fall,
  And where the valleys rise,
The beacon light of liberty
  Shall kindle to the skies.

And so as we send our sons and daughters into distant lands to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of Christ, they are sowing in those lands the seed of freedom. I do not suppose that Congregationalism is ever to be the one dominant church of the world. It would be the paralysis of thought if that were to come. But I do believe that more and more men are learning to live in the light which God day by day shows to them. Our denominational differences may pass away; some of them must pass away; but the great eternal principles will remain the same.

Our little systems have their day,
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of thee,
And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

Address by Rev. S. L. Desha, of Hilo, Hawaii

(*Interpreted by Mr. Gilman*)

Mr. President and Friends, — When Mr. Halley first spoke to you about being a descendant of Jacob I thought he meant the old patriarch Jacob, but the man he is descended from only lived in the time of Elizabeth. I can antedate him in my relationship to you, for I can claim my descent from Adam, the father of all nations.

I speak in Hawaiian, because I would like to have you become acquainted with the sound of the Hawaiian language in its beauty. With us it is common to speak of it as the language of Paradise, for our islands are called the Paradise of the Pacific. I would have your ears become accustomed to it, so that when you land on those islands, as I hope you will, you will not be unfamiliar with the sound of Hawaii. You may think it strange, but we Hawaiians think that our language is nearest the language of heaven of anything that we can know. The Greek language is certainly hard to learn, and it is very difficult to understand all the ins and outs of your English language, so that we think our language is *the* language — the language of heaven. There are only twelve letters in the alphabet.

One of the things which I would have you understand is the feeling that we have in being here to-night in this building. Perhaps your fathers have told you that the original Hawaiian church was formed in this very building, beneath this very roof, in 1819, eighty years ago. At this altar stood Mr. Bingham, Mr. Thurston, Mr. Whitney, and their associates, and with them there were three of our Hawaiian youths, and here that church was born. Here was sung that famous old hymn, "From Greenland's icy mountains." From here they started out on their long voyage around Cape Horn until they reached Hawaii. From this place, therefore, have gone out such influences that we are very glad to be here and to look into your faces. As my brother has said to you, the seed was planted, and there was nothing in Hawaii strong enough to destroy its life. These missionaries came to us and they brought the power of Jesus Christ.

I have been frequently asked the question, "What is the good of Hawaii to America?" We are not as large as the great island of Australia from which our friend has come, but Providence has placed us, as it were, in the middle of the ocean for a resting place for the world's commerce. In your recent war with Spain little Hawaii took a strong position. The war was on with Spain, and she did n't know what the consequences might be, but she did this: she broke the law of nations, international law, by opening her ports wide to all American vessels and standing by

America as part and parcel of the mother country. I sat beside a soldier boy, one of your boys who was on his way from San Francisco to Manila, and who was stopping at Honolulu and enjoying a rest. He was being ministered to by some of our fair young ladies, and we have very beautiful young ladies on our islands. (We are proud of beauty, and when you have got through with your excellent Governor Wolcott we would like to have you send him out to us as a handsome governor.) After the boy had eaten a good dinner and satisfied his hunger he said, "This is the first square meal I have had since I left my mother's home in New England." I may say in passing that the people of Honolulu spent $25,000 simply for the entertainment of the soldiers on their way from San Francisco to Manila. They were voluntary contributions raised by the community. Not only did we feed them with bread for the body, but at one evening meeting in Honolulu there was subscribed $11,000 to send the gospel from Hawaii to the Philippine Islands.

Our desire as Hawaiians is to do as you are doing here — to remember the words of Abraham Lincoln: "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people." That is what we are aiming at and what we are living for — the message which you have sent out to us. We are children of your parentage. You are our parents, and as you are, we want to be. As you are independent in your churches, we want to be independent and to have an independent government for all. We want to have the law under which you are living, with equal rights for all, and we want to have you help us to establish in Hawaii such a law as will give us the same rights in our country. I claim to be an American citizen. The American flag, the stars and stripes, is floating over the hills and the mountains of Hawaii. We are under the protection of the American flag, and so we claim our right, as American citizens, to have a vote in our country of Hawaii as a part of the mainland.

A word for the missionaries. The sons and daughters of the missionaries, it has often been said, — I think you may have perhaps seen it in some Boston paper, — are very degenerate; they are given over entirely to money getting. But only a little while before I came away one of those children gave $50,000 in one gift for the furtherance of the gospel in Hawaii and beyond. That was immediately followed by two other gifts of $10,000 each, one being given by the daughter of a missionary and another by her husband. This shows you something of a work which is still being done by children of the missionaries. And may I say for myself that every attempt to depreciate them, saying that they are given over to money getting, is a libel on some of the best Puritan blood that was ever in New England.

One word as I finish. As we go back from here we ask your prayers in our behalf. We go back with a new heart in our work, still praying and still working for Hawaii, that the one cross, the one flag, the one government, above all, the one common Lord Jesus Christ, may be ours as well as yours.

Address

The closing address was by Mr. R. J. Bennett, of Illinois, who spoke as follows: —

Address by Mr. R. J. Bennett, of Illinois

Mr. President, — I assure you, in coming here to-night I had no thought of saying a word; but when I saw these men here from Hawaii on the platform, whom I know by sight without any introduction, and to

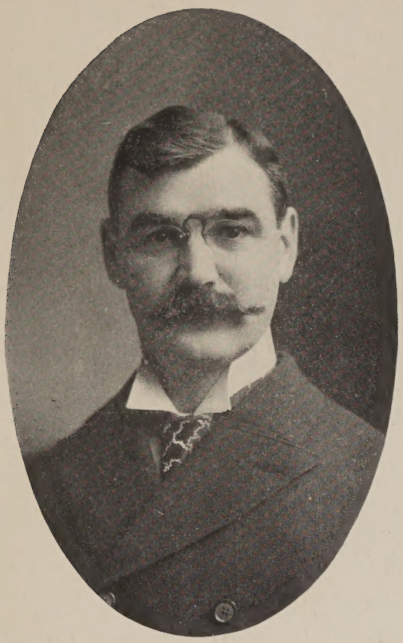
whom I shall be glad to introduce myself by saying *Aloha*, I felt like saying something which I should like to have the young people of this city hear. When I was a little white-haired boy I had a primary geography and I read among other things in it that Australia was the largest island in the world, that it was eight hundred miles wide and twelve hundred miles long. Since that time Australia has grown until it is now four times its original size. I think, from the tone of the remarks of the delegates and brethren coming to us from Australia, that the people there are likely to feel that if the island keeps on growing for the next fifty years as it has for the past, it will soon be large enough to take in Asia as well as the United States. If that is not literally true, it may be at least figuratively true.

I want to say a word about some small islands not quite so large as the state of Massachusetts, but more hilly. Perhaps not so large a proportion of the land can be cultivated on account of those hills. I was perfectly surprised in crossing the Pacific Ocean to see, on the seventh day out from San Francisco, the lofty peak above the clouds of Mauna Loa, four thousand feet high, one of the most magnificent mountains I ever saw. I had expected to find the islands comparatively flat, in the shape of a lagoon. Those islands lay out there unknown when Washington was with his army at Valley Forge. Captain Cook came through the Pacific Ocean to see what he could find and he ran up against those islands. A few months afterwards he came back and was received as a god. The natives had never seen a ship or a paleface and they extended to him their courtesy. He returned their kindness in anything but a Christian spirit, taking advantage of their generosity and abusing it. By and by they became exasperated and one chief threw a stone at him. The blood trickled down his face and then they knew he was only human and they fell upon him and killed him. According to their ethics they were right. I can say kindlier things of his mate, Mr. Vancouver, who afterward sent back gifts to the Hawaiians and made friends with them, treating them most cordially. For forty-two years after this the maritime nations of Europe have sent their ships to Hawaii, carrying cotton cloths, etc., which the natives bought at about the price of broadcloth. They paid for it in sandalwood at the price of cordwood. During these forty-two years the natives were stripped of everything that was salable and were left very poor. Now I am a merchant and I know something of the things which I am talking about. I have come to believe that unsanctified commerce is highway robbery, and if you read and study the facts you will find that statement is true. After this came the missionary to the islands, not to rob them, but to bless them. They came not to take one single thing from them. They were supported by the contributions from New England and the other parts of the United States. They went there and studied the language and reduced it to writing and then they printed books and taught the people to read. They taught them agriculture and manufacturing, and a different spirit came over the people. I have been somewhat among other peoples besides Hawaiians, but wherever I have been outside of Christendom I find no homes such as bless Christian lands. When the missionaries first went there the wives of the missionaries called the Hawaiian mothers together at a mothers' meeting. The present chief justice of the Hawaiian Islands says there were nineteen or twenty mothers in that meeting. The missionary women said to them, "Mothers, where are your children? You are married; where are your children? How many have been born to you?" They found out that the Hawaiian women had strangled their children; they had murdered them to get rid of them. They knew no better; they had never been taught

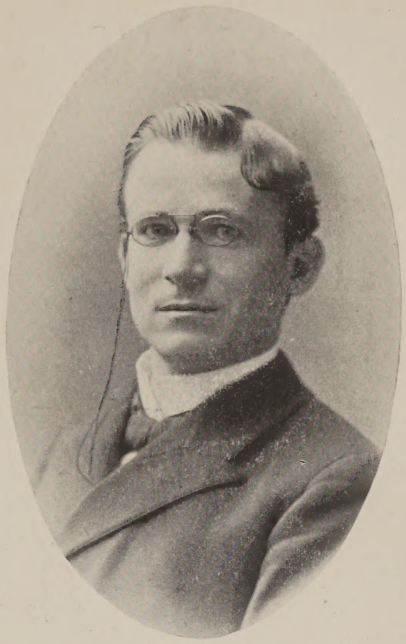
better. The missionaries began to teach them that a man must have a home, that a husband must be the husband of one wife and that a wife must be the wife of one husband, for there was polygamy and polyandry both there, and that those born into the family were trusts given to them from God, and it was their duty to take those boys and girls from the hand of God and make of them the kind of men and women that the world needed. The ears of these Hawaiians were opened and their hearts were touched and that kind of barbarism passed away.

In the years that followed down to the breaking out of our Civil War, the American Board spent in those islands, as near as I can gather, about one and one third million dollars in educating and in Christianizing that people, changing them from an absolute and inherent nation to a Christian nation. The percentage of illiteracy among the Hawaiians to-day is less than it is in Massachusetts. The Hawaiians had been stripped naked by commerce, the ships running mostly between our country and theirs. The amount of trade done reached to over twenty millions of dollars, being principally carried in American bottoms, manned largely by American capital. Now if the profit in that carrying back and forth was ten per cent. — and I presume it was — then there was a clear gain from this trade of not less than two millions of dollars as a return during forty years for an expenditure of one and one third million, or a profit in the material things of this life of one hundred and fifty per cent. per annum on the entire outlay during all those years. But the larger result was in the change which came over these people. Oh, I came to love these people as I came to know them. The kindness, the cordiality, the open-heartedness with which they treated my daughter and myself while we were in those islands led me to love them. I want to ask if there are any merchants here in Boston owning bonds or corner lots or real estate or anything else that pays better than this investment in Hawaii. If there are, they have something which certainly is very valuable. But I am speaking particularly to young people, and I want to say to the Christian Endeavorers of this and of other churches who may be here that there is nothing you can do which will pay better for the world at large and for humanity in general than sending the gospel to those who have it not.

At the conclusion of the service and after the benediction had been pronounced by the Rev. Jacob John Halley, of Australia, the congregation was presented to the members of the Hawaiian delegation and to the speakers of the evening.

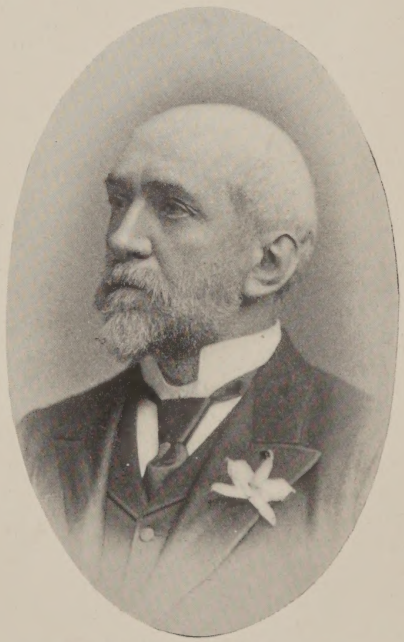


REV. CORNELIUS H. PATTON, D.D.,
St. Louis, Mo.



REV. CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D.D.,
New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH COMPTON RICKETT, D.L., M.P.,
Scarborough, England.



WILLIAM CROSFIELD, ESQ., J.P.,
Liverpool, England.

Wednesday, September 27, 1899

MORNING SESSION

Devotional Service

In accordance with a previous vote, a prayer and praise service was held at nine o'clock and was conducted by the Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois.

Session Convened

The regular session of the Council was called to order at 9.30 o'clock, President Angell in the chair. After the singing of the hymn "Oh, spirit of the living God," prayer was offered by the Rev. David L. Ritchie, of England.

Delegate to the Presbyterian Council

On motion of Secretary Hazen it was

Voted: That the business committee nominate a delegate to extend the greetings of our Council to the Seventh General Council of the Alliance of the Reformed churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian System, now in session in Washington, D. C.

Resolution of Thanks

Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., of England, moved the following resolution of thanks: —

Resolution

The delegates attending the second International Congregational Council desire to tender their grateful acknowledgments to the general committee of arrangements appointed by the National Council, and especially to the brethren in Boston and its neighborhood for their cordial and generous hospitality, and for their indefatigable endeavors to promote in every way the success of the meeting. The delegates earnestly pray that the memory of the Council's visit may abide as a gracious influence in all the churches.

Remarks by Dr. Mackennal

Dr. Mackennal followed the presentation of this resolution with these remarks: —

Mr. Chairman, — It is impossible to do justice to a resolution of this sort, but very happily no speaker is needed even to assume to do it justice.

The faces of the delegates throughout the week, the gladness which they have displayed, the cheerfulness with which they have come into this temple and discharged the duties which came upon them here, — in fact, I may say, the whole atmosphere of the Council must have conveyed to our hosts the feeling that we were intensely grateful to them for their endeavors. We are under special obligations to the chairman of this committee, Mr. Samuel B. Capen, to its vice-chairman, Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., and there are certain heads of departments whom we have learned to look upon as responsible for particular arrangements. No one can be here without seeing how much my friend Mr. Capen has thrown himself into every opportunity for usefulness. No American will need to be informed that Mr. Capen's devotion to this Council is only a part of the same sort of unfailing devotion, year by year and day by day, to the interests of the Congregational churches in this country. I have pleasure in mentioning here for particular gratitude Mr. William F. Whittemore, who has been, I am happy to say, my host and the host of the whole Council, and who has done so much to make our stay outside this building a very happy one. Then there is the gentleman who has presided over the information department, Rev. Daniel W. Waldron; and not least, there is the head of the musical department, Rev. Marshall M. Cutter. Rev. Edward S. Tead has also been here and there and everywhere where he could do us any good. We are all going to carry away from Boston memories that are full of these blessed days. It is something to have seen — at least for those of us who come from the foggy island across the Atlantic — deep blue skies reflected upon deep blue water and under the light of a powerful sun; but it is still more for us to have learned that the warmth of heart, the generous hospitality with which our American brethren are generally credited, is not at all in advance of the reality. Some Americans here I am sure will remember a very unfortunate incident which occurred about a dozen or fourteen years ago when the sheriff of one of the states in the interior was shot down in a public restaurant. He had committed, or was the cause of there having been committed, some very disgraceful offense, and as he was known not to be a man who stood upon ceremony in times of trouble, there was appointed by the judge who had to try him a warden who should continually follow the judge about and see that the sheriff attempted no injudicial process towards him. The court rose one day for luncheon, and the judge entered a restaurant across the road, accompanied by his warden. The sheriff very soon followed, and the warden, seeing some suspicious movement on the part of the sheriff, shot him down. The whole company in the restaurant was thrown into confusion. Men rose up, chairs were upset, there were shoutings and great excitement, but in the midst of it all there was one guest who displayed not the slightest excitement. He sat at his table and finished his luncheon as if nothing had happened. Needless to say, he was an Englishman. On being complimented for the composure which he had displayed, he gave an Englishman's simple reason. He did n't know that he had done anything remarkable, he said, but he was anxious not to display ignorance of the customs of the country. Now persons who are very anxious to find out the customs of the country are very apt to make serious mistakes. I think the members of this Council have been delivered from the danger of any very serious mistakes because we have not been so anxious to understand your customs and to study your ways as not to respond to your affection and to open our hearts to you as you have opened your hearts to us. We sincerely trust that the Council may have brought you a blessing, and that your memories of our visit may be as long continued and as delightful as our remembrance of your reception of us.

The Resolution of Thanks Adopted

The resolution of thanks offered by Dr. Mackennal in connection with the above remarks was seconded by the Rev. Michael Burnham, D.D., of Missouri, and was responded to by President Angell, and by Mr. Samuel B. Capen, of Massachusetts, and unanimously adopted.

Resolution Seconded by Rev. Dr. Burnham

Rev. Michael Burnham, D.D., in seconding the resolution of thanks, spoke as follows: —

Mr. Chairman, — It gives me great pleasure to second this motion, although it seems like seconding a vote of thanks to the members of my own family. I have labored so long and so intimately in the interests of our denomination with these brethren at the head of this committee, some of whose names have been mentioned and others whose names have not been mentioned, that I seem to be even now associated with them in the same work in this old city of Boston. None of us who went across the water to the first Council will fail to remember, I am sure, the generosity with which our English brethren there greeted the members of this Council, and I am sure it has been the delight of all our hearts, and especially of the brethren of this city, to welcome our English friends from across the water on this soil. I have been so delighted with the comprehensive and with the careful and detailed and generous welcome given to this Council that, with all my heart, I want to second this vote of thanks.

Response by President Angell

I am sure that I cannot fail to represent the sincere feelings of this body when I say that we are very grateful to the author of the resolution for the kind words of the resolution and for the kind words with which he has presented it to us. He must know that we are nearly all of English descent, and whatever we have learned about hospitality we must give credit for it as an inheritance to our fathers. Those of us, as Dr. Burnham has said, who were in London at the previous Council, surely needed nothing more to stimulate us than to try to imitate so far as we could the splendid example of hospitality set before us there. I am sure we are all quite as grateful to our friends who have come from afar to assist us in the labors of this Council as they can possibly be to us. I was thinking, when Dr. Mackennal was speaking, that we here have a right to try to imagine the feelings of the brethren at Jerusalem when they came up from all the surrounding countries of the world and brought down upon Jerusalem a Pentecostal blessing. We feel that we are indebted to the brethren who have brought us this spirit of devotion to the Master, this encouragement to us in our church life, and this inspiration for all that is within our power to do to advance the kingdom of God. I am sure that I should not be pardoned if I did not give my friend Mr. Capen an opportunity to say a word.

Response by Mr. Samuel B. Capen

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Council, — I can speak in behalf of the committee of arrangements and say that we are deeply touched by

this hearty expression of your appreciation of what we have tried to do for you here. I am especially glad that Dr. Mackennal has called attention to the heads of departments, if I may use that expression, the chairmen of the several committees, who have done such splendid service. He might have included if he had chosen to do so — it is impossible to include every one — the members of the program committee who have done so much work — out of sight but real work — in the months that have passed. Eight years ago in London I had the honor assigned me of extending an invitation from America to the delegates there assembled to the second International Council. I said at that time that we hoped that we could show you as great courtesy and could care for your interests as thoroughly as you had cared for ours, and that we could do no more. If you feel, brethren from across the sea, that our committee have in any way kept the pledge which I made for America at that time, we are more than glad. If you feel that you have had a good time, let me assure you that we have had a better. If you feel that you have received much, in all sincerity let me say that you have given more. And I say this, not in words of empty compliment, but it is the real truth. You who at great sacrifice have come from across the continent and from across the seas, you who have left the work in your own parishes which was pressing to be done, you who have left your business, have all come here to render us a service, and you do not begin yet to comprehend how great that service has been. You have been a blessing to our homes, to our churches, to our city, yea, to the nation. And as to the representatives of the press, I am sure you agree with me that they have done magnificent work in the way they have reported this Council, giving column after column every day. And this has not been for our local newspapers alone, but they have been telegraphing it across the continent. I tried the other day to express our gratitude to these gentlemen at the press table here before me, and one of them in reply quoted to me an incident that occurred in the West. A man had a call from a minister whom he did not like very well, and so he kicked him down stairs, the minister falling "all in a heap." The man said in explanation of his vigorous action, "I am doing what I can to spread the gospel!" Our repartee friend here said he was doing the same. At all events, I am sure you feel that the press has done much to make this Council a power around the world. It was Professor Armitage, or some other good man, who said the other day that a few months ago he did n't see how they were going to get to Boston and now he did n't see how they were going to get home! I hope this expresses the feelings of all your hearts, and I believe it is true that this Council is going to do much to bind together the English-speaking nations around the cross of Christ. You have put new courage and new life into us. In our missionary work we are going to call in the pickets no longer, but we are going to be with you out on the fighting line and see if we cannot, in the century to come, do more to conquer this world for Jesus Christ.

Resolution on Sunday Railway Labor Adopted

The resolution on Sunday railway labor presented on Tuesday morning by the Rev. William E. Griffis, D.D., of New York (see page 253), was reported on favorably by the business committee and unanimously adopted by the Council.

Invitation from the American Board

Rev. Judson Smith, D.D., of Massachusetts, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, invited the members of the Council to visit the rooms of the Board and also urged their sympathetic interest and coöperation in the Ecumenical Missionary Council to be held in New York next April.

Address

In the absence of Mr. Joseph Compton Rickett, D.L., M.P., of England, who was to have given an address on the Christian Idea of the State, Rev. David L. Ritchie, of England, gave a *résumé* of the chief paragraphs of the paper. Mr. Rickett's paper is here printed in full.

Address by Joseph Compton Rickett, D.L., M.P.

THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF THE STATE

Jesus Christ never attempted to build the fabric of the church in his lifetime. Having laid the foundation stone, he scarcely drew the lines of its moral and spiritual architecture. It was to be a vast cathedral demanding centuries for growth, and many different minds were to be expressed in the stone. It was to be a living thing, and the broad branches of a tree more aptly described it than the vaulted roof — a green plume of leaves trembling to air and light, rather than a soulless spire. During his short stay in the world he scattered the seeds of the kingdom of heaven, leaving them confidently to the charity of earth and the blessing of the brooding Spirit. His followers were bidden to forecast the breadth of that shadow under which the weary would rest, and to listen to the songs of those birds who would presently gather in the branches. He also recognized the kingdom of earth whose laws did not impair the privilege of the kingdom of heaven. Christ and Cæsar were in apposition, not in opposition.

During the first centuries we see the church, a society complete in itself, providing a tribunal for justice and a poor law, as well as governing its membership according to its own moral and spiritual standards. It was a society, with rules inexorable indeed towards conscience, but flexible to social and political conditions. In order to destroy slavery throughout the world, Christianity had charged the atmosphere with divine sympathy and righteousness. The slavery of the white races first disappeared; then slowly the bonds loosened from the limbs of colored aliens. The institution of slavery in the Roman world was recognized as a fact; but as the master and slave were drawn closer together, the difference between them gradually vanished. The runaway, who was to be received back as a brother beloved, had been endowed with rights which ultimately made slavery impossible.

In other respects Christianity has taught the state much. She has extended her shelter to the poor and ignorant, and has saved the weakling and the orphan. Manners have been softened and elevated, and relations of employer and employed rendered more just and generous.

The church was never more influential than when she was numbering

converts in Cæsar's household, and had not yet won over Cæsar himself. When in the pomp of her victory she assumed the imperial purple, her development was arrested, her simplicity corrupted, and she took on the taint of earthliness. When she further extended her control over the states of Europe she paralyzed science, cramped art, and checked the virile activities of the nations. The attempt to vary the image and superscription on the current coin, by placing Christ on the obverse and Cæsar on the reverse, only debased the penny for either currency. Her children who left her at the Reformation recovered their loftier ideal in the wilderness, baptized by fire into that earlier faith which declared the kingdom of heaven was not of this world.

Yet the same conflict of ideas is apparent at the present day. The Catholic claim, which places the church above the state, or the Anglican identification of the church with the state, both present the theory of a nation united in one common Christian fellowship — a theory beautiful, but unreal. The church is exposed to the constant risk of admitting the world within her fold. A loose acceptance of her ceremonial gives a nominal membership to all who may claim her privileges. When the sons of God come to present themselves before God, Satan, the world spirit, comes also among them. That world, which is naturally at enmity with God, steals like a blight through the noblest purposes of the church. "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me," and the church, aiming at universal dominion through the secular arm, is sorely tempted to the unholy compact. She appeals to the senses through her ritual, quiets the conscience by her sacraments, and concludes a concordat with the world. The alternative method is when the church attracts the state through the magnetism of the Faith. The state, which is proceeding on parallel lines to the church, must be gradually deflected in her course, so that at a point still far distant the two may be merged into one. The difficulties which confront this theory of union lie in the present essential difference between churchcraft and statecraft. The church deals primarily with the individual, the state entirely with an evolutionized human society. The state is not a mere aggregation of atoms, but is a growth under laws proper to the development of the social idea. As, for instance, in nature we find an expression of the will of God conditioned by the character of the material through which that will operates, so we may seek to discover the natural laws of human society.

To deny the truth of a complete scientific demonstration is a form of infidelity as grave as the hardening of the heart against spiritual revelation. Nature is only religious when she yields a sympathetic obedience to her own laws. She does not recognize those ethical duties which beset the life of mankind.

In a similar way there are laws of the state by which organized human society is certainly bound. Eternity, which redresses the wrongs of mortality in another sphere, has no message to nation or race. War, which would be an intolerable outrage if privately conducted, becomes a public duty of the state if the nation's interests are imperiled. Self-preservation is the appeal which touches national life to the quick, and drives a nation to that conflict with others in which only the fittest survive. A king may be detestable as an individual, but, so long as he faithfully observes the constitution and satisfactorily performs his public duties, a nation is not justified in breaking into rebellion. On the other hand, even Christian men may be commended for taking up arms against a tyrant when the freedom of future generations is imperiled, although that same monarch may be exemplary in personal and family life. The forgiveness of injuries cannot be adopted by a magistrate in dealing with the foes of civil order.

Charity herself in national guise must wear a sterner aspect, and control her generous emotion when dealing with the thriftless and unfortunate.

There is, indeed, a state religion which, like the religion of nature, is entirely free from theological form, and yet one which presents an elevated ideal to humanity. A citizen of Athens or of Rome, who had lost all belief in those gods whose images crowned the temples, was yet ready to give his life for the state which had bred him, whose traditions of glory he had inherited, and whose honor he desired to deliver untarnished to his successors. The state encouraged him to these sacrifices. It was right and comely for a man to die for his country. It was often expedient "that one man should die for the people, and the whole nation perish not." That same religion runs concurrently with the Christian faith to-day. The national flag, or the colors of a regiment, remain almost like a fetish, to be worshiped as the outward and visible sign of that inward and spiritual honor which we offer to race and country. All the stories of ancient valor, the very history of a race of high spirit, are caught in those folds of silk or bunting.

It is always, however, possible — and in some cases certain — that fidelity to patriotism or a state religion may prejudice the claims and interests of smaller states and weaker peoples. Until the whole world is gathered into one great family, the emulation between rival nations must delay that era of peace for which the world sighs in its intervals of exhaustion. No conferences for disarmament, no resolutions of congresses, will restrain great nations when they see that their dearest interests are imperiled.

Throughout the New Testament there breathes an aspiration after a better state in which the civic community and the church will become cooperative through the close approximation of their methods and ideas. The primitive church constructed on a small scale a civil society, making its own laws, settling disputes and differences between its members, and applying its revenues to the relief of the poor. The faithless and immoral were excluded from these privileges and charities. The church has never entirely discarded these provisions. Under all discouragement the Christian thinker has returned to this idea of a completed and satisfied social system. The insufficiency of social conditions continues to perplex us to-day. It is not a universal equality which is in demand, for the theory of a social dead level has never inspired the imagination, and it has no present prospect of passing the grade of experiment. It is the oppressiveness of wealth, the sordidness of poverty, which are repugnant to the moral sense, and would appear to be almost impossible under a fully developed system of Christianity. Christianity can only tolerate a comparative poverty. There may still be a Dives with purple and fine linen, but he will not flaunt his wealth; and still a Lazarus, but housed in a cottage or cared for in a hospital — no longer, at any rate, dependent on the philanthropy of dogs. There is a sense in which the poor may be always with us, and "whensoever we will we may do them good." Not only Dives, but men rich in mental and moral abilities have a duty to those who are deficient in ideas.

When we refer back to the New Testament sketch of a regenerated society, we do not find the extended sweep of a Roman Empire, nor the likeness of such kingdoms as are jointed into the political framework of to-day. Like the father of the faithful, who, across the wastes of western Asia, saw a city which had foundations whose builder and maker was God, an exiled apostle beheld across the waters of the Ægean a holy city, a New Jerusalem, descending from God out of heaven. We have here a reversion to an early type; the village community expanded into the city, and become the center of empire. Babylon, Nineveh, Athens, Rome,

Jerusalem, and many another were the representative centers of extended dominion. Even when the empires represented by these cities have passed into the yesterdays of history, the cities themselves have prolonged their life into modern existence. Babylon and Nineveh, though dead, yet speak from their dustheaps; Damascus, Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome still play their part in current affairs.

The Christian ideal will have none of these great empires which have run their stately course through their centuries. It is Jerusalem, the warm heart of the Jewish people, the focus of their faith, the name which filled their eyes with tears, and trembled upon their lips in their captivity; this is the typical city of a redeemed race. Here there is a fuller revelation of God through Christ. The atmosphere of grace in which the free intellect thrives develops a shining intelligence which pierces beyond the science of the material, and needs "neither candle nor light of the sun." Cleanliness and sweetness are secured for this community. A pure river, well-kept streets as bright as gold, parks and pleasure grounds, music and color — a harmony of the spiritual and material. There is, however, one great discrimination here. The nations of those who are saved walk in these cities. There are walls and gates which, although open day and night, are well guarded. Social blessings are within, social evils are without. It is the Puritan idea of a religious community developed and illuminated.

Such communities throughout an extended Christendom might be brought under a common law and a general representative council. A hundred or a thousand such cities would then be living, like individuals, under a personal self-control, yet obedient to the general law. If the unbelieving and the Pagan rose against them, they could be brought into line for a common purpose, much as the scattered communities of the mysterious Hittite race combined for united defense. No one community would be so much larger or stronger than another as to be able to dominate the whole. Christian brotherhood would thus grow into municipal comradeship, and further into the brotherhood of Christendom. By excluding the persistently lazy or vicious, these communities could provide against those excesses of wealth and poverty which are so often the outcome of injustice, sloth, or vice. These cities, moreover, would breed a higher and better race physically and morally. Into what outer darkness would the exiles be driven who are to have no part or lot in the Christianized states? Would they belong to the land of anarchy, without political constitution or geographical position? Then the missionaries of the future would be sent into the far country to bring back prodigals to the Father's house. Such a sharp division might make for the good of the whole world. The sons of God would multiply and fill the earth, to the exclusion of those sons of darkness who, scattered and impotent, must dwindle away. These may be problems for the future, but the time is not yet. Practically, however, we may translate our present spiritual hopes and activities into moral improvements. Without imposing any definite religion upon the state, Christianity can work through spiritual means and convictions for those same objects which the state is by other means developing. Impartial justice, fair dealing, wholesome conditions of life, the suppression of active temptation, moral cleanliness, and order — all these help to build the holy, that is, the healthy city, which shall no doubt ultimately be glorified by the closer presence and power of the Lord God through his Christ.

At the close of Mr. Rickett's paper, the hymn "My dear Redeemer and my Lord" was sung.

Address

William Crosfield, Esq., J.P., of England, Treasurer of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, presented a paper on Municipal Government as a Sphere for the Christian Man.

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM CROSFIELD, ESQ., J.P.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AS A SPHERE FOR THE CHRISTIAN MAN

The consideration of this subject leads us to look at the origin of municipal institutions, and this carries us a long way back into history, but it is a journey worth making, for in Florence, where municipalities were born, we find a record very much to our purpose. "Jesus Christ is the King of Florence," was the inscription over the door of the buildings in which Savonarola's councilors sat to govern the city in the spirit of that pious monk who, asserting the right of the Christian man to take his part in public life, in the face of the declaration of Lorenzo de' Medici that "government cannot be carried on by Paternosters," became the lawgiver of that Christocratic rule with the pulpit for his throne.

The English system of government requires that the Imperial Parliament shall pass even the local laws by which our municipal corporations rule their separate localities so that the character of the central government is stamped on the regulations of our towns. By-laws to limit freedom of speech in a Northern watering-place have recently been enforced because a Southern town desired to suppress the Salvation Army.

The present reign has brought us to a time of "sweeter manners, purer laws" more rapidly than that of any corresponding period of our nation's history — this epoch marks the entrance of nonconformists into public life in contrast with their rigid exclusion in the earlier years of this century. Prior to 1835 the Test and Corporation acts required that any one taking office should receive the communion in the Anglican form before being permitted to enter upon his duties. At that time only one nonconformist had a seat in Parliament (and he was the member for Boston).

You will be able to understand from this some of the difficulty of securing equal political rights for men holding Free Church views. Those who fought for reform were largely identified with the non-established churches, and in these democracy was dominant — religious indifference had so long enforced religious observance that the process of introducing into public life those who had found in the work of these churches their training for larger service was slow of attainment. The leaders were, however, men who were always most active in the promotion of movements for the uplifting of society and for the improvement of the condition or lightening the burdens of the people, and the spirit of their private action became the impulse of their public service.

The unpaid public work in our English cities is discharged by two classes: (1) those elected by the citizens and (2) those appointed by the government of the day through a Minister of State. The elective positions, which are for a term of years and often depend upon the operation of party politics, include guardians of the poor, members of school boards, town councilors.

The appointed offices are generally given for party services and are held "during good behavior." These include justices of the peace, that is to say, magistrates who exercise minor judicial functions, and are

responsible for the licensing of public houses; those duties are done "without fear or favor, fee or reward."

Guardians of the poor are looked upon as apprentices in public life, and are supposed to undertake the care of workhouses and the distribution of outdoor relief as work by which they may prepare themselves for wider spheres of influence, whilst there are those, not few in number, who look upon the opportunity of coming into personal contact with the deserving poor, and separating those who have fallen in the race of life by misfortune from the class whose own improvidence, indolence, or vicious habits have brought them down, as a vocation well worthy of their best energies and most diligent care. It is no easy matter to decide between the claims of the ratepayer who elects them and the paupers whose interests they are elected to guard.

Under our Poor Law system, every one has a claim to be saved from starvation, regardless of the circumstances which have brought them to destitution. This is the basis of the structure upon which is built the provision of medical relief for minor ailments, hospitals for the infirm and surgical treatment, with the best-trained nursing. Cottage homes for aged couples, without the necessity of divorce, are provided for those who are willing to end their lives together; this privilege, however, is not often demanded. Christian sympathy and kindness here find unlimited scope, and the growing desire to elect women to occupy seats upon boards of guardians is one of the most cheering signs of the times. The provision of old age pensions for all is a subject of debate among rival politicians, but no scheme has yet brought the question within reach of the most ardent administrator. In a country like ours, where residence is more permanent than in newer lands, it becomes possible to acquire a personal knowledge even of the poorest of the population, and hence continuous attention to this branch of work fully repays the conscientious worker. The claim for settled relief is, broadly speaking, upon the place of birth, so that the vagrant comes back in the last resort to his own parish.

Those who belong to the outlying Anglo-Saxon communities have profited in the matter of education by the mistakes of the motherland. In their development of their social life, the needs of the child are among the first to be recognized; with us the rule has been that he might "drag himself up," rather than be educated upon a systematic plan.

Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, formulated a scheme of education a century ago whereby teaching was to be carried on under the monitorial system, which should bring schooling within the reach of all. The method is still with us; but although he explained his scheme to the king in 1805, and so far inspired His Majesty that he was led to express the hope "that every poor child in his dominions might be able to read the Bible," that end is still unattained.

The school board system, which was founded by law in 1870, embodied the chief points of the Lancastrian code, transferring them in turn from the constitution of the British and Foreign School Society, which was established to secure sound teaching on an undenominational basis. Dogmatic religious instruction is excluded from the curriculum of the public elementary schools adopted under the act, and direct Christian influence is not within the range of duties of a member of the school board; and, indeed, the duties of administration absorb so much of the attention of the central authority that close contact with the individual schools is extremely difficult: the detailed oversight of separate schools may be delegated to a committee of selected persons, into whose hands the minutiæ of management devolve; the selection of the teaching staff and

the supervision of their duties, under the rules of the board, can be thus directly undertaken by the minor body with endless opportunities of personal intercourse with both teacher and taught, resulting, where adopted in lifelong association, of mutual benefit, in which the religious sentiment may assert itself.

Town councils: It is here that we find the most diverse duties and the most frequent opportunities of checking misdoing and of adding to the comfort of the individual citizen. A single department of municipal government to-day should control, amongst other things, the milk supplied to our families, the houses in which our bread is baked, the housing of our cows and the buildings in which beasts are slaughtered, the enforcing of building regulations, the purification — and if need be the destruction — of insanitary dwellings, the inspection of food and the prevention of smoke.

A Jewish writer has characterized Christianity as a "religion without any system of drainage." It is true that we no longer adopt as an item of religious faith the rigid rule of the Mosaic law which decreed "the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, therefore shall thy camp be holy, that he see no unclean thing in thee," but the progressive science of sanitation casts upon the individual and upon the community the duty of cleansing our streets and houses from all material impurity. The education of sanitary inspectors is now carefully attended to, and a thorough knowledge of the laws of hygiene is in Liverpool a necessity on appointment. A further advance has recently been made by the employment of female inspectors, who can do more than men to examine into the corners of dwelling rooms.

The honesty of our traders must be secured by the provision of inspectors of weights and measures, who may well adopt the text, "A just weight and balances are the Lord's." Good water — the prime requisite for health and purity — must be provided by public enterprise, whether it is supplied from the parish pump or a system of reservoirs.

An army of officials is needed to enforce the multitude of enactments which touch our civic life at every point, but they all require the encouragement and impulse to duty which can only be secured by the coöperation which the Christian citizen can supply.

Those who live in newer lands have learned the value of open space and fresh air. "Reserves," as their name applies, are a timely provision which is easily secured by intelligent action in the original laying out of townships; we in the older country have to clear away slums before we can reconstruct upon wiser lines. The old conditions have brought about a state of society which makes Christian living, or indeed, ordinary decency, impossible, compelling the herding together of human beings without regard to sex or age and in opposition to all rules of ventilation or drainage.

When one finds in the same city a varying death rate of 10 per thousand under favorable conditions, against 79 per thousand where squalor prevails; 282 per thousand under one year dying while only half that proportion die in an adjoining district; a population of 160 to the acre in the slums and 8 to the acre in a suburb, it is clear that to save life and to make that life brighter can be attained if the population can be more scattered, and fresh air be given to those who must remain in the poorer locality.

Reform of the system of land is a necessary part of this subject, and must secure the aid of highest statesmanship; but while the years roll on leaving things as they are, the municipal worker may well occupy himself with the task of relieving the sad plight of those who have to live under the present debasing influences. Private philanthropy has done much of

late years to erect sightly and sanitary dwellings on a large scale where life may be more tolerable. One cannot touch this subject without giving due honor to that illustrious Bostonian, Peabody, who enriched the country of his adoption by the gift of half a million sterling, a large sum in itself, but made more valuable by the condition imposed, which was to "provide improved dwellings for the poor of London." The success of this well-devised scheme has induced other large-minded men of wealth to follow in his footsteps; but better still, public action has been taken by municipal corporations which have obtained powers to secure the same desirable end. One illustration will suffice. The Corporations of Liverpool having found it necessary to demolish large numbers of houses, in some groups of which the death rate was seventy-nine per thousand, set themselves to erect new dwellings for the dislodged population. They destroyed houses of three rooms one above the other, with stairs from room to room. Several improved plans were adopted, but the most interesting related to a group of eighty-eight houses to be let at a rental of 1*s.* a room, with 6*d.* added for the use of the simplest sanitary requisites, the ground floor of two rooms being let at 3*s.* 6*d.* per week, and the two upper floors at 2*s.* 6*d.* per floor. The walls are not plastered but painted, so that only the poorest would consent to live in them. The houses were erected by municipal labor without the employment of a contractor, upon land of which the corporation is the freeholder, and they are found to return 4 per cent. on the capital expended. Superior dwellings of different types for better classes of tenants have been erected, but it is claimed that for lowness of rent with due regard to ventilation and sanitation this experiment is unique.

The problem which causes most anxiety and produces the most serious cleavage among public men is how to deal with the drink traffic. The danger surrounding the public house has long been recognized, as is shown by the system of law which seeks to place them under control: "That the community may be well and quietly governed" is declared in the preamble of the Municipal Corporation Act, 1832, to be the object of that enactment which entirely changed the life of the nation, awakening new impulses and granting by charter liberties which before had been withheld. Disquiet comes from drink; how can this be remedied? Authority to license is in the hands of the magistracy, detection of offenses lies with the police, punishment devolves upon the justices upon evidence of crime. The masters of the police are a watch committee composed of town councilors who, after appointment (which is annually), are independent, for police purposes, of the body which called them into being. The acts which have been passed to regulate drink are said to number 470, and in spite of this (perhaps because of this) uncertainty has existed on many points. Police action, which has always been both difficult and delicate, has within the last few weeks been paralyzed by a decision of the House of Lords, sitting as the ultimate court of appeal on a licensing case, declaring that "the watch committee have nothing to do with the carrying out of the licensing laws, and that to oppose the renewal of a license is no part of the duty of a constable or of a watch committee." This should mean a declaration of war by the Christian community. On the defensive is a body of men who have adopted as their motto, "Our trade, our politics," and who declare that they will spend £100 for every £1 which the unendowed philanthropist can find to support his cause. Lord Peel, whose report on the Commission of Inquiry into the Licensing Laws has just been issued, asserts, and proves by evidence, that in some of our provincial towns unutterable acts of the grossest indecency were committed upon licensed premises, known to the police, who were, however, powerless to interfere because brewers who were owners of the most objectionable of these houses were

members of the watch committee. Even against such odds as these an outraged community, speaking through the Christian churches, has brought the misdeeds to light and the evil-doers to justice. In the city of Liverpool there existed for many years a state of things only slightly better than that I have just alluded to. So notorious was the evil that the Christian public rebelled about ten years ago, and under the leadership of earnest men and women — the latter for municipal reasons having a voice at the poll — the electors responded to the churches' demand for greater purity and more regard for righteousness in public life. It was claimed that those who had a pecuniary interest in the drink trade should withdraw from the watch committee and the licensing bench. The indignation of the voters was expressed without hesitation, the men indicated recognized without delay their notice to quit, and with honorable promptitude the police — officers and men — responded to the changed conditions and exercised their authority with due regard to the expressed will of the people. The improvement did not confine itself to the executive, but the magisterial bench began to have an open ear for a class of evidence to which it had before been deaf.

By stringent regulation of, and in flagrant cases, the closing of back doors, sly drinking was discouraged; publicans were persuaded to refuse to serve children under thirteen years, even as messengers; this was especially a women's victory. Then, too, began a refusal to renew licenses on testimony which was tendered in many instances by private citizens, independently of police grounds of objection, and so it has happened that in eight years 181 licensed houses have disappeared out of a total of 2,100.

I conclude by quoting the words of Lord Rosebery, who is distinguished as a successful organizer of municipal government. Speaking to a provincial gathering of earnest citizens, he said: "Nothing will give your life so high a complexion as to study to do something for your country. I believe that a man who is a town councilor can effect some small practical tangible good, something infinitely more tangible and satisfactory to look upon than he can do as a member of Parliament," saying what others have discovered, that they, whose private duties limit them to a narrow sphere, may see a return for their efforts in the improved condition of their own locality, and in the increased happiness of their neighbors, whilst those who go out into the wider fields of national political life more frequently meet with disappointment as far as immediate reforms are concerned.

Address

Samuel Billings Capen, M.A., of Massachusetts, followed Mr. Crosfield's paper with an address on the same subject, Municipal Government as a Sphere for the Christian Man. His paper is as follows: —

Address by Samuel B. Capen, M.A.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AS A SPHERE FOR THE CHRISTIAN MAN

In one of the last visits Professor Drummond made to this country, just as he was about to sail for home, he made an address before the Congregational Club of Boston. In that address were these significant words: "That which has surprised me most in America is the indifference of Christian men to public interests. It is so different in Europe, where it is considered the highest honor for the best citizens to accept official posi-

tions in the municipality and the state." How Drummond, who was loved and honored in America almost as much as in England, would rejoice if he were here to-day to see the important place that is given to this theme on the program of this International Council.

CONDITIONS IN GREAT CITIES

To consider wisely this question, we must look at the conditions that exist in the great American cities, and see if there is not a necessity for the hearty and intelligent interest of every Christian man.

In taking, then, a rapid glance at these conditions, we notice, *FIRST, a steady drift of population from the country to the city.* This world-wide movement, whose cause is well understood, seems certain to continue. The use of modern machinery in agricultural pursuits, which makes it possible now for one man to do the work of many fifty years ago, is rapidly reducing the necessary number of agriculturists. The increase of what the world needs to eat is not as great as the increasing power of machinery to plant and to harvest. At the same time, there has been a wonderful increase in the demand for manufactured articles, which can be made most cheaply in the great centers where labor is abundant, and where it is possible to get to a wide market at the lowest rates. Furthermore, with the increase of steam and electric railways, it is possible to feed and care for population massed at the great centers in a manner which was not possible half a century ago. Fifty years ago only about 13 per cent. of our population was urban, now it is about 30 per cent., and, at the present rate of increase, in the year 1920 there will be several million more people living in the cities than in the country. To-day the country districts outvote the cities; in about twenty years the cities will control the nation.

We notice, *SECOND, the concentrated power of wealth which is found almost entirely in our great cities.* Seventy citizens of the United States are said to be worth about two thousand seven hundred million dollars, or an average of nearly forty millions each; following these are thirty more, said to be worth over four hundred million dollars. Such figures are almost beyond comprehension. Much of this wealth has been made rapidly, by speculative means and often at the public expense.

Bishop Potter, in an address before the New York Chamber of Commerce has said: "There cannot be great wealth without great temptation to indolence, to vice, and to political and social corruption. There cannot be great wealth in idle hands — the hands of those who have not made it — without an accentuation of those dangers."

I am not forgetting that some of this wealth is consecrated, and that during the last four years the bequests of the rich for benevolent uses have amounted to at least one hundred and fifty million dollars. The community does not object to men having large wealth if they come by it legitimately and use it properly. Take, for an illustration, Seth Low, of New York. It is commonly believed that he is a man of large resources. The gift of a million-dollar library to Columbia University in memory of his father would seem to prove this. But who ever thinks of Seth Low in this connection as simply a man of wealth? The man himself, in his fine personality and his magnificent consecration to public service, fills the public thought. It is not wealth in such hands, but wealth in the hands of men who combine it against the public interest that makes the peril. It is currently believed that unprincipled wealth is often used to support the "boss," through whose influence legislation may be secured for selfish interests, and that voters are bought directly and indirectly. It is further

believed that money is sometimes paid to the press to publish continuously long articles and thus make it appear that there is a great demand for some measure. The poorer classes, right or wrong, have come to feel that they have little power as against the trust or the combination in the halls of legislation. There is a widespread belief that if there is money enough paid almost anything can be obtained, and that the law does not always seem to be the same for the rich man and the poor. The former often gets free when the latter suffers. I have no doubt that this belief is often without justification, but it certainly exists; and will any one say that there is not great reason for the belief that there is a discrimination in favor of wealth? And there is no greater peril to any community than to have money control public men or shape legislation, and wealth is doing this too often in the nation, the state, and the city.

One of our most prominent citizens in an address tells of a man who, in order to escape taxation, moved out of the city to a small country place. He found from the selectmen what the total tax of the town was and paid it, and then found he had saved $70,000 by his dodging plan. To say nothing about the man, what about the community that would permit this transaction? Its local independence and manhood had been sold out to one man's money.

A visitor to our Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, looking around at the signs of our prosperity during the first one hundred years of existence, said: "Much as this first century of our national life has achieved in overcoming danger and winning success of every kind, our second century will put the Republic to severer tests and sharper perils than any we have yet encountered, not excepting the Southern war for separate sovereignty." This test must come chiefly in the great cities where wealth has its greatest power to corrupt and thus to control.

THIRD. We notice that in our great cities we have the other extreme from great wealth, namely, *extreme poverty*. It is easy to see why this is true. Men who once found it possible to secure a living in the country, being deprived now of their chance to labor, drift to the city. Immigrants from every nation also, as a rule, find their way to the great centers of population. In their helplessness they often do not know where else to go. As a result there is always at the great centers a congestion of labor; men bid against each other for positions, and the wages of the unskilled as a result are meager. Under these conditions, multitudes obtain work only a portion of each year, and they are obliged to live under poor conditions in order to keep themselves and those dependent upon them in existence. Hence we have the tenement problem.

Who shall properly estimate the peril of the *crowded tenement houses*, with their poverty and vileness? In New York forty-five people have been known to sleep at one time in a single room. In another place seven families were found occupying one room. What wretchedness for all, especially for the young! Bishop Smith says, "A child has a right to be born and not damned into the world."

I believe I know something at least of how these poorer people feel, for I have listened to what they have to say, and I have gladly accepted the invitations of the working people to speak to them. There is a feeling of discontent among them, partly, at least, because of the selfish use of great wealth as it so often flaunts itself before the public gaze, and seems perfectly reckless in its expenditures. This distrust and discontent which we find in our cities bodes no good to the community. To quote from another, "The American voter is not an anarchist, a socialist, or a radical of any kind. He has no antagonism to wealth as such, but he has the inherited English and American sense of political fairness. He

expects exact and even-handed justice between man and man." Emerson was no alarmist, but he did not fail to warn America of the danger ahead, if the glaring inequalities and injustices in our social structure were not somehow corrected, and he added, "It is better to work on institutions by the sun than by the wind." The corruptionist and the demagogue find in these conditions of extreme poverty their opportunity. How can there be much civic pride in such an environment?

I think we can hardly overestimate the peril which comes in our great cities from the lack of that conservative and restraining force which always exists in a society where men largely own their homes. In the country it is stated that sixty-six per cent. of the population own their own houses. In cities of one hundred thousand and less this proportion is reduced to thirty-six per cent.; and in cities of one hundred thousand and more, twenty-three per cent. The figures are given for Boston as eighteen per cent., for New York as six per cent. Whether these figures are absolutely accurate or not, they show us how we are drifting away from the conditions of the earlier years of the century. Vast numbers now in our cities own practically no property, have little or nothing at stake, and hence lack these motives to interest themselves in civic matters.

FOURTH. We cannot fail to note that which was so apparent to Professor Drummond, namely, *the carelessness*, I might almost say the *criminal indifference*, of multitudes of our citizens, who are so engrossed with their own business or their own pleasures that they give no time or thought to any public interest. They groan sometimes over their taxes, they whine about inefficient or criminal officials, but it never seems to dawn on their benighted souls that they have any personal responsibility for the public weal. To take an active interest and to try to right public wrongs, have no place in their thinking. It would take time and thought, and this they reserve wholly for their own selfish affairs. They neglect the caucus and the ballot box; they will never attend a public hearing and at least show their interest by their presence. They never speak a word of encouragement to good men in public places, they do not want to be "bothered." Things will go on somehow without them, at any rate they "don't care" enough to take any active interest. A college president said a little time ago, "I am interested in philosophy and theology and these are the only things I want to be known in. I vote for neither party." Is it any wonder that the apathy of such men is the opportunity of the selfish and the corrupt? The worst phase of all this is, that the indifferent class are largely men of education and often of wealth. On this account, they have great influence in the community. Some of them are the men who fill our social clubs and are "playing" at life. They ought to be held up to public gaze, if thereby they may receive the public rebuke. They prevent the quickening of civic pride and are a barrier to all reform. They are receiving protection in their business and their homes from the state and giving no equivalent. Dr. Edward Everett Hale has recently said, "I believe that in the twentieth century no intelligent or decent man will 'sneak out' of his duties as a citizen." Do not these men rightly come under Dr. Hale's definition of "sneaks," in their neglect to render any obligation to the state? In fact, it is about time to stop talking about "ward politicians" and "heelers," and turn our attention to these others. The "heelers" never would have attained to power if the moral and religious elements in the community had not by their neglect abdicated it. Good Christian men are oftentimes very bad citizens. They make the most dangerous class; for while they might be leaders in the right, they skulk and shirk and do nothing.

"The thing we have most to fear," writes Dr. Parkhurst, "is the depravity and the criminality that is indifferent, and that will go junketing when a state is on the edge of a crisis, or go fishing on a day when the city is having its destiny determined at the polls. Would that there could be some legislative enactment by which every reputable traitor of the sort could be denaturalized, and branded with some stigma of civic outlawry that should extinguish him as an American, and cancel his kinship with Columbus, Fourth of July, and 'My country, 't is of thee.' I speak with full assurance when I say, for instance, in regard to the city of New York, that there is no single moral issue capable of being raised in regard to its administration where the great preponderance of sentiment would not be found to be on the side of honesty as against corruption, provided only that sentiment were sufficiently resolute and alert to come forward and declare itself."

Our English brethren in some instances have shown what can be done. Dr. Dale's Congregational church in Birmingham was interested in every movement which had to do with municipal affairs. The question was always asked by the politicians in that city, "How will Dr. Dale's church vote in this election? What will it do in this matter of nominees?" Years ago, when Kossuth visited America he said, "If shipwreck should ever befall your country, the rock upon which it will split will be your devotion to your private interests at the expense of your duty to the state."

FIFTH. Growing out of this indifference to public interests we must note the *ignorance of the dwellers in our cities with regard to municipal matters.* In New England towns the old town meeting, the bulwark of American liberty, still exists. The citizen of the town attends these meetings, he hears the various interests discussed, he forms an opinion more or less intelligent with regard to these interests, and votes accordingly; but in our great cities this is not possible. We have representative government, and the citizen votes for representatives who are to care for his interests. Our municipal government is complex and somewhat difficult to understand; but, worst of all, the majority do not care to understand. I talked recently with a Christian man who is at the head of a corporation having a capital of $1,500,000. I asked him a few elementary questions about the government of the city where he lived, and he finally confessed that he knew nothing about it; and he represents, I fear, a majority of those in his position.

Some, from what we call the laboring classes, meet at the close of a hard day's work with their associates to discuss economic and civic problems, while the young men of the well-to-do classes are busy with their billiards and their whist parties. Fifty years ago we had lyceums and debating clubs, but these seem to be for the most part things of the past. Ignorance is more dense to the square inch about municipal matters than about the affairs of state or nation. We follow with some care the shifting phases of the Cuban and the South African problems, and those of the Philippine Islands. We know much of the wrongs of Armenia and of the ways of the wily sultan. But what percentage of our citizens ever read the charter of the city where they reside or have anything but the most superficial knowledge of our various municipal departments? And where there is ignorance there is always infinite peril and a partisanship, which goes blindly, stumbling along, because it knows nothing better.

Besides this careless ignorance of the well-to-do there is the real ignorance of those who live in the slums, and of the semi-criminal classes, so numerous in our great cities. Vice and ignorance are dangerous in combination. To quote from another, "Saltpetre, charcoal, sulphur, etc., are

non-explosive, but together they make gunpowder; and in their turn, vice and ignorance when they are combined make social dynamite."

SIXTH. It is out of such conditions of indifference and ignorance that the *political boss* becomes possible. He is usually a man without conscience and without any special regard for the public interest. He is in politics for what he can personally make out of it, and has few scruples as to the methods he employs for his selfish ends. He works by gathering about him others as unscrupulous as himself, who are to have some share, direct or indirect, in the public plunder. He lays his plans in the dark, and depends for success upon the unprincipled members of the community. He chooses men at the caucus whom he can use to do his bidding later on. He destroys all independence of action and wants only men who will obey him without question.

They are represented by a legislator who said recently to one of his associates of a higher class, "Tom, you are a fool; I care nothing for the public nor for the party, I only care for myself." The boss is not confined to one party or to one section; he is in both of the great parties and in every section. The small boss controls the ward, and a group of small bosses are in federation with the "big boss" who rules the city or the state. We despise them, and yet we see them control public interests. And why? Because the better class of the community are too apathetic to give the time and perfect the organization which will overthrow them.

We doubt if our citizens have any comprehension of the conditions which exist in many of the lower wards of our cities, and which make the boss a possibility. In these wards there is what is called the "gang." This is composed at the start of lads, anywhere from ten to forty or fifty in number, who have a rendezvous at some particular corner and who, when they become older, get together and hire a cheap room as a headquarters. In the case of those less respectable, some favorite saloon is the only headquarters needed. The political boss of the ward, through his lieutenants, who are called "heelers," keeps in touch with these various gangs, and at a comparatively small expense works them for his political ends. A little money spent for treating, or for help in work, dance tickets, baseball tickets, etc., is all that is needed to hold them for his political uses. They can be depended upon always to be at the caucus; they often serve as repeaters, and in various ways can be made useful for selfish ends. Any one can see at once how the grouping together of these various "gangs," which number in the aggregate several hundreds, becomes a strong factor in a ward contest. These caucuses are to them the exciting events of the year, and they are ready to do the bidding of the unprincipled man who, through the various ways above described, has power and influence over them. It is hardly possible to overestimate the power for evil which an unprincipled boss has when he has the conditions above described in every great city.

SEVENTH. It is unnecessary to dwell at any length upon another of the conditions which are to be found in every great city — *the saloon.* It not only ruins the life and the home of the individual, preventing him from being a producer, and thereby a helper in the state, but it leads to poverty, increases taxes, breeds criminals, fills our jails, ofttimes defies the law, corrupts legislation, and debauches politics. Father Scully was right when he said before a legislative committee some years ago that the saloon threatens the annihilation of every American interest. We understand fully the truth of a remark of a late United States Senator from New York, who said he would rather have the support of five saloons than twenty churches. "The church people can down us when they try, and we know it," said a New York brewer; "our hope is in working after they

grow tired, and continuing to work 365 days in the year." The men who support the churches cannot be depended upon at all. The chances are they will not do anything. But not so the saloons; the men who support them can be found always at the caucus and at the polls.

With these conditions which exist in all our large American cities before us, we are ready to believe the truth of what Andrew D. White, our present Minister to Germany, has said: "Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert, that with very few exceptions the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom, the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt."

Professor Bryce also is quoted as saying recently: "Don't make a failure of it in America. You cannot go on twenty-five years more in your cities as you have been going on the last twenty-five years and not make a failure of it. Don't you do it, for if you do you will set us Liberals back in Europe one hundred years."

I do not believe I have painted this picture of American cities in too dark colors, and if I have not, I am sure we are right in saying there is a supreme need for a greater interest on the part of the Christian man in municipal matters, for *the great question in America is the problem of the cities.*

A NECESSARY DISTINCTION

Before urging municipal government as a sphere for the Christian man, I think we should be careful to guard at this point, and make a distinction, between the *church as a whole* in its corporate or organic capacity, and the *individual members* who compose the church.

My argument is to the *individual* Christian and not to the *church* as a whole. I desire to make this clear, because one of the criticisms that Dr. Dale made upon some of the papers and addresses at the London Council was that this distinction was not properly made, and he was left in doubt as to exactly what was meant by some speakers when they urged the "church" to do its duty in public matters.

We have seen in other lands the evils of a union of church and state to be so great that we can never tolerate it here; but, because of this feeling, is it not true that in our thinking and our practice we have gone to the other extreme, and felt that as individuals we must keep religion and politics apart? In our effort to keep the church sacred, we have often secularized the state and everything relating thereto. It is because of this that a former President of the United States Senate said: "The purification of politics is an iridescent dream, and the Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in politics." Because we have divorced the church from the state we have seemingly too often divorced the principles of religion from politics, and hence the importance of the subject under discussion.

REASONS FOR THE INTEREST OF CHRISTIAN MEN

Having made this distinction, it seems to me there are three great reasons why every Christian man should be interested in municipal government.

FIRST. It is a place of the greatest peril. I trust this has been made apparent in what has already been said. The first great contest in our country was over *our independence as a nation*, and was settled more than a hundred years ago at Yorktown by the surrender of Cornwallis. The second contest was over the *unity of the republic*, and was settled more than thirty years ago at Appomattox Court House by the surrender of General Lee's army. The third great question is over *the purity of the mu-*

nicipal units, and it is more serious and more important than either of the others; it touches our very life and our very existence. The forces of evil are most bold at the great centers of population. Each form of vice and shame is here in close touch with every other. They can always be depended upon to combine against everything which is pure and good. With the careless indifference of our good citizens already noted, these forces of evil too often have almost full sway. They intrench themselves in power through the army of office-holders, employees, and laborers of every grade who are so great a force in every large city. We need not dwell longer upon this phase, as so much time has already been given to a consideration of these perils; but when the battle is so fierce and the result so far-reaching for weal or for woe for the whole nation, certainly the Christian man is bound by every consideration to put himself into the struggle anywhere and everywhere, to help hold the government for righteousness. This duty rests upon a great principle taught of God in the very beginning of the race, that we are *our brother's keeper*. From Genesis to Revelation the same great truth is taught in manifold forms. Humanity in the close touch of city life is one vast brotherhood, and our neighbors here are certainly those who are in our own municipality. As the safety of the Republic depends upon the constant interest of its intelligent citizens, it is a violation of the Golden Rule for any Christian man to neglect anything which is for the common good of the city where he lives. In the face of these great perils any man who does not recognize this broad rule in his public as in his private life, whatever else he may be, is not a Christian citizen. He has no right to expect others to attend the caucus and the polls and to make sacrifices in various ways and permit him to go on with his own selfish interests. He is bound to do as he would be done by, or he is not a Christian citizen. He may pray lustily, "Thy kingdom come," but unless he is willing to use his influence to help answer that prayer in his own city and by every means in his power, it is not a Christian prayer. It is not right to "pray cream, and live skimmed milk."

Theodore Roosevelt said recently: "I hold that it is the duty of every college graduate in the land to bear his full part in working for the solution of the great political and social problems of the day. Especially it is the duty of every one to take an active part in politics. One of the finest lines in Lowell's noble war poetry is that in which he warns the men of his generation that freedom is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards. So the men of our generation need to be warned in time, that civil liberty and clean, orderly government are not gifts that tarry long in the hands of supine, of selfish, of timid, and of lazy people. Some of our well-educated men seem to have all the hard, virile qualities knocked out of them. It is an admirable thing to be a refined man, but it is a far better thing to be a man." These words, it seems to me, have an especial fitness for the Christian man.

The key to history is Jesus Christ. Cities and nations rise and fall according as they love righteousness and hate iniquity, and it is easy to see why this is true. God can punish the *individual* in another world, and what is wrong here can be made right there; but a nation as a whole has no future existence, and God metes out its punishment here and now when its cup of iniquity is full. If America is to stand as a champion of religious liberty the world over, she must be loyal to God, first in her own homes and at her own firesides, or else this republic will sometime, like so many other nations, be weighed in the balances and found wanting.

In view of the great perils in these cities, could there be any better truth than that spoken to the Christian man by Canon Fremantle, that

"to establish the political and social relations on a religious basis is the finest work that has been given to men."

SECOND. Municipal government is a sphere of action for the Christian man, *because it is the place of greatest usefulness.* The springs for the greatest good or the greatest evil have their fountain-head in the city. The city is largely shaping the nation, and therefore the Christian man may, if he will, mould conditions of life at the very source of power. Seeking out the individual to do him good is all-important; but the Christian citizen, when he throws his whole soul into the life of his city in its public interests does more, for he is touching for good millions of people. The individual dies, the nation lives.

And there are some very definite ways in which a Christian man can exert this influence.

(*a*) *At the caucus.* Government in America is shaped in the caucus. As a place of power it is one of the greatest, as a place of influence it is one of the most far-reaching in our government; and yet, notwithstanding this fact, it is neglected by vast numbers of our Christian men. Our difficulty is not with the great number of selfish voters, but with the far greater number of indifferent good men. Such good men, whenever they come out to vote, bury under an avalanche the politician, and for the simple reason that there are far more good men than bad. The forces of evil can be conquered at any election in any city when the forces of good will practically unite by voting at the caucus. It is important that we should keep ever before our people the fact that popular government in our cities is still in the experimental stage, and that, unless in some way we can arouse the whole community to be interested at the caucus as the initial point, failure will not be far away. The question is one of self-preservation. We want a Christian patriotism which does not exhaust itself in singing about the "stars and stripes," but which is willing to go into the thick of the fight at every primary meeting. If we complain that the politicians control these, it is nobody's fault but our own, for the politicians are a helpless minority against the great public. We say things are all cut and dried by the selfish schemer before the caucus. What is to hinder the other class from doing some cutting and drying in advance? There is no monopoly of this work in any community reserved to any class. Let us put in some work ourselves, and see how fruitful of good it will be. We say "politics are dirty." Then take hold and clean them! But some one will say, "I am in sympathy with neither party and cannot go to either caucus." Then as a Christian citizen, you are in honor bound to get together with other men and make a new one of some sort. As an American citizen you have no right to be silent and dumb in the initiative. You are practically useless unless you try to improve the old parties, or start an independent movement. *Simply complaining of others cannot fulfill the duties of citizenship.*

For the Christian man the caucus should be as sacred an appointment as the prayer-meeting. No matter if it is unpleasant, we cannot shirk our duty here with honor. If the Christian men in our cities were to attend these primaries, what a difference there might be in the character of the men nominated! Two illustrations will be better than argument. Some years ago caucuses were appointed in Boston on the evening of the regular church prayer-meetings. The caucus was said to have been put on this special evening to prevent the attendance of the prayer-meeting men, but in one community at least the scheme miscarried. In one of our Congregational churches the members went to the prayer-meeting at 7.30, and a little later, at 8 o'clock, almost every man went to the caucus, leaving the meeting in the hands of the pastor and the women. The

presence of these Christian men at the caucus helped to prevent the wrong that was threatened. By way of contrast, in an adjoining ward an important caucus was held and the good and the bad were so nearly balanced that the latter triumphed by only one vote, and thereby put into office a man who was the tool of the saloon. Within a few rods of that caucus a prayer-meeting was being held in one of our leading Congregational churches, where there were forty men, any two of whom, if they had gone to the caucus, might have nominated the good man. There is a time to pray and a time to go to the caucus, but if the prayer-meeting and the caucus are appointed for the same night, the Christian man's duty is at the caucus. Theodore Roosevelt has said: "It is not the man who sits by his fireside reading his evening paper, and saying how bad politics and politicians are, who will do anything to save us; it is the man who goes out into the rough hurly-burly of the caucus, the primary, and the political meeting, and there faces his fellows on equal terms."

And there is one very practical reform in our caucus methods, which the Christian and moral forces in the community might well make an issue. Instead of having the ward primaries held in the few closing hours of the day and on different days by the parties, the polling booths should be opened all day and both parties should hold their caucus on the same day. In other words, the caucus should be made *an initial election*. The same officers should control the caucuses as now control the elections. A given number of citizens, a certain number of days before the caucus, should have the right to put the name of any citizen upon the official list. The person having the highest number of votes should be then placed upon the official ballot as the caucus nominee of his party for the election when held. You can thus prevent men voting fraudulently at the caucus of the party to which they do not belong, and break up the power of the politicians to combine for evil and to trade votes as is now done in delegate conventions. There would be no conventions in this plan; the people would vote directly and the ward politician would be at a discount. We fear the "boss" in American politics, the new autocrat of our day, as a peril to our institutions, and we are right in our fears. But the people can destroy the "boss" any hour when they wake up. The place to defeat him is at the caucus, and there is no other place. So long as he controls that and dictates his tools for candidates, he controls everything. Remember that the battle for freedom is an unfinished one as yet, and we cannot be exempted from doing service where recruits are most needed; namely, at the caucus where we nominate the rulers of the state. In the words of the late David Dudley Field, "The primary is the pivot of reform."

(*b*) *At the ballot-box.* As I have argued at such length upon the importance of the caucus as the place of the initiative, less need now be said upon the importance of the ballot. Much of the argument that applies to the one applies with equal force to the other. And the men who are sufficiently interested to attend the caucus can usually be counted upon to be at the polls on election day. It should be noted, however, that it is not enough to nominate good men; that step will count practically for nothing unless we see to it that the nomination is indorsed at the polls. The neglect of the ballot is apparent if we consider the facts as they exist to-day in our city. At a recent municipal election in Boston, of 96,206 names of registered voters, but 70,466 names were checked as having cast their ballots. More than one man in four was an absentee from the post of duty when this test of citizenship was made.

Such neglect is little short of crime. The man who is so full of his

pleasures or so interested to get to his place of business in the morning that he cannot turn aside a few rods to cast his ballot for righteous government is only one stage removed from the criminal. For a Christian citizen to neglect to vote is to be false to the flag that covers him, and to the state and city that protect his property and his home. It has been well said that "the citizen who does not vote ought to be court-martialed and drummed out of the camp of citizenship, to the music of the Rogue's March." The sacrament of our political liberty is the casting of our ballot.

At a recent election in England a special form of prayer was issued with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It read thus: "That at this time all electors, remembering their vote to be a trust from Thee, may faithfully and wisely make choice of fit persons to serve in the great council of the nation." Would that the thought, "*A vote is a divine trust*," might echo through America!

> The crowning fact,
> The kingliest act
> Of freedom, is the freeman's vote.

(*c*) Every Christian man is bound to *scrutinize carefully the character of the men for whom he votes*. Parties always have existed in this country and they always will exist. In national or state matters they seem to be a necessity; in municipal matters they are absurd. But as things stand to-day, it is usually wiser for a man to belong to some party, and of course he will belong to that one which, on the whole, best represents the principles in which he believes. Acting constantly as an independent, his power for good is greatly lessened. Unless the Christian men do their duty in these respects, the selfish and unprincipled men who are in all parties will get the supremacy. But a man is released from all obligations to his party if it selects a candidate of questionable character. We have no right to be led blindly in any way. If such men are nominated, then we are bound to do all in our power to defeat them. There is no other way so effective to prevent the nomination of unfit or corrupt men. I believe we cannot emphasize this point too strongly. I am aware that there are some who say if a man has ability for public service we have no right to scrutinize his private character. I believe such a position is wrong and pernicious, and as Christian men we should set our faces against it. When a man accepts a public trust, it is the man as a whole that becomes a part of the public life. It is impossible to have public integrity and private dishonesty. The word candidate is from a Latin root meaning "white," because at one time in Rome such persons wore white garments in token that they led unspotted lives. We want for our candidates not those whose garments are white, but those who are pure within. No man ought to be eligible for public office whose private character is stained in any way. Lord John Russell once said, "It is of the nature of party in England to ask the assistance of men of genius, but to follow the guidance of men of character." It is not so much better methods that we want as *better men*. It is time for the Christian men in the country to step to the front and insist more vigorously than ever before upon this point.

> God give us men! A time like this demands
> Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
> Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
> Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
> Men who possess opinions and a will;
> Men who have honor; men who will not lie;

Men who can stand before the demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Free men, sun crowned, who live above the fog,
In public duty and in private thinking;
For while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land and waiting Justice sleeps.

Following very closely this last point, that Christian men must insist that they will vote only for men of integrity, we are ready now to say that:

(*d*) Because it is the position of greatest usefulness, Christian men must hold themselves ready even at personal sacrifice to accept *positions of public trust* at the call of their fellow citizens. Unless the state can command the service of the best citizens, it is useless to hope for any improvement in public matters. This unwillingness on the part of men of high character to hold public office is, in some respects, our most serious peril. A son of Harvard College, who gave his life for his country, wrote to a friend just before his last battle: "Remember that the useful citizen holds his time, his trouble, his money, and his life ready at the hint of his country. The useful citizen is a mighty unpretending hero, but we are not to have a country very long unless such heroism is developed." And we might add in the same strain, unless our Christian men are ready to give up their money-getting, and their pleasure-seeking, and their personal comfort, bad men will get such control that their money will have little value and their homes will have but little pleasure for them. If men who have had the protection of the state and who owe all their success to our institutions cannot be appealed to in the nation's interest, to whom shall we go? If men are now indifferent, when shall we expect them to be in earnest? It is time to create a public sentiment that the man who neglects his civic duties in 1899 is as much of a traitor as he who was disloyal to the old flag in 1861. If we believe that the hope of the world is in the preservation on a high plane of this free republic, then Christian men must be willing to see others pass them in worldly things while they sacrifice themselves for the public weal. Men now very often sneer if a man accepts office. For five years I served on the Boston School Board with a gentleman of high character, a graduate of Harvard University, who sacrificed time and money in order that he might fulfill the sacred duty that had been committed to him. And yet he told me that often, when he met his friends, they would sneer at him for his sacrifices, and throw contempt upon what they were pleased to call his being "in politics." Such a condition of public sentiment is a shame and a disgrace. We must create a public feeling which shall say to all, that it is just as honorable to be an officer in our cities and towns as to be a warden, or elder, or deacon in a church. The city has a moral right to a fair share of the time and labor of her best citizens. A Christian citizen cannot fail to respond to the calls upon him without violating a solemn obligation which in the sight of God he owes to the state.

I have given these four illustrations to show how the Christian man may be most useful to his municipality.

THIRD. My final reason for urging municipal government as a sphere for the Christian man is that it is *the place of the greatest sacrifice*, and Mazzini was right when he said, "No appeal is quite so powerful in the end as the call, 'Come and suffer.'" No man can take a prominent part in public matters at the present time, and especially accept a nomination for any public office, without being likely at once to come under severe

criticism. This will be especially true if he has expressed positive opinions upon public matters. Partisanship in this country runs high, and some newspapers are ready to impugn a man's motives and ridicule his actions. It is this personal abuse of public men which deters many from allowing their names to be used for any public office. For a man of fine sensibilities, the whole thing is extremely distasteful. I know of no other motive to which one can appeal in these conditions, except the willingness from religious and patriotic motives to make the sacrifice. The magnificent birthright we have inherited from our fathers has cost blood and suffering which cannot be estimated. We are therefore under the most sacred obligations to hand this inheritance down to our children, not only unimpaired, but with something added as our part, wrought out for the public weal. There should be no holding back because of what it may cost. Does the physician hesitate because the case to which he is summoned is a desperate one and may bring him personal harm? Nay, rather, he is aroused to put forth his utmost at such a call of humanity. Shall the Christian patriot be less loyal to duty, less willing to sacrifice? It is far more important to have men ready to live than to die for the public service.

At Valley Forge, when Washington's army was suffering from hunger, their feet bleeding for lack of shoes, he asked them to die with him for their country and they responded most gladly to the sacrifice. So when in the War of the Rebellion brave men left farm and shop, and families as well, at the call of the nation, no sacrifice was deemed too great. The battle for righteousness in our cities is a newer war, but service in it is just as honorable, and patriotism demands of all equal self-denial. The only way to be a hero to-day is by self-sacrifice. In the words of the lamented Governor Russell, "Never forget the everlasting difference between making a living and making a life." No one has any right to evade his duty. "Where can I best do service?" should be the passion and thought of every Christian citizen.

Are there some that feel that I am putting too great a value upon the power of the Christian men of a nation to mould public matters? Listen as I recall to you the words of Dr. Charles A. Berry, whom we had so much hoped would have a part in this Council, but who is not, for God has taken him. These eloquent words were spoken before the English Free Church Council a year or more ago: "Thank God there are some signs that the church is regaining her power. Twelve months ago last December we stood on the eve of a rupture with our kin beyond the sea. A blessed Saturday, followed by a still more blessed Sunday, came between the message to Congress and the possible direful conflict between America and this country. On that Sunday in England and America the pulpit, preaching the gospel of peace, saved two nations from antagonism. The pulpit of England, the religious life of the church, has, more than statesmen and politicians, to do with the Treaty of Arbitration between us and America; and though perhaps there is some uncertainty as to what will happen, for the present one thing is absolutely sure — the spirit of the treaty has passed into the blood of the people, and the day will never dawn when we and they shall come to strife."

What was true in England was true in America. It was the Christian heart of the nation, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, expressed in thousands of pulpits and moved as by a common impulse, which changed the whole current of thought and saved us from our peril. There never was a finer illustration of the power of the Christian life of a nation to mould and shape its affairs.

A PERSONAL APPEAL

Certainly for the young men in our churches, the duty and the privilege of doing their part as citizens should be continually emphasized. It is one of the grand things of the Christian Endeavor movement that good citizenship is kept so prominently before its members. But more and more our young men should make it a study to master politics and municipal problems and train themselves for service here, as they train themselves for high service in their profession. We need more men like Theodore Roosevelt to turn their backs upon lives of ease, and give themselves to public interests with the same abandon and enthusiasm with which men devote themselves to their own interests. What we need now is not men to fight for our country, but men who will in our great cities, week in and week out, live for the public good. We want men to feel that the state as well as the church is a divine institution, and that the man who will not do his duty in this crisis in the cities of our country is not a Christian but a coward, is not a saint but a shirk.

These duties, which I am urging upon every Christian man, are certainly in no sense new, but are in harmony with God's teaching in all the past. This is not a new conception of the province of religion, but is a return to a phase of it which has been most sorely neglected. The old Hebrew prophets, from Elijah to Malachi, plead for righteous government. They not only tried to rouse the common people from their indifference to wrong, but spoke the most scathing words to those who were in authority and abused their trust. They were civic reformers. Moses, the great statesman of the Hebrews who shaped the first constitution of a free people, lived three thousand years before Jefferson.

Certainly it was the Master himself who taught us most clearly that our fellow citizens are our brethren, and that we all owe service to the state. The God of the church and the God of the nation, he made us see very clearly, were the one God, and when we neglect our duties in either direction we are neglecting a trust which we have received from the Almighty. Do you think, if Christ were living in one of our cities to-day, facing these awful evils, that he would be careless of his duty to the state? Listen to this woe: "Who bind heavy burdens and lay them on men's shoulders and will not touch them with one of their fingers." Did he not speak the most blistering words to those who sat in authority in his day, the severest words that ever fell upon the ears of men? Did he not send a message to Herod, "Go tell that fox"? And would he be silent in the presence of wrong in America to-day? Who said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's"? Does shirking from possible public duty fulfill these requirements?

"Jesus is the great Capitalist," said an Archbishop of the Catholic church at their congress, "for is he not the King of kings and Lord of lords, and is not all wealth his? And is he not the carpenter of Nazareth, and did not he labor in the sweat of his brow? Who, then, better than he, can settle the problem of capital and labor?" In the same way I would ask, Is not Jesus the great head of both church and state, and who but he and his followers can best settle the problems which in all our cities press for a solution?

It is pleasant for us to know that the founders of this nation were Christian patriots. Listen to the oath ordered by the General Court, Boston, May 13, 1634: "Moreover I do solemnly bind myself in the sight of God that when I shall be called to give my voice touching any such matter of this state, wherein free men are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in my own conscience may best conduce and tend to the

public weal of the body, without respect of persons or favor of any man. So help me God, in the Lord, Jesus Christ." In the early New England days our fathers prayed and voted in the same meeting-house, and to them the one act was as religious as the other. It was this solemn performance of public duty by the early settlers in the fear of God that has made America what she is. They made their politics a part of their religion. Should we not be as loyal in the present crisis in America? In the words of President McKinley, "We need in this generation the earnest purpose, the rugged devotion to principle and duty, the faith in manhood and reliance upon the Supreme Ruler, that marked the early New England home."

CONCLUSION

It is well to remember at this second International Congregational Council, and the first that has been held in America, that the English Pilgrims, sifted through Holland, settled upon this Massachusetts shore, bringing with them the spirit of religious freedom. The meeting-house, the school-house, and the town-house were their representatives, and they were equally loyal to each. On through more than two hundred and fifty years this spirit has been contending for mastery in this country. It has spread across the continent until the sons of the Pilgrims are found in every state clear to the Pacific. They have contended for righteousness as against evil; and while the battle has been fierce, for the most part the right has triumphed. But this battle between good and evil seems to have culminated now over the question, "Who is to control the cities of America?" There is more positive good in the city than anywhere else, and there is more positive and outspoken evil, and the battle is growing fiercer from day to day. Victory will come for righteousness only when the sons of the Pilgrims and the Christian men of every name are willing to give time and thought and sacrifice to the great work of redeeming these cities from misrule and extravagance, and placing again in high places more men of high character and noble purpose.

You may have noticed hanging from the railing above a white pennant with a blue cross upon it. This pennant belongs to Chaplain Hoes, and was on the famous battleship *Iowa*, during the late war with Spain. Admiral Cervera intended to sail out of port on that memorable morning,—Sunday, July 3, 1898,—at the time of divine service, hoping to take the American naval vessels at a disadvantage, and gain a few minutes in his race for life. He was wrong in his time by nearly an hour, and our battleships were ready for his coming. I have brought the pennant, not only because I thought you would be glad to look at this precious flag, but especially to illustrate by it an important truth. In the American navy, on the Sabbath Day, when the church bell tolls, such a pennant with a cross upon it is run up above the stars and stripes, the only flag that is thus allowed to be honored. So to us Americans, let the only symbol that has prestige over the stars and stripes—yea, may I not say to you Englishmen, let the only symbol that has prestige over your union jack—be the Cross of the Redeemer. Then and then only will our cities be what they ought to be—cities of God, and may he hasten the day! Amen.

At the conclusion of Mr. Capen's paper, the hymn "Stand up, stand up for Jesus" was sung.

Address

The Rev. Henry Arnold Thomas, M.A., of England, pastor of the Highbury Congregational church, Bristol, and chairman of the Con-

gregational Union of England and Wales, read a paper on the Duty of the Stronger to the Weaker Churches.

ADDRESS BY REV. H. ARNOLD THOMAS, M.A.

THE DUTY OF THE STRONGER TO THE WEAKER CHURCHES

I have to speak on the duty of the stronger to the weaker churches. It will be well to begin with a word of definition. What are the stronger churches and what are the weaker? There are strong that are weak, and there are weak that are strong. A church may be rich in all the best elements of spiritual power, rich in faith and in love and in good works, and yet be set down as a weak church. And another may be anything but prosperous in the best sense, and yet may be looked upon as one of the leading churches of the denomination. God's ways and God's thoughts are not always as our ways and our thoughts. That is something to remember to begin with. For our purpose to-day, however, we may put out of consideration the noblest kind of strength and the saddest kind of weakness, and we may use the words "strong" and "weak" in the popular sense; that is, we may mean by the *strong* church the church that has wealth, education, numbers, social influence, that has many resources, material and intellectual and, it may be, spiritual. And we may mean by the *weak* church the church that is deficient in such resources, at least in material and intellectual resources, the church that is not strong in numbers or in wealth, and finds it more or less of a struggle to carry on the work.

Now what is the duty of such strong churches to such weak churches?

The reply is obvious enough. The strong ought to help the weak, ought to stand by them, ought to befriend them in every possible way. I think we shall all acknowledge that as a general principle.

But it may be useful to ask, and to try to answer, two simple questions: (1) Why should the strong help the weak? (2) How should they do it?

Before, however, discussing these questions of "why" and "how," it is, perhaps, right to remark that it is not every weak church that ought to be helped. It is not enough to know that a church is weak; we are justified in asking why it is weak. It may be weak because it ought not to exist at all. It is weak because it was put down rashly and unadvisedly in a place where there was no room for it. In such a case it has no cause for complaint if it does not receive much encouragement and assistance. We owe much love and service to any group of persons who are gathered together in the name of Christ. But our debt is not so obvious to those who are gathered together in the name of perversity. And we owe still less to those who have been gathered together in the name of envy and strife by some present day Diotrephes. We have all known churches of this kind — churches that were weak enough, no doubt, but that had little claim, as we felt, on our help.

The case is different, of course, where the church has long been established, but is really, in a sense, not wanted, inasmuch as in the same district there are so many churches of a similar type, if not connected with the same denomination, that the needs of the population are far too amply met. These are often very difficult cases, and need most delicate handling. Your sympathy is with the church that was first on the ground. But it may so happen that some other church more recently planted has more of the better kind of strength, and seems on that account more deserving of encouragement. There is really no fixed rule for our guid-

ance. And often we have felt helpless, recognizing clearly that there are more churches than are wanted, but not knowing which of them should be condemned to extinction.

In regard to the future, however, something may be done and ought to be done. And I think we should regard it as one of the duties we owe to weak churches to take all possible steps to discourage the planting of new churches, which must be weak because there is no opportunity for them to grow and prosper. In other words, our duty is to do all we can to prevent overlapping.

But now we have to think of churches which are wanted, perhaps badly wanted, but are not strong enough to do all the work that is demanded of them.

Why should such churches be helped? For many reasons.

First, because as a matter of Christian duty, and in imitation of the great example, we "that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak."

Whatever may be said of the law that obtains in the kingdom of Nature, there is no doubt as to the law to which we are subject who belong to the kingdom of Grace. Even in Nature it is not always true that the fittest survive and the weakest go to the wall. A writer as well known in America as in England, the late Professor Drummond, made it his special business in one of his books to show how often in Nature a tender and protecting care is manifested for that which is very weak and helpless. But, at least, we know the mind of Christ in the matter. We know what he did with the bruised reed and the smoking flax, and we know what he would have us do. It must be perfectly clear to us what our policy and spirit must be towards those communities of our fellow Christians who, from one cause or another, are not strong enough to fight their own battle, if we would fulfill the royal law, and show respect to the honorable name by which we are called. Why must we stand by the weaker churches? Because we profess and call ourselves Christians. That is one good and sufficient reason. It is the right, the becoming thing to do for those who would follow where Jesus leads the way.

Secondly, these churches must be helped in the interests of the districts in which they are planted.

We are assuming that there is room for them. But that is as good as saying that there is need for them, or in other words, that there are people who will suffer if their work is hindered. And we are bound to think of those people. They are our brethren, and we are their keepers. If they were starving we should be under obligation to send bread to them. If they were stricken by some plague we should feel it our duty to open a hospital and send them doctors. But every true church exists to feed the hungry soul and to heal the soul that is sick. Therefore not for the church's sake only, but for the people's sake, we ought to give to such churches what help we can. It is a means of carrying on missionary work where missionary work is often sorely wanted, which it would be inexcusable in us not to make use of. What right have we to let the scattered sheep of the flock of God wander and perish uncared for?

Thirdly, the strong church should help the weak for its own sake, for the sake of its own joy and health and life. For it will get as much from the kindness it shows, from the help it gives, as the poorer church gets which is the object of its sympathy and care. In one of his famous university sermons Dr. Mozley, speaking of the exercise of compassion, refers to the "astonishing stupidity of paganism in throwing away as hardly looking at it such an engine, such an instrument of gratification of the most deep, insinuating, and penetrating kind, winding itself into the inner

soul." I do not think compassion is quite the word to use of the feeling of a strong church for a church that is weak in the sense in which we are now employing that term. For a church may be very poor, may be even struggling for existence, and yet may not be at all a church to be pitied. Rather may it be deserving of all honor and admiration and envy for its patience and faith and courage. But if we mean by compassion the sympathy which takes a practical form, then certainly your strong church may find great happiness in the exercise of compassion, that is, in its brotherly regard for the weaker church and its kindly exertions on its behalf.

Nor is it a question of happiness only, but a question also of holiness, of health, of life. For the strong church keeps itself pure, and grows in purity, by letting its affections and sympathies flow out towards the churches whose circumstances in this world are less favorable than its own. It finds its life by thus losing it. It grows rich by self-impoverishment. It is drawing the nearer to Christ; and that is better than getting a new organ or any comforts or luxuries for its own use — better even than getting a clever man to preach brilliant sermons for its Sunday delectation; it is drawing nearer to Christ by every act of genuine kindness towards a sister church. We sin most of all against ourselves when we will not help those who need our help. We bring leanness into our own souls.

Fourthly, the strong church ought to help the weak because of the debt it owes to the weak. It often happens — in England at least — that the younger people from the smaller churches in the country stream into the towns, and so add to the strength of the churches that are already strong. And I am sure that many who belong to these prosperous town churches will cheerfully acknowledge that some of their best elements of power are due to this influx of young life. Where this happens it is a shame for the strong church to turn a deaf ear to the cry for help, not articulate always, but pathetic enough and audible to those who are willing to hear, which comes from those at whose cost it is being enriched. It is too bad for those who are thus being ministered to in spiritual things to refuse to communicate in return those carnal things in which their benefactors are lacking.

Once more — and this is the last reason I give — the strong should help the weak for the sake of Congregationalism, for the sake of our common denominational life and credit. For it is a disgrace to us, as a body, as a family, if some of us are prospering in the things of this world, and some are struggling with difficulties and discouragements, and those who are better off are taking no manner of interest in those who are worse off. After all, the honor of a denomination depends more upon the average prosperity of the churches than upon the reputation of a few exceptional churches here and there. And I do not think we have any just cause to be proud of our denomination if all we can say is that we have a fair number of strong churches, and that these churches are leaving those that are not strong to toil on in the face of innumerable troubles and difficulties without ever expending a thought upon them, or stretching out a kindly hand to help. If that is what our Independency is to mean it is a thing for which we ought to blush, and we may well ask whether we are true members of the mystical body of Christ, for the true members of that body ever care the one for the other.

And now for the second question, How are the weaker churches to be helped?

It is not quite such a simple question as it may seem. It is much more than a matter of giving money. Money, indeed, may be given lavishly and unwisely, and in such a manner as to discourage all tendency to self-help among those on whom it is bestowed. And when advice and sympathy

and personal service are offered, it must be done with care and judgment. Altogether it is a delicate business helping our neighbors. One has to avoid anything like patronage, anything like undue interference, anything that could justly offend. Most of us have little doubt that we can manage other people's affairs better than they can manage them themselves, and we go with the best possible intentions to proffer our aid; but it is good to remember that those whom we would serve have also their ideas and their sensibilities, and perhaps their just and honorable pride. There is an injudicious, an inconsiderate, way of helping as well as a wise and an acceptable way. Still there are wise and useful ways.

There is, of course, much that can be done with advantage through the agency of those societies which have been established for the assistance of churches that cannot support themselves.

We have in England the various County Unions which exist in large measure for the encouragement of such churches, and the Church Aid Society, which charges itself with the care of those counties or County Unions which cannot make adequate provision for their own weaker churches. A great deal of good has been done through these societies, and much more might be done if they were more generously supported. On the whole, I do not think we can claim to have done our duty in England by these excellent institutions. Somehow the consciences of our well-to-do people have not been fairly awakened, their hearts have not been reached, their imaginations have not been fired. They have not done anything like what they might have done for the preaching of the Gospel and the building up of the kingdom of God through the instrumentality of our County Unions. We have yet to learn how to interest our more flourishing congregations in this most beneficent and necessary work.

In addition to its support of these societies a strong church may often have the opportunity of allying itself to a neighboring church in such a manner, and in such a spirit, as to render it very real and acceptable service. One danger in such an arrangement is that other churches are apt to be overlooked in the attention which is given to the one which is taken, as it were, into partnership. And also the aided church must see to it that it does not come to lean too much on help from without. Let it not be forgotten that a certain amount of struggling and self-denial is good for us all — churches as well as individual Christians. Still, if the thing be done discreetly, a strong church may be of the greatest use and blessing to a weak church by means of this kind of fellowship and coöperation.

Next, the smaller churches — especially those that are far away from the great centers of life — may be wonderfully helped if men of position in the world, as well as of character and spiritual power, will make it their business occasionally to visit these churches, to preside at their annual meetings, and perhaps sometimes give them a Sunday and a sermon, and interest themselves generally in their welfare. I have known men, tolerably busy men, too, who have been towers of strength to little communities of the faithful which they have thus visited from time to time, and I do not know that our young men of ability and good prospects in the world can cherish a nobler ambition than the ambition to become thus the beloved and trusted friends of these little families of the saints. It is not a kind of work that leads to civic fame or political power, and it means a considerable sacrifice of time and comfort. But it brings its own rich and abundant reward, and may well be commended to all those who are anxious to make the best possible use of their lives.

Then it is a great advantage if a man of wisdom and character and some leisure can be found in every district who can devote himself entirely

to the service of the churches that need help the most. In my own part of the world we have had one or two such men, and the value of the service they have rendered is not to be calculated. We want bishops who are yet not exactly bishops. We want men whose authority is not official, but whose care for the churches and for their brethren is such that they will acquire an authority which no man will resent. The difficulty in our system is that the men who could serve the churches most acceptably are so often burdened to excess by their own pastoral and local work. It is amazing how much some of these men are able to do, notwithstanding the pressure of their own duties. But the double work generally kills them, and these are not the men we like to have killed. I confess I should like to see some system adopted under which wise and gracious brethren, sons of consolation, could be set altogether free for the service of the churches.

But the truth is that what we need most is a noble and more Christian sentiment, a clearer recognition of the fact that, if we have resources and gifts, it is that we may minister the same as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. We want to be cured of our abominable church selfishness. A church that lives for itself is by no means a lovely object. It may spend a great deal of money on its premises. All its appliances and decorations may be as perfect as such things can be made. It may have a magnificent choir and any number of wealthy and well-educated people in the pews and a famous orator in the pulpit. Nevertheless, it presents a hateful spectacle if it is caring only for itself. And I do not think any prophet of the Old Testament, or apostle of the New, would take the slightest pleasure in it. I do not admire the fine clothes, or the glittering jewels, or the sumptuous furniture of the man who is doing well in business, but who while he himself is fat and flourishing, is allowing his sisters, who have never had his opportunities, to wear themselves out in the endeavor to make both ends meet. And we, as churches, are members of a family, and we ought not to forget it. Depend upon it, the beauty of the Lord will never be upon us, neither will he establish the work of our hands, unless we are caring, in the Spirit of our Master himself, for all who are poor and in difficulties and in trouble. That is a church of the living God; that is a church worthy to be called the Bride of Christ which, for love's sake, is willing to serve and to suffer, and to take upon itself the burden of the defenseless and the poor.

American Congregationalism

Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D., of New Jersey, gave notice that in compliance with many requests a meeting for conference and conversation on the Working of American Congregationalism, especially for the benefit of the foreign delegates, would be held in the Social Hall at 1 o'clock.

Theological Seminaries Further Defended

The address in behalf of the American theological seminaries, which was to have been given by Prof. George F. Moore, D.D., of Massachusetts, on Wednesday morning in connection with that of Principal Fairbairn, but was postponed on account of the lateness of the hour, was now given and was as follows: —

Dr. Moore's Reply to Presidents Hyde and Slocum

Mr. President, Members of the Council, Ladies and Gentlemen, — The Council listened on Tuesday evening to papers on theological education in America from two gentlemen, presidents of colleges, one in the East and one in the West, both of whom stand in the front rank of the younger leaders in the field of higher education. It was well, no doubt, that the point of view taken in these addresses should be from without the seminaries. Certainly, for us who are engaged in the work of teaching those who are to be ministers it was profitable and helpful to see ourselves as, at least, *some* others see us; and I hope that the criticisms which were made have led others, as they have led me, to a searching self-examination. But it seemed to some of those who heard the addresses that the point of view was rather too far outside — that it was, in fact, so remote in time or place or sympathy that the speakers saw but little, and that confusedly, of the things which are really done to-day in the theological seminaries of our denomination in America. For that reason I have been asked to take a few minutes of your time to speak on the same subject from a point of view rather nearer to the institutions and I hope nearer to the facts. For the courtesy of the committee and the council in giving me this opportunity, I wish, for myself and my colleagues in this work, to express my heartiest thanks.

I shall not undertake to discuss all the points which were raised by the former speakers. I have no controversy with them about the unwisdom of attempting to immortalize in unchangeable creeds the results of local and transient theological controversies. I only wish that the wholesome advice which was given upon that subject could have been widely disseminated in this country a hundred years ago. It would have done much more good than it is likely to do at present. Nor shall I take up the problems presented by the number and distribution of our seminaries, the reasons which have led to the foundation of these institutions and to the perpetuation of them, or the means which may be adopted to remedy this economic waste.

There are one or two matters on which I shall say just a word. One of these is the system of aid to students. This is one of the difficulties which the theological seminaries have inherited from a former time. The evils of the traditional method of aid to theological students — both its positive and negative evils — are not more apparent to those without than to those within; and I am sure that all the seminaries in this country are doing their best so to administer the trust funds committed to them as to accomplish the good which they were intended to achieve without the incidental evils which they sometimes have wrought. And I may properly say here that at a gathering of the theological instructors who have been present as delegates or otherwise in this Council, held a day or two ago, this question was fully canvassed, and the methods which were being used in our seminaries discussed. We had a free interchange of views, from which it appeared that, with one or two exceptions, all of our institutions are now endeavoring to administer these funds in precisely the same way in which similar funds are administered in colleges and universities. That is, scholarships are given, either wholly or in part, by competition; or, if not by competition, then by demanding not a mediocre but an exacting standard of scholarship for the bestowal of them. And while we do not profess to have altogether solved the problems or overcome the difficulties which result from the tradition of generations, I can assure you that we are laboring in precisely the same direction and way in which the administrators of colleges are doing. In the seminary for which I am able more

particularly to speak we are doing precisely the same thing that is done in Bowdoin College or in Harvard College, and nothing else.

One word further in regard to the diligence of theological students. I had the impression when I was a student of theology myself that some of my fellow students did not study as hard as the best scholars study at college, or as most men study in other professional schools. I have often ground it into my students that they were not worked so hard as men are worked in the law and medical schools, and that in consequence some of them did not work so hard. But something may fairly be said about this, too. In law or medicine the student has to acquire a knowledge of the facts and principles of his future profession. The mastery of knowledge is his chief aim. The theological student has much of the same kind of work to do; but, beside this, he has, like the student of philosophy, to think through his knowledge to a unity. He must have time for profound reflection upon the great truths with which he has to deal, that he may not only make knowledge his own by assimilation, but have individual convictions of his own about eternal things. And on the other hand, we have thought that a man who comes to the study of the ministry with the thorough training of the college or the university, with the habits of study and the discipline acquired there, with the highest motives to prompt him — not simply motives of self-interest, but the motives of the kingdom of God, — would have learned by that time to *work himself* without an instructor and an examination paper always over him. If this is in some respects too ideal a conception of the situation, it is at least not an unreasonable or unworthy one.

But I wish to confine myself mainly to the question of the education in the seminaries, as that was the chief point in the papers read. I am glad to agree very heartily with the speakers as to the dangers which threaten, and the disasters which must follow the substitution in our churches extensively of an uneducated for an educated ministry. I believe with all my heart that the best powers which God has ever given a man, the best training and education which the best institutions can give him, and the most consecrated spirit, make a man none too good for the least and humblest work in the ministry of the church, and that the humblest and the weakest churches require not weak men, but strong men to help them out of their weakness. I fully agree, therefore, with these gentlemen, that students who are preparing for the ministry should have a four or five years' disciplinary training in a secondary school, with a drill as thorough as it can be made; that in college they should have an opportunity to continue this disciplinary study; to get as broad a knowledge as is possible of nature and the methods of natural science through study, and if possible through laboratory investigation in some branch of science or other; to gain a knowledge of human history, not only in its facts, but in the broad causes and forces which are at work in it; to study extensively in philosophy and the history of philosophy; to acquire a generous culture; and to gain, if possible, the power of facile and forcible expression. All this belongs to the previous training of the student of theology, and for this we look, and must look, to the colleges from which our students come. It is for this reason that, with only exceptions here and there which are due to local causes, needs, or conditions, our institutions receive as regular students only graduates of our colleges. We do not always get from our colleges men who are equipped in full accord with this ideal. I told my friend President Hyde yesterday, that at the next International Congregational Council I was going to get myself an invitation to speak on the failure of the American college as illustrated by the inadequate preparation for the study of the ministry of the men whom it sends to us. If I were

so disposed I could make out quite as strong a case against the colleges, after sixteen years of experience in teaching their graduates, as he has made against the seminaries. For the truth is that, with all the boastfulness of modern methods of training, my experience — and I speak for no other — with not the worst men only, but with many of the best, not with men from the inferior colleges alone, but with men from the best colleges, is that, the moment you put these men into a *seminar* in philology or history, you find that they have had no adequate training in scientific methods.

On the basis of this previous education we undertake to build a theological education which is to prepare men to be preachers of the everlasting Gospel, to be pastors of the flock of Christ, to be teachers of their fellow men in religion and morals, to be leaders in the application of Christian morality to the family, to society, to business, to the municipality, to the great politics of the state. That is an exacting calling, and it demands an exacting and an exact preparation.

The proportion and nature of theological studies have changed somewhat in recent years. Systematic theology no longer occupies — I will not say the central place, which it must always occupy as long as men are under the intellectual compulsion to think themselves and the world through — but the place of absorbing and exclusive importance which it formerly held. On the other hand, the purely exegetical study of the Bible, the rigid grammatical exegesis which had for its root the belief not merely in the verbal but in the fragmentary inspiration of the Scripture, which had its reason for being in the belief that some essential doctrine might turn on a Greek aorist or the force of a Hebrew particle, has lost the importance which it possessed. A truer view of inspiration, to which it is clear that that which is really inspired and inspiring in the Scriptures resides in every translation, even in the poorest, not to speak of our own noble version, as well as in the letter of the Greek and Hebrew, has taken its place, and has led to a larger exegesis, a broader and more scientific interpretation of the history of the Old Testament, of the environment of nascent Christianity, of early Christianity itself, and of the history of the Christian church. The history of other religions, the philosophy of religion with a broad historical basis, the application of economics and ethics to the social needs of our time and not merely to the morality of the individual — all these things have taken their place in larger measure in our theological training, and they have greatly broadened the course of study in our institutions. The change which has come over the theological curriculum in twenty years is no less great than that which has taken place in the same time in the college, and the theological institutions have been no less prompt to respond to the demands of the new time and the new conditions.

The extent of this preparation for the work of the ministry is evidently wide enough to occupy a man for three years, and the imperativeness of his vocation is equaled by the imperativeness of his avocation. It cannot be expected in ordinary cases that we shall undertake to make up the deficiencies of the previous education by teaching philosophy, or natural science, or other branches which ought to have been studied in college. It would be better for a man, if he finds his college course has been deficient, to take a graduate course at some university rather than to try and make up that deficiency in the theological seminary, even if the theological seminary is situated alongside of a university, which, for many reasons, is the ideal place. These studies cannot be advantageously pursued in the seminary. We hope, indeed, that men who have had a proper grounding in the literature of their national tongue in college will not give up the reading of the great poets and orators of the English language b

cause they are not held up to recitations in English literature throughout their seminary course. We hope that men who have acquired a love for science in their college course will not abandon it when they devote themselves to the more properly theological studies. But that these things can be carried along in the seminary course by calling in some expert in science or philosophy or literature to give lectures, and to assert that for the lack of such teaching the seminaries are perishing, sounds to me very much as it would sound to a student of law to be told that it would be the ruin of the law school if it did not teach literature and science, and that its only salvation was to call in experts from outside to talk about these things.

But the course of study in the college and the seminary has not changed so radically as the method of study. I am an older man than President Hyde, and I am a product of the old education. It is the fashion to deride the old education; but it was not so very bad an education after all, if at least we may judge by the fact that all of the men who are now eminent in scientific and historical investigation in this country were brought up under it. Nevertheless, I am heartily willing to admit that the new is better. The old education was a method of recitations and lectures which treated men as boys after they had got to be men. The new education starts out with the principle that the real training of a man for the work of life is to teach him to see things with his own eyes, to get his facts from the sources or as near the sources as he can, to exercise his own judgment upon them, to form his own reasoned opinion upon the interpretation of them, and to know what he knows for himself, because he has worked and thought it out and not simply because he has been told it. The whole method of modern education in college and in the professional school has been adapted to this end. The methods of the medical school and of the law school have been revolutionized. Is it true that the theological schools still go on, following the same methods of instruction and education which were used fifty years ago, and have for twenty years been obsolete in all other professional schools? It is *not* true, and no man who knows the interior of a modern theological school would have ventured such an assertion in the presence, I will not say of theological teachers, but of the recent graduates of theological seminaries.

The method of instruction has to be adapted to the subject. You cannot teach metaphysics in a laboratory. You cannot teach psychology as you teach physiology; nor can you teach history as you teach chemistry. You may apply just as rigid a method of investigation, you may employ just as scientific a method of presentation, but the methods cannot be the same because the subjects are not the same. The lecture, which has come in for a good share of President Hyde's ridicule — a ridicule which would be deserved if the *dictated* lecture which he described had any existence except in his imagination — will always be one of the best means of instruction, not because it pours finished results into the passive minds of mature men who are insulted by the process, but because it gives the teacher an opportunity to present to his pupils the actual stage of knowledge in the branch which he is teaching up to the very hour of the lecture, which no text-book can ever do, and because it enables him to present it in the method of investigation and not in the "funnel" method. An exegetical lecture, for example, is nothing like a chapter from a commentary. Its object is to show the pupil at every step what the exegetical question is, how it arises, how it is to be formulated, and how it is to be answered. It is a method of discipline in investigation itself, and I never heard an exegetical lecture framed on any other line. If it is possible to do this in exegesis, which is probably the most difficult subject so to treat, it is possible in all others.

But the lecture is not the only kind of instruction in the seminary. It is, and always has been, supplemented by wide reading; it is supplemented by discussion in the class room and elsewhere, by criticism of the individual student, and by the effort which he is forced to make to construct and present the results of his own investigation. If the class is small and the subject suits it, the lecture itself may become a *seminar*. If it is not possible to do that, it must be supplemented by the *seminar*, in which all the men are made to do the work of actual investigation under the guidance and criticism of the instructor, and to put their results together just exactly as they do in the scientific or law or medical school.

Now, I am the neighbor of a great university, and it is my privilege to be a good deal on the inside of the university, to know intimately some of the men who are its leading teachers in various departments, and to have inquired into the methods, old and new, there employed; and I am free to say that I do not know any difference — except such as lie in the nature of the studies themselves, and these differences exist equally within the university itself — between the methods of teaching employed in our theological seminaries and those employed in the university.

I will not say that all professors reach this level. I have known professors even in colleges who had been left over from a former time and were unable to keep up with the progress of learning or teaching. I have even heard of college presidents who were not in favor of all reforms in education. Nor do I say that all seminaries have attained this ideal. We have to work with the material which we get, as I have told you, and it is not always that which we would like most to get. But it cannot be that these institutions are so in the rut of an antiquated education, that their instructors are so out of sympathy with modern methods of education and so ignorant of them as has been insinuated. If that were so, would the theological faculties be the favorite hunting-ground for college presidents? There is President Tucker of Dartmouth College, who at Andover was so futile a teacher that his instruction could be compared to lessons in swimming "in a two by four bathtub" — by what process has he become such a different man since? There is President Harris, who has just gone from us to Amherst. Other members of my own faculty have three times in recent years declined the presidency of similar institutions. A similar story might be told, I presume, of Hartford, of New Haven, and other places. It is absurd to think that colleges, which are looking for men who shall take the leadership in the new education, should pick out men who have not an idea about what the new education is.

I have no objection to just criticism. No one knows better than those of us who are on the inside how imperfect our attainment is, how far we are from realizing our ideal, how imperfect perhaps our ideal is. But one thing we know, and that is that we are trying to attain the highest type of education for the Christian ministry, and that we are informing ourselves from every possible quarter. My objection to the papers to which I am replying is not that they criticise the seminaries, but that they wholly ignore what we are trying to do, and what, in some faint and feeble measure as becomes our limited powers, we are actually accomplishing. Instead of a description of the theological education as it is in this country, a witty but reckless *caricature* was given. To show that this language is not too strong, I will simply read a sentence or two from President Hyde's address: "Yet with nearly one thousand dollars to expend on each man every year, how meager and pitiful the educational result. A little Hebrew, which is speedily forgotten; Greek enough to render the commentary intelligible; and three notebooks, one full of unverified church history, another full of unassimilated dogmatics, a third full of homiletical sugges-

tions about as practical as instructions for swimming given to a man in a two by four bathtub. This is about the sum and substance of the theological education men have taken with them from the seminaries in years gone by." Where those men are, I do not know. They are not the ministers whom I ordinarily meet or hear.

And this caricature, in the place of description and the criticism of fact, is the more remarkable as coming from the lips of a gentleman who has so much to say about the modern method, the scientific method, in nature and in history. Formerly history was a branch of rhetoric; and Macaulay was a brilliant exponent of it. Now history is a science; and the principles of the scientific method as applied to history, no less than to the study of nature, are, first, ascertain exactly all the facts; second, state the facts with absolute candor; and third, draw from them only the inferences and all of the inferences which the facts give. If the sentences which I have quoted had not been read from paper, I should have supposed that they were one of those extemporaneous outgivings which, according to President Hyde's apt story, "the devil himself could not have foreseen."

Now, I have said these things, I hope, in no spirit of rancor. I have said them not because, for myself and my colleagues, I resent the imputation of having been left a generation or so behind by the progress of education. I am perfectly willing to leave the judgment on that point to those who know. I have said them because these addresses were calculated to bring into contempt the Christian ministry. There are too many men in every community, among the half-educated and the uneducated, to whom it is a joy to despise the ministry; who believe that the minister is a man whose faith is antiquated; whose morality is mediæval, or Puritanic — which they usually regard as worse; whose intellectual capacity is probably of the lowest; who has been pauperized in getting what was not an education; and who is a person to be spurned and despised, he and his message altogether. I resent — and I feel that it is a righteous resentment — this false imputation upon the Christian ministry of to-day, and I deplore it that in the address of which I have been speaking the authority of one who stands as an expert in education, and to whose words that weight will be given by those who do not know, should be lent to such an imputation.

Rejoinders by Presidents Hyde and Slocum

In response to the addresses by Principal Fairbairn and Professor Moore, President Hyde and President Slocum offered the following rejoinders. At the close of Dr. Moore's address Rev. Dr. Graham Taylor came to the platform and made the following request: —

Request of Rev. Professor Graham Taylor, D.D.

As one who most vigorously dissents from the paper of President Hyde, in the interest of fair play and the Christian spirit, I ask that President Hyde be allowed again to speak for himself.

President Angell thereupon introduced President Hyde and later President Slocum.

Response by President Hyde

We read in the Scriptures that "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth." If there has been anything severe in the criticisms that President Slocum

and myself have passed upon the seminaries it has been because we loved them; it has been because we believed that in Christian work, as everywhere else, he who most severely criticises an institution or a man is the best friend of that institution or man. I believe we could have done no better service to the theological seminaries than to bring out such magnificent defenders of them as we have had in Principal Fairbairn and Professor Moore. Principal Fairbairn's address reminded me of a remark of President McCosh. President McCosh had an idea of founding a modern philosophy different from any that had gone before. One of his friends said to him, "Dr. McCosh, it seems to me that on the question of the relation of mind to matter your doctrine is the same as the doctrine of preëstablished harmony." "No," said Dr. McCosh, "far from it. My doctrine is not the doctrine of preëstablished harmony. I am not an adherent of that notion. I am the originator and the promulgator of the modern doctrine of foreordained conformity." Now, Dr. Fairbairn severely criticised the program which President Slocum and I laid down and then proceeded to tell us how, by moving his college to Oxford, by bringing his men into active intellectual association with the philosophical and literary clubs of that university and by sending them down to Mansfield House in Canningtown, where, as he said, in six weeks they would learn more about social problems than they could learn in three terms of lectures, he had greatly improved the standard of theological education. That is, he showed how well the program has worked in England which we advocate for America.

But I do not wish to engage in any personal reflection. Five things I trust have been made clear. On some of them we have had agreement and on none of them have we had any serious disagreement. First, indiscriminate eleemosynary aid must be stopped. Second, by competition and the wholesome working of natural selection, the standard of education in theological seminaries must be raised. Third, the compelling of professors to sign creeds determining what they shall teach is an anomaly. A Pope can promulgate a creed; a Protestant teacher cannot teach a creed, for he cannot teach anything that varies by a hair's breadth from what he sees, — he must "draw the thing as he sees it for the God of things as they are." Fourth, the theological education must teach not man's abstract relation to a God far back in history or a God mystically enthroned in the clouds; it must present to men God's law as it applies to their moral conduct, as it applies to their civic relations, and any theology which fails to do that is a shabby and elementary theology. And lastly, as to the methods, we must have in all our seminaries more of the original work of the student. They must study theology as they study English in the best universities, where the student writes a theme a day to be criticised. They must do this kind of work and take their criticism. We must have less of pouring finished results into their minds.

Now on all these five points I trust that some clear impression has been made. We all love these seminaries. President Slocum and I have brought this question here because we believe that, for the perpetuity of the seminary, for the highest usefulness of our churches, these five fundamental reforms are absolutely essential. And we believe that, while perhaps in our attempt to make things clear we may have drawn some ultra-characteristic lines — and if we have I am sure we are sorry — yet we believe with Aristotle that when a stick of timber is warped, the way to straighten it is to bend it just as far as you can the other way and then let it come back. It is coming back to-day.

Response by President Slocum

I feel very much like standing at the bar of justice. I had a very curious experience yesterday. One of the representatives of the Associated Press was chasing me for half an hour over the city, trying to find the solution of a very curious mistake. I am to speak to-night in Hartford at the National Prison Congress, and my subject is "Reforms in Prison Management." By a very singular mistake the Associated Press mixed up the two addresses and there would have appeared in Hartford to-morrow morning probably the address which I gave here the other evening, only headed "Reform in Prison Management." Fortunately that impression has been taken out of the mind of the Associated Press representative. I could not help feeling, however, as our friend from Andover was speaking, that possibly he had seen my address upon prison reform.

I do want to say this, however. As President Hyde has said, the motive for whatever was brought here the other evening grew out of a heart very big with interest in the great problems that we are trying to meet out in our Western country. I want to say also that my connection with theological seminaries is not altogether antiquated. We are sending out of our Western land some very earnest men who every year are going back and forth between our theological seminaries and my office, — men who are attending our theological seminaries to fit themselves — what for? They are coming back to our Western country to meet theological propositions indeed, but they are coming back to help solve great ethical problems. When our distinguished guest from England, if the press reports him rightly, says that the subject of ethics should not take preëminence in our theological education, I cannot help wishing that I might take him out into our country and show him something of the problems that these same theological students must meet and help to solve as Christian leaders.

Only one word more. I do trust that nothing which I have said will seem in any way a personal reflection. I cannot forget even now that man at whose feet for many months I bowed with great advantage to myself, who still is awaiting this side of the river on Andover Hill. I do not forget the men who gave me inspiration and helpful suggestion. But I do not forget — and I pray God to forgive me if I am forgetting the work of the theological seminary — the great problem that is confronting our growing country. I do not forget the need of men broadly educated for what stands before them; and if, in that intensity of conviction which has followed me during all these years when there have come temptations to leave the frontier — if in all this I am making a mistake, I beg the pardon of Andover Hill, and I still think that I shall try to send there and send to other theological seminaries earnest young men who will come back and help us fight our battles in the West.

Rev. Robert R. Meredith, D.D., of New York, pronounced the benediction, and the Council took a recess until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

At the appointed hour the Council was called to order, Vice-President Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., in the chair, and the hymn "All hail the power of Jesus' name" was sung. After prayer by the Rev. James R. Danforth, of New Jersey, the hymn "Stand up, stand up for Jesus" was sung.

Resolution offered by Dr. Bevan

A resolution regarding Samoan affairs was offered and moved by the Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, LL.D., D.D., of Australia, and seconded by William Crosfield, Esq., J.P., vice-president of the London Missionary Society. The resolution, which was adopted unanimously by the Council, is as follows: —

Resolution on the Late Disturbances in Samoa

Resolved: That this Council desires to place on record its thankfulness to Almighty God that he has brought the strife arising in Samoa from the claims of competing candidates to the kingship to a peaceful conclusion, thus saving these lands from the horrors of savage warfare and the check arising therefrom to the progress of civilization and Christianity; and further to express its satisfaction to the agreement which has been arrived at by the joint action of the commissioners appointed by the American, German, and British governments; and it would especially hail with satisfaction the testimony borne to the high service which has been rendered to the cause of humanity and the progress of the people by the labors of the Christian missionaries who have been for the most part representatives of the Congregational churches in the foreign mission work of the London Missionary Society.

Statistics

The nominating committee, through its chairman, William H. Strong, Esq., of Michigan, moved that the committee on statistics already ordered be increased from seven to nine. This motion was seconded by Secretary Hazen and voted by the Council. The following committee was then nominated and elected: —

Committee on Statistics

Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D.D., of Massachusetts, chairman; Rev. David L. Ritchie, of England; Rev. William H. Moore, of Connecticut; Halley Stewart, Esq., J.P., of England; Mr. C. B. Thomas, of England; Rev. Henry E. Jewett, of California; Rev. Robert Craig, M.A., D.D., of Scotland; Rev. Thomas Roseby, M.A., LL.D., of New South Wales; and Rev. Edward M. Hill, M.A., of Canada.

Delegate to Presbyterian Council

The nominating committee nominated as delegate to the Seventh General Council of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System, now in session at Washington, D. C., the Rev. Charles H. Richards, D.D., of Pennsylvania, with power of substitution. He was elected. [Dr. Richards being unable to attend, our Council was represented by the Rev. Stephen M. Newman, D.D., of Washington, D. C.]

Address

Rev. Williston Walker, PH.D., D.D., of Connecticut, Professor of Germanic and Western Church History at Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, read a paper on the Obligations and Opportunities of Congregationalism in America.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR WILLISTON WALKER, PH.D., D.D.

OBLIGATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN AMERICA

I have been asked to speak this afternoon on the obligations and opportunities of Congregationalism in America. In Christian service opportunities are always obligations, and I shall therefore make no broad distinction between them, but try to point out some of the characteristics of Congregationalism which we need to emphasize in any consideration of its mission to the land in which we dwell.

My task is less easy than that of the speaker who is soon to follow me. Congregationalism in America, unlike Congregationalism in England, does not stand face to face with an intrenched and overbearing ecclesiastical establishment. The duty of protest in the name of Christian freedom is not a prime obligation of American Congregationalism. Furthermore, to an extent much greater than in England, if the number of its adherents be considered, the Congregational polity in America is not restricted to those who bear the Congregational name. Baptists, Christians, Plymouth Brethren, Disciples of Christ, and Unitarians, as well as some branches of Adventists, Lutherans, and Hebrews, are essentially Congregational in polity. Nearly four tenths of all American religious organizations are thus governed. But though the polity from which we take our name is thus no longer exclusively our own, our churches have a historic unity and a present fellowship which gives to them as distinct a character as is possessed by any religious denomination in America.

One obligation resting on American Congregationalism, at least in a considerable section of the United States, is that of the firstborn. Among the first of Protestant religious bodies, our churches entered this new continent. It is not a right of preëmption that they claim. It is a duty to the land in which they labor and to themselves that should constrain them. If any communion has the obligation laid upon it to use its utmost endeavor to Christianize America, they have, for none have been more identified with the history and development of American institutions. And our churches have been awake to this duty. First of Protestant bodies to labor effectively for the Indians, first to enter the wider home

missionary field, first to organize for foreign missions, first to take up work on an extensive scale for the education and elevation of the negroes when just emancipated from slavery, they have been faithful to their charge. The roll of their missionaries in every part of this land and beyond the seas witnesses that they are faithful to-day.

But, taking their history as a whole, and gratefully recognizing the ever-deepening consciousness of their essential unity that has marked the last three quarters of a century, it must be said that they have been too willing to sow the seed and let others reap the harvest. The time has happily long passed when Congregationalism was looked upon as a local polity, adapted alone to the New England soil and too tender for successful transplantation. The membership of this Council testifies to its wide distribution over the oldest American republic. But our churches still need to emphasize the value of their heritage. They need to hold what they have in higher regard. Even yet, an exposition of Congregational principles is the rarest of discourses in our pulpits. Our church members are too often Congregationalists by instinct and inheritance, rather than by knowledge; and, though our stirring history is more widely known than ever before, the just appreciation of the Congregational heritage is not always ours.

Above all, in these days of organization and combination in every department of human activity, we need to emphasize our Congregational principle of fellowship. We need to concentrate our now widely scattered gifts more exclusively on our own agencies of outstretching evangelization and mutual helpfulness, the missionary societies for labor at home and abroad. We need to simplify the management and reduce the number of these societies by consolidation, that they may increase their effectiveness. We should bring our theological seminaries into more direct relations to the churches that they serve. And, most pressing need of all, we ought to cultivate, in some fuller measure than at present, a sense of unity between the churches of our order in our cities and larger towns, that by some definite form of coöperation they may better bear one another's burdens and more effectively carry the gospel to those not naturally of their membership. These are old lessons, often repeated on platforms like this, and, happily, lessons that have not been wholly in vain; but they need iteration and reiteration still.

A second obligation resting on our American churches of the Congregational order is to maintain an educated Christianity in the pulpit and the pew. Any argument in favor of the desirability of Christian intelligence would be impertinent before this audience and on this soil, where our colonial forerunners, in the poverty of their beginnings, laid the foundation of schools and colleges. Congregationalism has ever regarded intelligence as the best servant of faith and knowledge as the most useful handmaid of consecration to a life of godliness. The Congregational conception of a church as a covenanted association of brethren, each with equal vote and equal responsibilities, implies for its most successful administration a high degree of intelligence in the whole body, the member in the pew as well as the minister in the pulpit.

Christian intelligence is a conception which Congregationalists rejoice to see becoming to a rapidly increasing degree the ideal of the older religious bodies in America generally. Scarcely one of them, however it may have been in years gone by, but now fosters education. Several have always done so in a measure second only to that attained by American Congregationalism. All the more reason is there, therefore, that Congregationalism in America should maintain its ancient eminence in this respect. It has been the mother of schools and colleges. It must con-

tinue to be so if it is to be true to its past, and the institutions of learning which consecrated men are to-day maintaining in the forming communities of our West, or among the less favored inhabitants of the South, are proof that Congregationalism has not lost its ancient zeal.

Yet two dangers of a decline from standards set in the past assail our churches which are as real as they are subtle, and deserve our watchful consideration. In an age when the other learned professions are demanding more extended preparation of candidates for admission to their ranks, the cry is constantly heard for short cuts to the ministry, and too many of our churches, especially in rural communities, content themselves with pastors of little intellectual preparation for their work. While it is true that the training of a large proportion of our ministry is as thorough as that of the members of any learned profession, it is no less true that, if our ministry be taken in its entirety, it will be found that by no means so large a proportion of its members have enjoyed a training commensurate with the demands of modern scholarship as had received the best intellectual preparation attainable a century or a century and a half ago. This is not the fault of our Theological Seminaries. The preparation that they offer to those who will avail themselves of it was never more practical or thorough than at present, whatever may have been alleged to the contrary; but our churches need to exercise a more jealous care than they do lest the pulpit lose its ancient preëminence in the power that comes through the addition of careful training to spiritual zealousness.

Nor is the danger to those in our pews a less serious one, though it is more specific in its character. In common with American Protestants generally, the tendency with us for years past has been strongly against catechetical instruction, and the abandonment of this once honored method of imparting religious truth has probably been as complete in our churches as anywhere. With a polity that demands in theory that candidates for church membership shall be able to give a reason for the faith that is in them, and possess an intelligent comprehension of the main principles of Christianity, we admit boys and girls to our churches who are, we may confidently trust, the subjects of the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit, but whose knowledge of Christian truth is of the most rudimentary character. We should not keep them out; we owe them a better preparation — a preparation that the ordinary Sunday-school does not furnish — and the preparation classes that are being here and there experimentally established in our churches are a move in the right direction. The duty of grounding our young people more thoroughly in intelligent comprehension of religious truth is one to which our churches must seriously address themselves.

A third characteristic of Congregationalism in America is one that partakes more of the nature of a privilege than either that have thus far been noted. We have abundant right to emphasize and rejoice in the mediating advantages which our churches possess. It is no accident that, alone of all evangelical bodies in the United States, the Congregational churches have put forth a credal testimony to their faith within the last generation and expressed in modern language. The fact is illustrative of the readiness of our churches, not merely to hold that which is old, but to welcome that which seems good in the new.

No other Christian body in the United States occupies such a vantage ground. In no way committed to radicalism, as are some of the denominations about us, and in no way bound to ancient systems of Christian thought, save by continuity of historic descent and regard for the truth that they contain, our churches hold a position of remarkable freedom. Standing firmly, as a body, within the broad lines of the evangelical conception of

the gospel, viewed as a whole they are neither radical nor conservative. They have had their sharp doctrinal discussions, not without heart burnings, in recent years, but the contestants, however earnestly they have differed, have remained brethren, and our churches have been in no serious danger of division. And the result is that there is no religious denomination in America to-day which exhibits greater harmony of feeling between all its constituent elements, or wherein greater toleration in doctrine is enjoyed within evangelical lines.

A generation ago Calvinists and Arminians discovered that they could work in fellowship within our borders; and men who view from differing standpoints far more modern questions than those symbolized by the names just spoken find themselves side by side in our churches to-day. Freedom in this respect, like freedom always, has its perils. It is possible that lines are sometimes too loosely drawn by our churches and councils. But this is not the toleration of indifference. It is not apathy toward religious truth, or want of opinion. Its bases are Christian charity and a conviction that the true weapons of religious controversy are the weapons of the mind and spirit rather than ecclesiastical courts or the mandates of superior authority.

A similar advantage possessed by Congregationalism in the United States is to be found in the freedom of our forms of worship. This question, so turmoiling to some religious bodies at the present time, is, indeed, not a very pressing one with us. Our churches are by their history and traditions strongly of a non-liturgical character. But each church has entire freedom in this matter, and can adapt its worship to its needs. It can make its services as stately as the grand examples of the past and the taste of the present can render them, or as simple as was the worship of the apostolic company, without transgressing any principle of modern Congregationalism. Probably none of our churches will ever attain — certainly few of us desire — the ornate ritualism of certain ecclesiastical bodies often called by the Protestant name. Such forms must have for us always the incongruity of borrowed plumage. But if any Congregational pastor and church believe that they can make their services more worshipful toward God or helpful toward men by any enrichment or modification, the way is free for them to make the attempt, without the necessity of seeking the consent of higher authorities, and without criticism from their brethren, provided it is done with reasonable regard to decency and order. Certainly this flexibility and liberty are to be valued.

American Congregationalism has never claimed for itself any exclusive right to the Christian name. But it has, from the first, believed that it embodies more than any other system the principles which the word of God designed the church on earth to express. One feels, indeed, a sense of the pathetic, oftentimes, when reading the treatises on Congregationalism of a Hooker, a Cotton, or a Mather, by reason of the minuteness with which they attempted to draw the pattern of the church from the Bible, and from the Bible alone. Every fragment of apostolic practice or exhortation, every possible strain of psalmist's hymn that imagination could view as appropriate, even so remote a source as the imagery of Solomon's song, seemed to their reverent gaze freighted with meaning as to what God designed his church to be. None of us would follow them in the minuteness with which they sought to find a pattern in the Bible. Few of us, I fancy, believe that any minute pattern is there recorded.

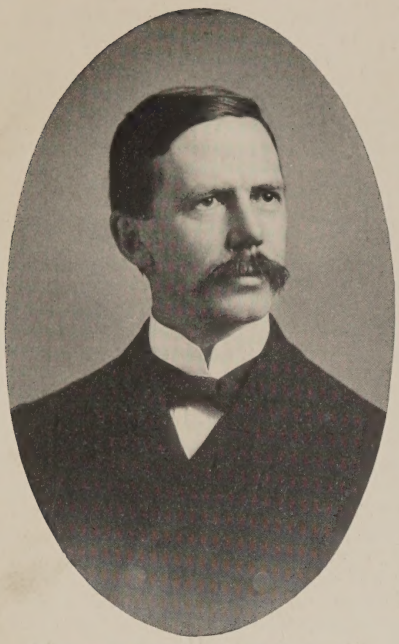
But, in principle, the fathers were right. The kingdom of God has its laws of service, of brotherhood, of helpfulness, of freedom, of allegiance to the one King — laws woven through and through the revelation contained in Holy Writ — and to these principles we may reverently believe that

Congregationalism is a better approximation than any other system. We need to hold fast the thought of Congregationalism as the best polity, while recognizing cheerfully the existence of many other polities in the United States, and admitting that Congregationalism may not be adapted for all Christians in this land. Can a man be a good Congregationalist and yet hold that not all Christians can now become Congregationalists? Can a man be confident that Congregationalism has a mission even to those not Congregationalists — a mission of great value to them, though they may never be of our Congregational communion? He can; and he must, if he has entered into the best spirit of American Congregationalism, and has gained a vision of the breadth of the kingdom of God.

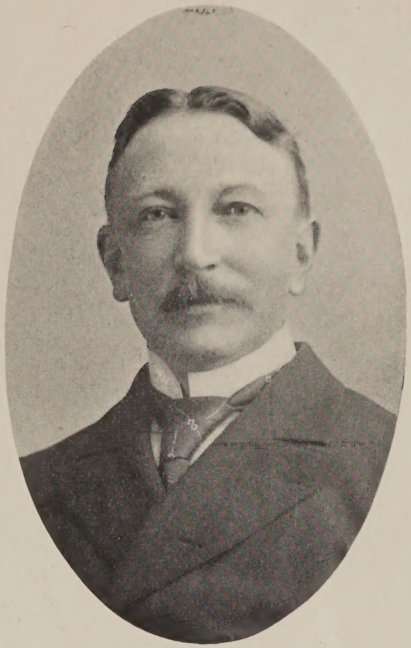
Our country shows a great variety of training, of mental and spiritual attainment, of race aptitudes and tendencies; and to this variety in religious development there is a ministry for every one of the important forms in which Christianity has organized itself. Is the Methodist family of churches, with its itineracy, its probationary system, its strict supervision, its class meetings, and its camp meetings, the most numerous in its membership of any group of American Protestants? It is because a large portion of American Christians find Methodism best suited to their needs. Is Roman Catholicism strongly intrenched among our population of foreign birth or recently immigrated parentage? The thoughtful observer of American religious life will question whether any other polity could hold the vast majority of those Americans of Roman training and of recent arrival to religion at all.

But while we thus cordially recognize the usefulness of all the great churches to certain stages of development coexistent in our complex American Christianity, we hold Congregationalism to be needful not merely as a polity which represents, we believe, a nearer approach to the principles of the gospel than any other, but as a leavening influence of prime value in all our American religious life. Few would now maintain that one form of civil government is adapted to the present political condition of all men. The establishment of a republic is no longer looked upon, as by our fathers, as a panacea for all the ills of the body politic. We, in America at least, believe that a republic is the best of all forms of government when it can be well administered, and that the existence of republics tends to make freer all governments everywhere. But we know that all men are not fitted for a republican form of government. It is the goal toward which the political world is moving, rather than that to which that world has everywhere attained. So, as Congregationalists, we believe that Congregationalism is the best, the freest, the most scriptural of all polities, that its existence in the land tends to the freedom of all other forms of church government; but we believe also that there is room here at present for many different branches of the one flock of Christ, and that federal coöperation should, as far as possible, exist between them.

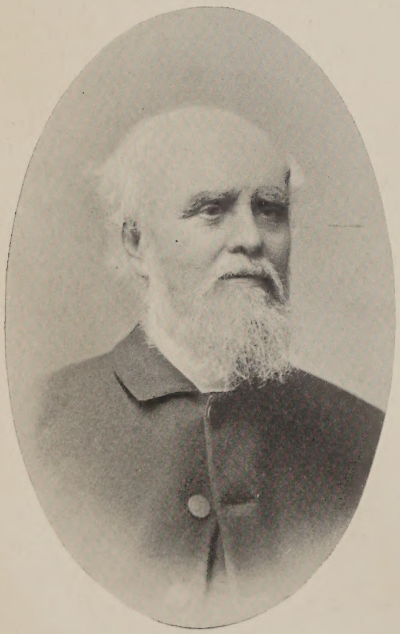
Congregationalism stands for great principles — for the full participation of the laity in Christian service and church government; for freedom and simplicity in organization; for the self-government of the local congregation; for mutual helpfulness; for intelligence in pulpit and pew; for missionary zeal. Its leavening influence is widely felt in our American religious life. American Episcopacy is something very different from its English prototype. Its laymen have felt the breath of Congregational freedom. American Lutheranism, leaving behind state support and state control in crossing the Atlantic, has drawn much from principles made prevalent here by Congregationalism in adapting its government to its new environment. And even Roman Catholicism is showing a struggle between the spirit of European conservatism and that American spirit of freedom



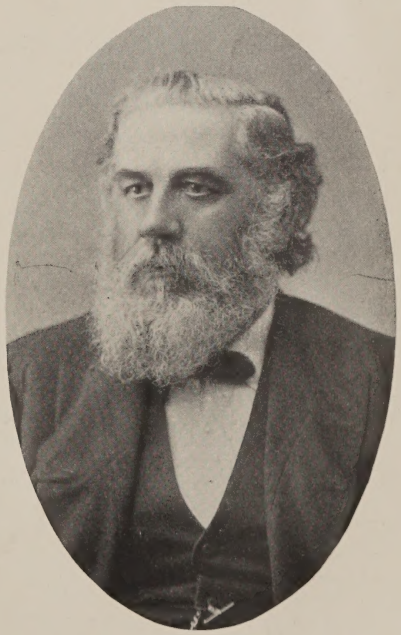
PROF. WILLISTON WALKER, Ph.D., D.D.,
Hartford, Conn.



PROF. GEORGE F. MOORE, D.D.,
Andover, Mass.



REV. ROBERT BRUCE, M.A., D.D.,
Huddersfield, England.



REV. JACOB JOHN HALLEY,
Melbourne, Victoria.

to the development of which in American Christianity as a whole Congregationalism has largely contributed.

Congregationalism was never more needed in America than now. Great as has been its work in the past, it is to the future that it should look. With our population swelled by rapid and only partially assimilated immigration; with old questions, such as the elevation of the negro, still demanding a Christian solution from us; with new problems facing us in the West Indies and the Orient; with large sections of our own land still needing the establishment of Christian institutions, Congregationalism has a mission and a work in America of the utmost importance. Its influence in holding aloft the standard of a free, democratic, educated Christianity in our land is of priceless value; and an adequate sense of the importance of this mission is one of the obligations of American Congregationalism.

Nothing has been said in this paper regarding the attitude of our churches toward such problems as the nature and method of revelation, the redemption of the unchurched masses in our cities, the maintenance of religious institutions in rural communities, or the broader applications of the gospel to society. The reason is not because of any lack of interest in such questions among us. But they are problems of American Christianity as a whole, and not peculiar to the specific branch of the church of Christ in this land to which we belong. It is to certain opportunities and obligations resting upon us as Congregationalists that our attention has been directed. We have our problems, serious and perplexing; but at no time in its history has American Congregationalism had a right to look with greater hope to the future, or with more confidence that the Master has a work for it to do, than on the threshold of the new century which we are about to enter.

At the conclusion of Dr. Walker's address the hymn "Nearer my God to thee" was sung.

Address

Rev. Jacob John Halley, of Australia, pastor of St. Kilda Congregational church, Melbourne, Victoria, and secretary of the Victorian Congregational Union, addressed the Council on the Obligations and Opportunities of Congregationalism in Australia.

Address by Rev. Jacob John Halley

OBLIGATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN AUSTRALIA

It is mine to represent the youngest but by no means the least fair of Britain's daughters — the island continent of Australia. In its political history, at first a penal settlement, then crown colonies; then self-governing colonies under free constitutions, but to-day to be presented to the world as a federated nation, and that not under the name of a province or a dominion or a union of states, but by a name that will recall in both hemispheres by no means the less glorious epoch of the nation's history — an epoch in

which the heroic parts were taken by your ancestors and mine, the men who thought

> What others only dreamed about, and did
> What others did but think, and gloried in
> What others dared but do.

And so the federation of the Australian colonies is to be known as the Commonwealth of Australia. May I not ask that you, the children of the Commonwealth of England, American and British, will pray that the spirit of devout loyalty to the Master, of enthusiasm for liberty that characterized the men of the day of England's one independent and one uncrowned monarch Cromwell, may be abundantly found in those who in Southern seas are laying broad and strong the foundations of another great democratic commonwealth.

In speaking of the position of Congregationalism in Australia, one must of necessity indicate in a word or two something of our story. Unfortunately for us, we can look back to no *Mayflower*, with her band of Christ's own men; to no Plymouth Rock, perchance more consecrated than the ancient stone of Britain's coronation chair. From the first fleet that sailed into Sydney Harbor, that "silent sea," there landed no heroic company who

> . . . shook the depths of the desert gloom
> With their hymns of lofty cheer.

For

> Amid the storm they sang
> And the stars heard and the sea,
> And the silent aisles of the dim woods rang
> With the anthem of the free.

But with the sound of many a curse and the clank of the convict's chain, England dumped her rubbish on the flower-carpeted shores of a sunny land. American brethren, your history began with thanksgiving and prayer; ours with the hoisting of England's flag, the drinking to the health of the king, but no bending of the knee to the King of kings — no single word of prayer to the God of nations.

In that company landed from the *Sirius* and her sister ships you may be quite sure that few, if any, Independents would be found. For, though it is true in the epilogue of the first play acted in Australia, the actors say,

> We are three patriots true,
> For be it understood
> We left our country
> For our country's good,

it is not in mould like that are cast the patriots of our faith.

When it was found that the rich herbage of our wide plains and of our forest glades would feed beasts of more value than the native kangaroos, there came the younger sons of squires and their like, but not among such are many of our kinsfolk to be found. With these, too, the lairds and shepherds of Scotland from mountain pastures to grass-clad country, feeding sheep, keeping the Sabbath and every inch of land they could lay hold on; Presbyterians in faith and order from the Emerald Isle, driven by poverty; throngs of Irishmen, most of them rebels to the Crown in thought or action in the old land; in our new, policemen and government billet seekers, but loyal to the Pope.

When in 1851, gold, yellow, rich, and plenteous, was discovered, then

came the deluge; miners from all parts of the earth, civilized and otherwise; Cousin Jacks from Cornwall, with their Methodist fervor; Welshmen, among them with certainty to be found a fair proportion of our people, writing "Salem" or "Bethel" on the little wooden meeting-houses of our gold fields and loyal to the death to their native tongue; not a few of many nationalities from your Pacific slopes.

I have said these words that you may understand that by these and by others Australia has been populated, and you must remember that it is only a little more than one hundred years that our first settlers were landed. That middle class which in the older lands is the strength of our denomination has not been the class that has emigrated in any large number to the new. This is too often forgotten when our position is compared with greater and more powerful denominations.

Our number in proportion to every 100 of the population is, in New South Wales, 2 : 1; Victoria, 1 : 9; South Australia, 3 : 1; Queensland, 2 : 2; West Australia, 3 : 2; Tasmania, 3 : 1; New Zealand, 1 : 1; to the whole total, 2 : 1.

I will not trouble you with other statistics. A very few words must suffice to state the commencement of our work in Australia.

New South Wales. — It was in 1833 that the first Congregational church was opened on the mainland of Australia, being the Pitt Street Church of Sydney, the foundation stone of which had been laid nearly three years before by one of the earliest of the South Sea missionaries, Mr. Hayward. Though the above is the date of the first church of our order, so far back as 1798, an Independent missionary from the islands, the Rev. J. Carr, preached to congregations both in Sydney and Parramatta.

Tasmania. — In 1830 the Rev. F. Miller landed at Hobart and was the first settled Congregational minister in Australia.

South Australia. — In 1837 that devoted man of God, the Rev. Thomas Queston Stow, arrived in South Australia under the auspices of the Colonial Missionary Society, conducting services at first in a hut brought with him from England; afterward in a rude structure of pine and reed, in the erection of which he himself had a share.

Victoria. — In the following year, 1838, Victoria, then known as Australia Felix, had 450 settlers, with 150 horses, 2,500 horned cattle, and 140,000 sheep. This increase seemed then to be so rapid to Henry Hopkins, of Tasmania — name to be revered — that he longed for a Congregational minister and laid the case before the then newly born Colonial Missionary Society. In response, the Rev. W. Waterfield was sent out, arriving May 22, 1838. The first permanent ecclesiastical building of any denomination was opened on January 1, 1841, on the site where now stands our Cathedral church, and where your respected vice-president, Dr. Bevan, ministers.

Queensland. — Not till 1853 was there a settled Congregational minister in Queensland, on which date the Rev. Edward Griffiths, the father of Sir Edward Griffiths, Chief Justice of the colony, set up our standard at Ipswich, founding the church whose present pastor, Rev. Joseph Walker, is one of the delegates to this Council.

Western Australia. — In this colony, long the Cinderella of the group, in consequence of the discovery of gold fields of exceeding richness just coming to the front, in 1847 one of those devoted laymen and stanch Congregationalists, found in every land, gathered a small congregation in the city of Perth. But it was not till 1851 that an ordained minister arrived, in the person of the Rev. J. Leonard.

Passing from Australia to New Zealand, for I understand there is a special paper from that colony, I may note: —

New Zealand — Auckland. — That the first Congregational minister to have held services in this island was the Rev. Barzillais Quaife, who, in 1841–42, labored in the Bay of Islands. The first Congregational church, of twelve members, was formed in Auckland, September 17, 1851, under the pastorate of the Rev. Alex McDonald.

South Island — Wellington. — A church was formed in 1842; Dundee, 1862; Christ Church, 1863.

Now briefly the record is: Tasmania, 1830; New South Wales, 1833; South Australia, 1837; Victoria, 1838; Western Australia, 1851; New Zealand, North Island, 1841; South Island, 1842.

Our church history runs thus over the lifetime of many here present. I stand, therefore, but as a representative of the babe, though a sturdy one, in the presence of you who represent churches dating back in England to the Plantagenets; in America to the Stuarts, those sapient monarchs who drove the noblest from their land to lay in this great country of yours deep and wide the foundations of liberty.

But in estimating the position held by Congregationalism in the Australian colonies, mere figures delude. We have inherited the best traditions of our people and in political matters have played no small part in advancing true democracy by manhood suffrage, the ballot, and by every true form of self-government. But our great work in the past has been the maintenance of the principle of the entire separation of the church from the state. When constitutional government was granted to one after another of the Australian colonies, provision was made in such constitutions for the support of the Christian religion, both by gifts of land and money. This endowment was concurrent. Any religious denomination could receive its share of the special appropriation. And as the Jews could hardly come under the designation Christian, some colonies voted to them special sums, and, in our case at any rate, land was granted to the disciples of Confucius. In two or three cases, land was taken by our churches, but generally refused, so that to-day in an Australian town you will find the Roman Catholics, the Anglicans, the Presbyterians, the Wesleyans, with large plots of ground, the gift of the state. Our churches are on small allotments, but that have been honestly paid for.

So far as money grants were concerned, not a single penny has defiled our hands. Bishops and state dignitaries might take the state dole; our ministers, even in the first rush of the gold fever when many of our churches were almost deserted, chose rather to work with their own hands than defile them with gold. But we were not patient sufferers. We had the divine order of impatience and we never rested till from North to South and from East to West of our great continent every rag of state endorsement or patronage was thrown on the rubbish heap.

We have never been a people caring much for pageantry or show. In the review of the parade ground we do not perhaps shine.

> Ho, the colonel rides in front and the major on the flank,
> And the captain and the adjutant ride in the foremost rank.
> But when it 's " Action front! " and there 's fighting to be done,
> Come one, come all, we stand or fall by the man who carries the gun.

The same story is true of the educational battle and of work in great social problems. In New South Wales Dr. Roseby is a leader in all matters tending to the elevation of the toiler, and Professor Gosman of this Council is chairman of the anti-sweating league of Victoria.

Our position in Australia, then, is this: a denomination, comparatively speaking, few in numbers. One of our oldest and most esteemed ministers

wrote to me on this point as follows: "It seems to me we fail to reach the two extremes of society. We don't get the upper and we don't get the proletariat. My congregation is a fairly typical one. I have practically no professional men. I have the superior working man, the shopkeeper, small and wholesale, many clerks, girls many of them, earning their own living, and so on. Intellectually and morally, decidedly a superior lot; socially, practically, hardly a representative of the upper classes."

It is perhaps idle to inquire why in a democratic land we are not more numerous. My friend Dr. Jefferis, of Adelaide, writes: "Democrats in politics seem to like autocracy in religion." Rev. W. Allen, of New South Wales, has caught the truth more nearly thus; he writes: "Why in a democratic community a democratic form of church does not succeed, is readily seen. Congregationalism is a theocratic form of church government, democratic only in the relation of the members to one another, not in their relation to their head. Is not this our strength and our weakness? If we were as high as our ideal, should we not be all-conquering? But are we as high?"

With our victory for the freedom of the church from state control, endowment and patronage assured; with a system of perfect religious liberty in state, church, and school; with many social reforms accomplished, shall we be like the old soldier, who, before the fire, as he smokes his pipe, fights his battles over again while his sword hangs and will hang in its scabbard idle on the wall above him until at last he dies of enfeebled old age? God forbid!

Or shall we, as some even of ourselves sometimes counsel, change the facings of our uniform and join some other regiment of the Great Captain? Again I say, God forbid!

All must acknowledge that with peace comes danger, especially to a denomination like ours with a long heritage of soldier fathers and a history of well-fought fields; great danger lest we deem all done that may be, and grow fat and lazy in luxurious ease. No, our special work for the Master is not yet over. When in our Australian colonies men point me to the many churches over the land and say, See all these many people, and ask, Where are yours? I may lament that they are few, but I emphatically declare that the vital question is this: not, Where is the church? but, What is the church?

I take it our first great opportunity and possibility is, just what it is everywhere, to answer that question, What is the church?

To deduce and maintain that it is in very deed a company of men and women; to use the old Puritan word "separated," those in whom the spirit of the living God dwells, and in new countries this need is most pronounced. Of very necessity in such communities men are much more drawn together than in larger ones. There is therefore less of bigotry, and wider appreciation of the good that is in systems different from one's own; a looser holding of forms and formulas. This with all the advantage that makes for brotherhood has the tendency to minimize important distinctions. So that loose ideas of the church come to be held and the distinction between the church and the world is almost obliterated. Our opportunity is still to insist on the great truth that where Christ is, there and there only is the church.

And we have still to stand for liberty. The price of liberty is watchfulness. Those who have tasted of the sweets of state aid are like the habitual drunkard, not easily won from a depraved taste. So in many ways in our Australian colonies we find insidious attempts made in one way or another to dip into the public purse. This is to be seen in the attempts that are made to have some form of religion by the state in our

primary schools; the clamoring of the Roman Catholics for separate educational grants; in philanthropic sentiment, as when we have grants made to the Salvation Army in disguise of work for the reclamation of the criminal. So that even when victory is won, we have to be on the alert lest the fruits of victory be snatched from us.

The tendency in all church systems in Australia is towards democracy. The conservatism of the most conservative churches, the Anglican and the Methodist, have had to give way before this demand of their laymen for their rightful share in the government of their churches. The leaven of our system of democracy in the relations of the members to one another is silently but surely permeating every religious system. This is of necessity a source of weakness to us as a distinct ecclesiastical organization.

In the unrest of thought that so much permeates a young community, where of necessity thoughts are more quickly passed from one to another than in a more crowded one, and in a community, too, which for its numbers may truly be said to be the most reading community in the world, our possibilities and opportunities for moulding the people's faith is large. For it is not from the many but from the few that the world's formative thoughts spring.

The intelligent men and women of our colonies, shaking themselves free from the forms and expressions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, desiring to find a place where they may rest unharassed by mediævalism, ought to make our position one of power, and I believe it is so. Bound by no subscriptions to creeds of any sort, it is ours to teach in our sunny land that from the mists and fogs and miasmas of creed-bound churches, men may come out into the full, free sunshine and bathe in life-giving waves. For the Master of our assemblies is Christ; not formula. The desire for liberty of thought and expression is with us no sign of growing skepticism. In our colonies the revolt, if revolt there be, is not from religion, but from an antiquated expression of it. Our opportunity is to present the truth, that, in that day when chains of creeds, of formulas, of uniformities forged on mere human anvils, though they who forged them were the Cyclops of the church, shall strain and crack and break before that storm, the muttering of whose thunders may even now be heard over the land, shall ride safely held by a cable forged on no human anvil — the strong but simple binding of the Spirit presence and of love to Christ.

Fearful spirits talk of the abuse of liberty of thought and ask, Where are your safeguards? If I read history aright the best cure for liberty is liberty. The torch which for a moment spluttered and dazzled and mislead must not be extinguished. Hold it up higher, still higher, that it may show the way.

But if there is one theory that distinguishes Australians it is this utilitarianism. The theory of a bowler's break or wicket is nothing unless the bowler can scatter the wickets of the best batsman England can produce. This our colonial faith aims to do — and does it. So the great demand is for applied Christianity. Here it seems to me our free system has its widest sway and its grandest opportunities. Of our one and only head it is said, "He was moved with compassion." So as we are saved to a large extent from the necessity of fighting for creed or formula and with certainly no trouble about ritual, or rubric, our conflict for freedom has surely taught us that there are none more able than ourselves, sharply holding to the kingly and priestly rights of our Master, to turn to the social and philanthropic movements. In Australia, in every land we must be still fighting for the rights of men, still fighting to break the chains of the sweated, the fetters of the drunkard; still battling to bring in the day when kings shall rule in righteousness and princes decree justice; still

lifting up all social reforms from the low platform of political expediency to the far higher and far nobler one of the kingdom of God.

For in new lands, in old lands, in every land the wide world round, to men of every kindred, kith, and clan, there are none so free as we are to proclaim with clarion voice the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

At the close of Mr. Halley's address President Angell took the chair.

Address

Rev. Robert Bruce, M.A., D.D., of England, pastor of the Highfield Congregational church, Huddersfield, delivered an address on the Obligations and Opportunities of Congregationalism in Great Britain.

ADDRESS BY REV. ROBERT BRUCE, M.A., D.D.

OBLIGATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

By obligations we may understand, first, what Congregationalism owes to England because of what she has been to and done for it; second, what Congregationalism owes in the way of beneficence and disinterested service, because of what England needs, and what it is in the power of Congregationalism to supply — not by itself alone even with the grace of God, for we have no monopoly of religious capacity or responsibility, but in conjunction with other churches, and also with due regard to the spiritual needs of other countries; for English Congregationalism, though always loyal and patriotic to dear old fatherland, is not local nor limited in its sympathies and operations, but cosmopolitan and catholic; as is evident from its devotion to foreign missions (through the London Missionary Society) for more than a hundred years, and its growing, though still very inadequate, concern for the evangelization of the British colonies. "The whole world for Christ" is our motto.

I. OUR DEBT OF GRATITUDE

Some may estimate this as exceedingly small, considering the cruel and hostile treatment meted out to our forefathers for well-nigh two centuries, in scorn and scourge, in penalties, and even in death. But this was not the fault so much of Mother England herself or her people as of her state chaplains and officials, who insisted on dressing and feeding all her children annually to a fixed regulation pattern and with one Episcopal spoon; and could not believe that Congregationalism was a legitimate Christian child at all, but only a kind of bastard, which, Topsy-like, had "growed" up somehow and deserved nothing better than to be kicked out of doors or into back streets or remote and obscure hamlets. Yet England was its mother — if not the home of its nativity, the home of its renaissance or second birth. For, strictly speaking, Congregationalism is not a product of England, far less the creation of any of her monarchs, whether Henry, Elizabeth, or even Cromwell. Congregationalism was born of God, belongs to Jerusalem and the first age of Christianity. It is all but universally admitted even by Episcopal and Presbyterian writers to have been the earliest and simplest form of church polity in the days of the

apostles. I think it a great pity that in that otherwise admirable manual of our principles, by our honored leader the late Dr. Dale, he has given away to our opponents this precious fact as only a favorable "presumption," with an excess of generous concession to the principle of evolution or development, and to those churches which have carried this principle too far by admitting that the "best possible organization for the first century might be the worst possible for the third." Whereas, we believe Congregationalism is adapted to all ages and to all nations. This independency, which was of the very essence of the apostolic churches, and is still the nearest approach to New Testament precedent, was very soon modified, overlaid, and corrupted by human innovations, which savored more of the spirit of the world and of the Cæsar than of the Spirit of Jesus Christ. The clergy, borrowing largely from the Imperialism of Rome and the sacerdotalism of Hebrew and Pagan religions, instead of abiding by the simpler method received of the Lord, advanced claims and pretensions which were opposed to the sole Head — Jesus Christ — and the equal privileges of all his followers, introduced clericalism, sacerdotalism, and state alliances, whereby the church of Jesus Christ became a vast despotic, centralized catholicism, preserving an outward unity by forms and ceremonies enforced by pain and penalties, making it an unpardonable sin for any Christian to think for himself, or to dissent from the one infallible body of the church. And so, for more than ten centuries, there could be no Congregationalism, no true church fellowship and life of the original type. Until (in the days of Queen Elizabeth) three hundred years ago, men like R. Browne, Thacker, Coppin, Perry, Greenwood, Barrowe, Jacob, and later on, Brewster, Bradford, and Robinson, and others dared to revive the Congregational idea in England. Their cry was, back to Christ and Jerusalem and Antioch and not to Rome, Nicæa, or Trent. When the great Protestant Reformation came to a head in Europe and the supremacy of the Pope was cast off as an unclean thing, stained by the blood of many holy martyrs, by the licentiousness of many of her ministers, from the highest to the lowest, the foremost questions of that day were of doctrine and discipline, and were directed against the superstitious practices and gross abuses of Rome, and did not aim at the restriction of the simple forms of early church polity. Hence in Germany, Luther was more intent on restoring Paul's idea of justification by faith than Christ's general idea of the church implied in the promise, "Where two or three are met in my name, there am I in the midst of them," and to this day Lutheranism favors too much Sacramentarianism and state support, oscillating between Ritualism and Erastianism. In like manner, in Switzerland under Calvin, the Presbyterian form became predominant, and allied itself with the state to the damage of the church and detriment to the otherwise noble work of Calvin; and in Scotland, under John Knox, though with better results and clearer separation of the spiritual and secular. In none of these countries did Congregationalism emerge as a distinct system, far less assert itself as the best possible form of church organization, and mainly because both in Lutheranism and Presbyterianism there were still possible and prominent true evangelical teaching and pure Christian fellowship, always dear to Congregationalists.

In England alone of European countries did independency assume definite historic significance, becoming, though its friends were few and its communities small and obscure, a potent factor in the political and religious life of the nation. Why? Because in England, of all Protestant countries, the church was and is least thoroughly reformed, departed the least distance from the creeds and customs of Rome — especially in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts — as the Ritualists of to-day never

weary of teaching us. Hence independency sprung into being in England as a protest, as Dr. Fairbairn says, "born of despair of seeing religion reformed and revivified on any existing lines," despair of a state church with a Henry or a Charles at its head instead of the Pope, with imparity of creeds and worship fixed and enforced by a sovereign's caprice or by the vote of an unregenerate parliamentary majority, retaining priests instead of ministers, and altars in place of communion tables, and formulæ of baptism, confession, and absolution, in which survive the veritable germs of the old sacerdotalism, which were sure to crop up and grow into such rank fullness as ever and anon to produce a reactionary crisis and a scandal, such as the secret and subtle Oxford movement of sixty years ago, or the more bold and blatant Ritualism of to-day. Thus England was the real home of revived Congregationalism. True, on the continent, Congregationalism and other forms of evangelical Puritanism found a temporary shelter from the wrath and fightings of persecuting and intolerant rulers of the English state and church — as in Holland, Frankfort, and Switzerland. And we, remembering this day what English and American Independents owe to old Holland, and how the Dutch colonists were the first civilized occupants of South Africa, ought to be somewhat more patient with those stalwart, stubborn Boers, of Transvaal, who with all their faults have a love of liberty and independence and of justice which is far better than that lust of gold and territory which too much animates the modern English jingo. But in none of these lands did Congregationalism root itself as an indigenous, permanent, and reproductive plant.

Whereas, here in North America it found not only a temporary shelter of safety, but a new home — where the wicked ceased from troubling them and the weary pilgrims found rest — a grand outlet for its newborn zeal and love of life and liberty, where ever since, especially in these New England states, it has had free course and been glorified, as a creative and potent factor in your national life, taking an important share in the evangelization of this vast continent, one of the mightiest forces in fostering and promoting that love of independence, liberty, and religion which for now more than one hundred years has built up here on a rock more solid than that of Plymouth or Gibraltar the greatest Christian republic of the world.

If in this land of its adoption it has grown and thriven more than in old England, it is because you have had far fewer difficulties and enemies to contend against than we have had. You have not been harassed and oppressed by Tory landlords and priestly demands of a state church, which for centuries denied the commonest rights of education and citizenship to all dissenters — confining the highest political places and the whole of the headship and teachers of endowed schools and universities to the members of one privileged community, so that it is only so recently as to be well within my memory that endowed grammar schools and national universities have been freed from most obnoxious tests, and that any marriage could be solemnized in a nonconformist church, or any dissenting minister, however eminent and godly, could utter a single word of prayer or sympathy at the burial of any of his flock in a parochial churchyard, or on the consecrated side of a public cemetery.

Thank God most of these old grievances and wrongs are things of the dark past, and Congregationalism on both sides of the Atlantic is now free, healthy, energetic, united, and progressive; and we of England and you of America, looking each other in the face, and shaking each other by the hand in Boston are vain enough to imagine that among the forces and tendencies which have made for permanent peace and

heartiest good will between the two great English-speaking nations on both sides of the ocean, Congregationalism is to be recognized as by no means the least.

Still, old England is the earliest home of revived Congregationalism, which surely owes much to its mother country. She may have been too hard-hearted and unsympathetic toward it in its younger days, but that stern, harsh treatment by Anglicans has developed in Congregationalists a hardier manhood, only a stronger love of liberty, a more universal self-reliance, and a firmer trust in God and the right. When, therefore, the English people, ground down and groaning under the long-continued oppression of the Stuarts, sighed and cried for civil and religious liberty, and looked in vain to the state-paid clergy for aid, the pulpits of the land, resounding with the "divine rights of kings" and silent on the grievous wrongs and the divine rights of the people, the Independents, with their intense love for a simple and earnest gospel, for pure Christian fellowship, and contending for the equal rights and sanctity of all the Lord's people, saw their opportunity and rose to the occasion. With courageous promptitude and masterly courage Cromwell and the Commonwealth with the invincible Ironsides achieved a deliverance for England, which, though followed soon after by a sad and ungrateful though not unnatural reaction, taught all kings a salutary lesson and laid the foundation of that stable and constitutional government by a limited monarchy in which we now share under our gracious Queen Victoria. And England has at length learned to recognize and remember her true friends and helpers. She, no less than we, is proud of the great names of Cromwell and Milton and Bunyan and Owen and Howe and Goodwin and Watts and Doddridge and many more, who then and since have in their day rendered signal service to the social and literary, as well as religious, life of the nation. We are bound, therefore, to do all in our power for the good of England — for its evangelization, education, freedom, political power and purity, and specially for the spiritual life and social welfare of all classes of her inhabitants. In fulfilling these obligations it is necessary first of all that we maintain our own denominational existence as one of the free churches of the land, and seek greater power and wider diffusion for Congregationalism. Hitherto we have been too modest and apologetic in securing and defending our right — the right to be and to exist, and to worship God according to our conscience, and to protest against the errors, extravagances of a state church, and against the wrongs and injustice which it has often inflicted on dissenters. As the debts of any respectable old firm cannot be paid in full except by the continuance, the solvency, and the success of that firm, so our obligations as a church or denomination cannot be fulfilled except by our continuance and growing power. The stronger we are, the more can we do not only for the Lord Jesus Christ, but for England and the world. Our work has been too much defensive and destructive and negative and controversial. We must now beat the sword into the ploughshare; be more constructive, positive, and progressive. Some of our English leaders, seemingly indifferent to the size of the denomination, doubt or deny that we are a church, or even a denomination, implying we are simply scattered preachers and upholders of a few first-class principles, which need not be the basis of a separate church, but may be incorporated in the older churches; and when these other bodies have absorbed them and been sufficiently inoculated by them, we may cease to be, having fulfilled our mission. As if we had no gospel chariot and steeds of our own worthy of being kept running, but were only spurs to the lazy steeds or drags on the reckless drivers of others' chariots. Without unduly sacrificing our individualism and inde-

pendency, we must go on to prove that by better organization and larger liberty, we have within us the making of a real and powerful church, as well as Wesleyans, Presbyterians, or even Episcopalians. We must take our full share in the religious and educational life of England, as you in America have done, by building more churches and schools and providing educated preachers and Sunday-school teachers for the teeming masses of our large cities and for the neglected villages of rural England. We must not talk of merely "keeping up" our existing churches and institutions; we are not worth keeping up if we have neither the power nor the pressing necessity for going on. Nor is it enough to protest against state endowments of religion, against church rates, against clerical doles, and national subsidy for alleged necessities of church, schools, and clergymen. We must show the more excellent and old way of faith and self-support by the utmost spontaneous exercise of the mental endowments and pecuniary resources of all our church members, showing that love can effect more than law and legal exactions. The preaching of the gospel must be the main work of all our ministers. Critics and essayists and professors are useful and necessary in their place, which is seldom the pulpit. England never more needed powerful preachers and diligent pastors — men whose lips and lives are, to use the words of one who is as eloquent a preacher as he is a learned professor — "steeped in the commanding emotions and enthusiasms of our holy religion." We must prove, not by resolutions and arguments on platforms, but by results and actual success in the homes of England that we have a specific, living message from God to the people, and an infallible remedy in the gospel of Jesus Christ for the woes and forebodings of men and for all classes of men.

I have not forgotten the memorable utterance of your esteemed and most able President Northrop, of Minneapolis, at the International Council of 1891, and which obtained an additional and permanent importance because virtually endorsed by Dr. Dale in his Introduction to the Official Report: —

"There are organizations that go down and reach the lower classes and lift them up. God bless them! But that has never been the special province of the Congregational church, and it is not likely to be in the future," etc. In the sense in which those eminent doctors spoke or endorsed those words they were in the main correct as to *facts*, but not in theory and principle. It was a perilous statement to make, and sure to be used by perversion of enemies or misunderstanding of friends, against us and our church principles. Remembering that St. Peter said, "God is no respecter of persons," that our Lord gave as the crowning evidence of his divinity and Messiahship, "To the poor the gospel is preached," and that St. Paul says, "God will have *all men* to be saved," we shall lack an essential note of our churchmanship and cannot be wholly on the apostolic lines and in the spirit of our Lord unless we have and execute with special pleasure and power a mission to all classes rich and poor. We must not leave the West End to the Anglican clergy and the East End and the slums of our large cities to primitive Methodists and the Salvation Army, confining ourselves mainly to the practical, intelligent, and easy-going middle classes, who can best pay pew rents and subscriptions, endure and digest long and thoughtful sermons, and provide deacons and church managers of good business habits. Surely if the clergy of the Roman and Anglican communities, notwithstanding the conservatism of ancient bodies, with a self-denial and unwearied devotional service beyond all praise, and with an ingenuity and fertility of device in the use and adaptation of means not beyond our powers of imitation, address themselves effectively both to peers and peasants, to the wealthy and fashionable as

well as to the poor and degraded, we, as the freest church in England, should commend. I do not say ourselves, but our Master and his truth to all men irrespective of their environment. I rejoice to think that in recent years we have done something to roll away the reproach of caring only for the middle class and well-to-do, and neglecting those who are out of the way by setting up university and college settlements and missions. But even these novelties have not altogether exhausted the resources of civilization or Congregationalism, as there is yet more light to break out from God's Word, and there are more and divers works and ways of Christian service discoverable and practicable for earnest and enthusiastic Congregationalists than have yet been dreamed of.

It is also a pertinent question whether, without inventing and multiplying special and dubious devices for reaching the hearts of the people, more real and lasting good could not be accomplished by consecrating increased intelligence and interest to work on the old lines. With all our contention against sacerdotalism, and the idea that only men in orders are qualified to teach and preach, there are few churches who make less use of its lay members, male and female, than we do (except in the Sunday-school) in conducting religious services. Congregationalism must call on every man and woman in its ranks to do their duty; specially our young men. The excessive devotion to pleasure and amusement in our day, and the unhealthy craving for excitement and society in clubs and on the fields of sport, withdraw multitudes of our young men from the Sunday-school and the church, from all serious reading, and earnest, beneficent Christian living. No obligation is more pressing on us as a denomination at the present time than to raise the spiritual standard of Christian living and to foster consecrated enthusiasm in Christian work among all church members, — in fact, to revive a healthy, cheerful, manly Puritanism, which, while sympathizing with youthful love of mirth and recreation, shall give to young men an impressive sense of the nobility and true joy of life spent in the service of God and man, that wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and that the path of purity is the path of peace. It will be our duty also to continue to stand up for righteousness, honor, sobriety, and purity in national life. Let us not be ashamed of the by-word, "nonconformist conscience." As we have always contended for a pure church rather than for a numerous one, and preferred quality to quantity, let us apply the same principle to the nation. Let us be jealous for the character of our public men, English statesmen and governors at home and abroad, and less eager for conquests of additional territory. Let us be just to all peoples and all classes, and show to the world we are not a nation of mere shopkeepers or gold-seekers; but that we above all keep a conscience and fear God. Let us insist on purity and honesty in municipal and political affairs; that our trade and commerce shall be conducted on principles of strict integrity, the production of honest and superior goods, and the payment of fair wages. That the churches are intended not only to save a small remnant of elect persons as a witness for God, leaving the vast majority to serve the flesh and world, but to leaven the whole nation with the spirit of Christ, so that heart and conscience may be put into everything by every citizen, and that upon all the people may be poured out a spirit of consecration, and that upon our commerce and diplomacy and all our affairs may be inscribed: "Holiness to the Lord."

In addition to these obligations, which we share with other Christians, it must for some time be our duty, along with other free churches, in whose federation and vigorous coöperation within the last few years on spiritual and public questions we most heartily rejoice, to contend against the continued establishment and growing Romanism of the national church.

And this in the interests of that church herself, in the interests of religion and of the people, and for the glory of the Divine Head of the church! And let me impress upon you, my fellow countrymen, the political danger, as well as religious peril, of the ritualistic movement. It began with Pusey, Ward, and Newman, and their subtle, persistent coadjutors, not merely to bring back the English church to the pre-Reformation doctrine and ritual, but avowedly to put back the clock of national progress. They were alarmed for the church and religion by the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 and 1833 and the enfranchisement of the people. They dreaded Liberalism as much as, if not more, than Protestantism. They could not trust the people to do right and receive the truth, nor confide in the presence and power of the ever-living Christ, and in the self-evidencing force of gospel truth accompanied by the Holy Spirit. Hence they fell back upon, and intrenched themselves within, what they regarded as an impregnable fort, whose four corner stones were Antiquity, Authority, Dogma, and Catholicism. Whereas, we believe in the people, and in the truth, and in Jesus Christ, and therefore, in a church, governed and carried on by spiritual persons under Christ, free to receive and act out the living truth old and new as revealed in the light of the new age and under the guidance of the one infallible and unchanging Light of the World. Sacerdotalism is the enemy of God and of man. Congregationalism must try to teach the people of England, not only by the logic and learning of its leaders, but by the sanctified lives of all its members, that Christ may be present at the fireside, where there are love and piety as much as on church altar, however decorated with candles and crucifixes; that he will dwell in the heart of the humblest believer, as in any priest episcopally ordained and canonically dressed, and that the sanctuary of the human soul built by God may be a temple for the Holy Ghost, more than any consecrated building of brick or stone.

II. OPPORTUNITIES

For the fulfillment of these and other obligations we have ample opportunities. In England we have religious freedom, though far from religious equality. We can build chapels and schools without let or hindrance. The landlords are very few now who, directly or indirectly, make it impossible to find a site for a chapel, and there are a few who more or less generously give assistance. If we have a good preacher supported by a number of spiritually minded, harmonious, and genial people we can soon fill those buildings with hearers in any of our large towns. The sin of schism and the iniquity of attending a dissenting place of worship is not admitted or repented of by the good people of England as a whole, who will give a fair hearing to any man who has a living and seasonable message from God, though it is lamentable to think how diligently and fiercely many priests continue to denounce this fancied sin of dissent, and how many ladies and gentlemen, who ought to know better, not only believe them, but use unfair and even compulsory means to make their servants and other dependents, with their children, in day and Sunday schools to submit to this priestly dictation.

And within our own borders we have full liberty to adopt any style of architecture and varying forms of church service. The keynote of our psalmody and prayer, or preaching, is not "as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be." We are no longer unduly bound by creeds and catechists and antiquated prejudices and conservative traditions, provided we adhere to the central and eternal verities of the gospel. On the good old tree you may graft any modern twig of guild or Christian Endeavor Society or band or brigade which may give work to Christian men and

women and bring Jesus Christ and his gospel within the hearts and homes of young and old.

To fulfill all these obligations and embrace the golden opportunities that are before us, we need a richer baptism of the Holy Spirit, a firmer grasp of the evangelic truth, and a more perfect organization of our forces. We have over the waters some great men, great preachers, and great thinkers; they are born to it. But there has not yet been born to Congregationalism a leader and commander, an energizing and organizing chief who, without destroying our liberty or independency, might lead us in loving and loyal detachments on the march of progress as John Wesley did for the Methodists, Dr. Chalmers the Free Church of Scotland, and General Booth the Salvation Army. The curse of independency is too often selfishness, and the cure of it is sanctified and consecrated individualism — Christ in every man and every man for Christ.

Address

Rev. Joseph H. George, D.D., PH.D., of Canada, principal of the Congregational College of Montreal, Montreal, followed Dr. Bruce with an address on the Obligations and Opportunities of Congregationalism in Canada.

ADDRESS BY PRINCIPAL J. H. GEORGE, D.D., PH.D.

OBLIGATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN CANADA

The interests represented by this gathering are truly overwhelming. The duties resting upon Congregationalists in Great Britain are enormous. The obligations assumed by the churches of the United States are stupendous. The opportunities given to the churches in both countries are commensurate with their duties and obligations. In the presence of these vast subjects which engage the attention of the brethren of the Council one need not be surprised if the members grow restive when valuable time is granted to discuss the responsibilities and opportunities of a country much of which rests beneath a mantle of snow and the balance is largely unoccupied by inhabitants.

It must be remembered, however, that Christ's mission was not swayed by multitudes nor influenced by the world's idea of magnitude; the people of a desert place received his consideration just as truly as the inhabitants of Jerusalem. From the Christian standpoint it is not, therefore, a sacrifice of time to listen to reports from distant constituencies or hear the story of Christian work in sparsely settled countries.

Of course, the responsibilities and opportunities of Congregationalists the world over are the obligations and opportunities of citizens of the kingdom of God. The Congregationalists of Canada believe that their mission is one with their brethren of like faith in other countries. They are confident they have in addition a mission in common with their brethren of other evangelical denominations in the Dominion of Canada, and they hold that they have special obligations and opportunities apart from their brethren in other countries because of their location; and separate from their brethren of other denominations in Canada because of their polity and practice.

Opportunities and obligations when applied to Christian life are terms

which involve each other and find practical expression in the God-given mission of the individual and the church. The mission of Canadian Congregationalists in common with their brethren in other countries need not be discussed. Perhaps, however, a restatement of the principles for which the Independent churches stand would not be a waste of time and energy at this date. A clear conception of the responsibilities and the opportunities of Congregationalists the world over, called of God and ordained for a special purpose in his kingdom, as individuals, as a church and as churches, would, I judge, help to give stability to the vertebra of many a brother who is now practically without a spinal column, inspire many a church to greater sacrifice that now dreams of no mission and attempts no work save simply to live, and unite many churches in the fellowship of labor which are now apparently without cohesion and feel no responsibility for united effort to meet the combined forces of sin and darkness.

The opportunities and responsibilities of Congregationalists in common with their brethren of other denominations in Canada constitute a subject worthy at least of the sympathetic attention of the Council. Along three distinct lines the Canadian churches have apparently a special mission.

In the first place, they stand face to face with the incoming tide of men and women from the four corners of the earth. For a hundred years the United States has offered to the migrating portion of the world homes, religious liberty, and a benign government. Multitudes have accepted this generous offer and they have been welcomed, elevated, and assimilated to the ideals and practices of a free Christian people. This work of assimilation constitutes one of the wonders, if not indeed the greatest marvel of this century in nation building. America is passing away from this stage of her history, and is now extending her benign influence beyond her borders, forced out by the exigencies of the times. Canada enters into her heritage. She has the reserve, unoccupied lands of the Western world, beneath genial skies and in a temperate zone, awaiting the incoming settler. Through every port they are coming. Russia and Italy, Norway and Galatia, Great Britain and even the United States unite with the people of Asia and Africa in contributing immigrants. This year they came in larger numbers than ever before in the history of the Dominion. This heterogeneous mass must be assimilated and harmonized if the Canadians continue a Christian people and maintain the sanctity of their Christian institutions. In the early days of the United States, settlers came almost entirely from Christian countries, and they were largely made up of the most intelligent and most enterprising; now the ports of the world are open, and travel is possible for all classes, so that Canada must receive, if she is generous, people of every grade and language and religion. The Christian churches must meet the incoming Christians with church homes in which to worship, and the incoming heathen with a true religion, and the incoming confirmed sinner with the offer of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The second special work before the Canadian churches arises from the necessity of cultivating national neighborliness. Since the days of nation building, there has never been a boundary line so long dividing a people so ambitious and enterprising as the boundary line between Canada and the United States. The competition in commerce is intense. National greatness is often of more importance than spiritual grandeur. Men on both sides of the line, who neither by heritage nor by education have learned the true spirit of national charity, hover about the border with provoking menace; desperate characters hasten to the frontier, attracted by the possibilities of gain or plunder, stirring up by rash action, national prejudice. Political party exigencies frequently create a hostile press. Foreign inter-

ests may possibly rejoice in misunderstandings between English-speaking governments. It is comparatively an easy matter to break down the line-fence, and encroach on our neighbors' fields, both as farmers and as nations; but it is much easier to appropriate each other's land where the fence has not been built at all. The churches in Canada are under special obligation to inculcate the Christ spirit in national affairs in such a manner that no provocation shall disturb the faith of Canadians in the absolute fairness and integrity of their neighbors, and no question shall arise which cannot be settled amicably by wise counsel or judicious arbitration. Perhaps it has yet to be demonstrated that there is such a thing as a Christian nation well within the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ. Anyway the record of conflict, battle and bloodshed surely shows that from a national point of view, the world still has crude ideas of the brotherhood of humanity. Surely a new country in a generous Christian neighborhood should be able to cultivate a true, national, Christian, and neighborly spirit.

While the Dominion possesses to a very large extent the reserved, unoccupied lands of the northern half of the Western world, still these vast, habitable territories shade away into the long winter's night where Dame Nature is held in the perpetual grip of the Frost King. While the country is filling up with settlers, there still remains an immense frontier of scattered settlements demanding the most liberal expenditure of home missionary money. When this territory is sufficiently populated to provide itself with all the means of grace, in an extensive borderland lying between the territory where vegetation is prolific and the frozen regions where life is but meagerly supported, there will always be found inhabitants — a growing multitude — in scattered huts and hamlets that will constitute for all time a field for home missionary work. Our great cities may be so improved that there will be no slum district, and our rural communities may be so peopled that they can easily support the means of grace; but in districts lying near the region of perpetual snow the habitations must ever remain few and scanty. A heritage of extensive home missionary enterprise, therefore, such as cannot exist in any other English-speaking nation, belongs to the Canadian churches in perpetuity.

Apart altogether, however, from the mission of the Canadian Congregationalists in common with other denominations, the Canadian churches have special obligations and opportunities resting upon them because of their polity and practice. These fall into three distinct classes. First, so far as the Dominion is concerned, on them largely rests the responsibility of demonstrating the true orthodoxy of a Christian church in the light of modern research and Biblical criticism. True, they cannot present a creed sufficiently broad to become the common platform of each individual belief concerning the particulars of Christian faith or the true interpretation of the inspired Word, but they can show that the individual is true to himself, true to his church, and true to his God in the presence of the most critical researches. He is faithful to the teachings of the Word while his mind is open to receive further revelations which may come through the light of advancing science or by the aid of careful and reverent critical investigation of the Word itself. This is practically impossible in an organization that has a hard and fast platform of doctrine involving idiosyncrasies of faith which must be held by the individual members. Orthodoxy under such conditions has no chance; it becomes a mere impersonal stare, or a rigid form without life into which the individual must force himself, while he struggles with problems that he scarcely dare formulate into words; or, if he formulates the thoughts of the soul in definite statement it must be with one eye on his Confession of Faith and the other on his brethren who will compel him to square his

belief by that Confession or brand him as a suspicious citizen of the kingdom of God.

In the second place, the Congregationalists of Canada are under obligation to adapt their educational work to the conditions of a country which has a splendid national educational system, and which is unable to support a variety of educational methods. Nothing is more vital to the welfare of the community than its educational work. The attitude of the churches toward education is an exceedingly important question in every Christian country. It is an easy matter for churches to become so occupied with higher collegiate education within the limits of their own denomination as to forget the state universities and the state schools; then to be filled with surprise and pain to find that these well-equipped institutions have become in some cases careless in religious matters and in others quite anti-Christian. Congregationalists in the Dominion, in their humble way, will attempt to occupy the true attitude of churches toward all the established educational work of their own country. These churches do not intend to attempt secular education of any kind, except to supplement when they consider necessary the state work; their policy is to establish the theological school in affiliation with the well-endowed university, that the theological students may have the benefit of association with the students in science and classics and medicine and law; in addition, to establish, when possible, halls in connection with the other provincial universities, that their young people going to these universities may have the Bible house and the Christian influence as truly during their course in higher education as they have had in the earlier years of their school career. At the same time the influence of the Christian church will be felt in the university.

In the third place, the Congregationalists in Canada are under obligation to verify the truth of the statement that the gospel has power to unite men and women in Christian service without the necessity of external bonds of any kind whatever. No one doubts the mission of our churches in England; the country owes much to the Independents. No one questions the value of Congregationalists in the United States; New England demonstrates the reason for their existence. Canadian Congregationalists must also prove in actual life that there is a special mission granted unto them. To them is granted the opportunity of showing that Congregationalism is suited to a sparsely settled country and well adapted for pioneer work. The Presbyterians are stronger, richer, and much better equipped educationally; the Methodists are far more numerous and have greater enthusiasm and aggressiveness; the Episcopalians have a more superb and stately service, with a highly organized ecclesiastical system. It is idle to say that these churches lack in enterprise or enthusiasm or devotion to their work or the real Christian spirit. It is the duty of Congregationalists to demonstrate not simply that they are Independents, for that has been demonstrated and recognized, and about all that is good in it has been appropriated by our brethren; they must be able to show that they are living under a form of church life more simple, more ideal, and more nearly patterned after the New Testament plan than others, and that this form of church life binds them together in united Christian work just as strongly as ecclesiastical ties or the bonds of self-interest. They must prove if they continue to grow in Canada that the bond of union between individuals and between the churches is as strong as the love of Christ in the human heart; strong enough, indeed, for men to build on it plans for united Christian work, in erecting new places of worship, in establishing missions at home, in ministering to the needy, in sustaining educational institutions, and in sending missionaries abroad.

Thus Canadian Congregationalists have duties and obligations in common with their brethren of like faith abroad, obligations and opportunities in common with their brethren of other denominations within the borders of the Dominion, and special obligations and opportunities because of their polity and practice. Indeed, they have a work worthy of an angel's mission, and if rightly discharged, worthy to receive the high commendation of the Judge, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

At the conclusion of Dr. George's address, the hymn "My soul be on thy guard" was sung.

The American Board

Rev. Wallace Nutting, D.D., of Rhode Island, gave notice of the meeting of the American Board to be held the following week in Providence, offering hospitality to British and Colonial delegates.

Address

Rev. James Wylie, of Ireland, pastor of the Donegall Street Congregational church, Belfast, and president of the Irish Congregational Union, delivered the following address on Congregationalism in Ireland.

Address by Rev. James Wylie

OBLIGATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN IRELAND

Mr. Chairman, — I am not on the program proper, but by the courtesy of the program committee I have been asked to say a word or two about Irish Congregationalism, perhaps with a view to emphasize the international character of this Council, and, perhaps, seeing you have just listened to addresses on Congregationalism in Australia and Canada, also to emphasize the fact that Ireland still remains an integral portion of the United Kingdom. In the country which I represent it is quite common for a man to make a few remarks before he begins his speech, although I should say, as complement to that, that there is absolutely no tolerance for the man who continues to speak after he has finished. Now I want to make an observation of the nature I have indicated, and having no phrase that covers it better, I use the time-honored one.

I was charged on leaving home to convey the fraternal greetings of over thirty Irish Congregational ministers and their devoted people to this Council. I ought to say, perhaps, that one facetious brother said that I had better, as they were somewhat bulky, have them put in the hold and labeled, "Not wanted on the voyage." As the days have gone by, I have begun to feel that they would not be wanted at all, and I have begun to fear further for the safety of the *Etruria* if she had to carry such a dead weight back home. So will you allow me to say the word which I wanted to say before I began speaking, conveying to you the hearty fraternal greetings of those who are laboring in the midst of much that tends to discourage, but who are one with Congregationalists the world over, one in sympathy and one in principle, and seeking the realization of the same noble ideals.

Ireland is a very little country. I was never so much impressed with that fact as I have been during the last three weeks. But although Ireland is a little country, it is usually a good deal in evidence, and generally upon what the President has called the fighting line. Indeed, I have not felt so much at home since I left home as I did during the "Seminary's" debate this forenoon. It was like a meeting of the Irish Congregational Union. One good brother delegate, when he heard that I came from the city of Belfast, expressed some surprise that there were any Congregationalists in Ireland. That only shows how very ignorant a well-informed person may be on a subject that is one of vital importance. Why, there have been Congregationalists — Independents as we call ourselves — in Ireland since the days of Oliver Cromwell, and the great misfortune of Ireland has been that some of them did not stay long enough. But that is perhaps politics. No Congregationalists in Ireland? There was a Congregational Union in Ireland years before the Congregational Union of England and Wales had been thought of; so that, although we owe a great deal, and are ever ready to acknowledge it, to the predominant partner, we do not really owe everything. Irish Congregationalism in its main volume had its origin in the great revival movement of a hundred years ago with which the names of the Haldanes, as Dr. Stark will tell you, must be forever associated — a movement that swept over Scotland and reached even the North of Ireland. The churches born in that revival have never lost their evangelical character, — and God grant they may never lose it! For eighty-five years our Church Aid Society in Ireland has been called the Irish Evangelical Society (a society controlled and directed by a committee in London — to the members of which Ireland must ever owe a deep debt of gratitude). This year the management of that society in Ireland having been transferred to the Irish Congregational Union, we have retained the old name, not only for its associations, but because we believe that our call to continued existence will have passed away when we lose our evangelical character. All our pastors are also evangelists, and whatever views they may entertain concerning the pastoral function, they do not feel themselves at liberty to ignore that apostolic injunction addressed to one who, both in spirit and in character, was an ideal pastor, viz., "Do the work of an evangelist." We seek in all our work to put the evangelist first. We believe that the gospel needs to be declared far more than it needs to be defended. Whatever may be true elsewhere, in Irish Congregationalism there is absolutely no room for any man, whatever his gifts may be, who has not a message that meets human need and human sin, a glad evangel which tells of deliverance from the love and power of sin, through faith in our blessed Redeemer.

There are some circumstances in which it is a great and most creditable thing simply to continue to exist; and if you brethren could realize the circumstances which we have confronted through all these years, you would affirm that it is a creditable thing and an honorable thing for Irish Congregationalism to have continued. But it has done more than that. It has flourished, and at this moment, as the outcome of the recognition of our autonomy, as the result of conferring upon us the power to manage our own church affairs — which is a species of home rule of which we are all enamored — we have witnessed something in the nature of a spiritual revival among our churches, a forward movement in the quickening and refreshing of which all our people are rejoicing. Still further, in the city of Belfast — which is said to be the most American city in the United Kingdom — with its growing population, we are trying to meet the need of the time. During the past two years we have started three new churches,

and during the past three years we have spent, poor as we are, over eight thousand pounds on the erection of places of worship and the remodeling and reconstruction of some of our older buildings. We heard it said yesterday in this Council, that the old Puritanism was dead, and that the new Puritanism was not yet born. I confess to be dull enough not to understand what that means. After what was said by Mr. Horne last night about dullness as the worst of all iniquities, it takes a brave man to confess that he is in any sense dull. But I am too dull to comprehend what that reference to Puritanism can possibly mean. I have heard it said — not irreverently, I hope — that there are some products of this great city so excellent that they do not require to be born again, and I had hoped that the New England Puritanism was of the same nature, that it was waiting for no new birth and needed no new birth. In any case, the old Puritanism is good enough for us in Ireland yet; and while we hear of souls being saved and see churches being erected upon the old basis, we long for no other.

If I had time, I could tell you about our obligations and our opportunities. The chief obligation that we have as Congregationalists in Ireland is to continue to exist, and that has to be said with an emphasis which cannot be used when speaking of our continued existence in England. There are those in England and throughout the world who say that there is really, in some respects, no reason for the continued existence of Irish Congregationalism, and that we should just merge into some of the other bodies — as if we had no distinctive witness of our own to give! Believe me, the most fatal tendency in our thinking about our church work and witness in our day is this, — that we are beginning too readily to assume that there is no call for our continuance where we are weak, and that we are not needed where we do not happen to be dominant. We are most needed, if our witness is worth anything, where we are most wanted, where we are most absent, where our witness is calculated to help and to uplift the people.

Our opportunity in Ireland is a great opportunity, as I conceive of it. It is our opportunity, as I have already partly indicated, to present in a country that is dominated by darkness and spiritual tyranny and priestcraft at its worst, — I am not trying to raise the flag of "No Popery"; I do not believe in that cry in the vulgar sense, — but it is our glory to present to a people living in such conditions as I have briefly described a free platform and a free pulpit, and the idea of a church unfettered by a creed. That, surely, is a witness which is worth maintaining and emphasizing in such circumstances as we know throughout Ireland. Reference has been made here to the Catholic University Bill, and it was a little difficult for me, as a representative of the North of Ireland, to remain quietly in my seat when that subject was broached. Ah, you need to live in Ireland and labor in the name of Christ there, if you want to understand what sectarianism is capable of doing at its worst. I might give you many illustrations, but a straw will indicate how the wind blows. Reference has been made here to sectarian education in England. Take an illustration from Ireland. I am a minister of a Congregational church, and, of course, accustomed to protest against the very idea of sectarianism in education. Yet I have had to become the manager of a sectarian school. And for what purpose? Because our own young people following the teaching profession have been taken off into other denominations, into other connections, and forced to become workers where they found it uncongenial, and we have opened a school that we may be able to employ them, and where some of them are now employed. But the bottom thing in our school government is this: that every appointment to that school is

open to every applicant; merit and power to teach being the only things permitted to decide the appointment. It is a very little thing, perhaps, that one congregation, even if it be an influential congregation among a number of weaker ones, should take this stand, but it is a witness for what is just and right in this connection, and it will, we do hope and believe, have its influence for good. We believe that our supreme opportunity in Ireland will come with the break-up of the ancient stronghold of superstition and darkness, which has so long destroyed personality and prevented progress. Then, we believe, history will repeat itself, and the newborn faith will find its most appropriate expression in that simple polity with which we are all familiar, and for which we stand in Ireland.

Address

Rev. James Stark, D.D., of Scotland, pastor of the Belmont Street church, Aberdeen, delivered an address on Congregationalism as it is in Scotland.

ADDRESS BY REV. JAMES STARK, D.D.

CONGREGATIONALISM AS IT IS IN SCOTLAND

It is not too much to say that if John Knox had adopted the same views of church government which John Owen at a later date favored, Congregationalism, which did so much in laying the foundations of your Commonwealth, would have been a still weightier force in American society. The Scottish race, which has made its presence so much felt throughout the whole continent of America, has carried its Presbyterianism as much as it has its accent and circumspection with it. It is well known, too, that Scotland in proportion to its population has, directly from the mother country or as Scoto-Irish, sent a much greater number across the Atlantic as emigrants than England, and that to a considerable extent accounts for the strength of American Presbyterianism to-day. My fellow countrymen, as all the world knows, are persistently and fervidly patriotic, but many of them succeed in nourishing their patriotism and keeping it warm at a distance from their native shores.

In Hodge's "Presbyterian Church in the United States," we learn that "from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century Presbyterians were the most numerous class of emigrants, and probably were more numerous than all other classes combined." A considerable number were of Dutch and German nationality, but those of Scottish extraction predominated. A modern writer, as quoted by Dr. Cowan in his "Scottish Church in Christendom," estimates that of the Scotsmen who colonized the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century "there are probably three descendants in America for one at home. In British North America, which, in more than one province, is indeed to a large extent 'Nova Scotia,' Presbyterianism is very strong, and owing to the communication between those on both sides of the imaginary line such a state of things in Canada was bound to tell so far upon things as they are in the United States." "The Scot abroad" is still a factor to reckon with in a sense other than that meant by Hill Burton; and if the churches I have the honor to represent have done comparatively little to augment the strength of American Congregationalism, please credit the nation to which we belong with a very considerable host that has gone from our land to yours, to build up a Christian body nearly allied to you in doctrine and practical

aim, and which, I believe, is destined to come into still closer relations with us on both sides of the water. In our country we are beginning to feel that the spirit of evangelical federation is abroad, which will soon take to itself a suitable practical form of action.

You may well ask how did Independency ever get a footing in Scotland? Let it be remembered that Scottish Congregationalism is not the extension of an ecclesiastical order which had its origin in England into the land which, since the Reformation of 1560, has been almost exclusively occupied by Presbyterians. It was not imported; it sprung from forces operating within our own borders. Scottish Independency, like most things which take root among the sturdy people who inhabit the northern part of Britain, is indigenous, or rather one of the incidents of a general religious movement at the close of the eighteenth century, which can be so described. It is scarcely conceivable that it could have been otherwise. The Scots have ever respected and jealously guarded the idea of nationality, and in former days more than now were ever disposed to look askance at any ecclesiastical importation that came from England, which was always ready to cast its shadow upon its smaller neighbor. The desperate conflicts which Scotland had to wage for centuries with England had so driven and burned the passionate longing into the hearts of the people for the maintenance of nationality, which expressed itself in the whole environment of life that no polity or church which had a foreign aspect had a chance of gaining a footing a hundred years ago. There was a keen, almost ludicrous sensitiveness with regard to intrusion or meddlesomeness of any kind, especially from the other side of the border. Every institution had to be as distinctive and as much their own in Caledonia as the thistle and the heather. The imprint of the genius, or, at least, the seal of the approval of Scotland, was necessary as a passport to favor. Presbyterianism was that which was taken three centuries ago as a substitute for the Popery that was rejected, and the people who in the days of Queen Mary took and ever since have more or less kept their affairs in their own hands with characteristic tenacity and fervor clung to the church system of John Knox, which was the child and companion of their emancipation from priestly thraldom. Other churches might be good enough for other countries, but they as a nation had made their choice, and they resented the invasion of competing sects. What hindered the progress of Episcopacy in our land as much, perhaps, as anything else was the fact that it was established in England, and now and again ruthlessly but impotently thrust upon Scotland, and within the memory of many, if not up to the present day, in rural parts every church of that persuasion was called the English chapel. A Wesleyan writer of note confesses that Methodism has made less progress in Scotland than in any other part of the world.

You may well wonder how, in such circumstances, Scotland ever came to have a place in a Council such as this. By what vital and assimilative process did Independency become one of the factors in the religious life of our part of Great Britain? As an incidental, almost accidental product of a period of quickened religious life. No restless sectary said, go let us rear a new denomination, no student of ecclesiastical history, struck with the supposed superiority of this mode of church life, as expounded in books, or exemplified with such intellectual and moral grandeur by the Puritans of England, brought it here as a zealous propagandist. It "broke" out. It came unlooked for when the minds of those who became identified with it were bent upon the possession of what was of far greater importance.

There were indeed straggling Independents, "Brownists" from the time

of the Commonwealth, and latterly the "Glassites" or "Sandemanians." What, however, is known as Scottish Independency, which still is a religious force, and has been so for more than a hundred years, is the outcome of a revival of religion associated notably with the names of Robert and James Haldane, regarding whom Dr. Charteris, late professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, thus writes: "Men of zeal, fortitude, and faith, they did more to bring Scotland into living sympathy with missions in heathendom and with the reviving faith in the churches of the Reformation than any court of any church in the beginning of this century." But troubles from within came which shook and overclouded this little sisterhood of churches. The Haldanes, a few years after they had begun their gracious and noble work, adopted anti-Pædo-Baptist views, and a spirit of controversy entered the churches which caused serious division. Further on, when the Ten Years' Conflict was about to issue in the Disruption of the Scottish Church, we had another cause of division in a dispute that arose about election and the work of the Holy Spirit, and several churches of our order and some from the United Presbyterian church formed themselves under the leadership of one of the greatest exegetical theologians of Scotland, James Morison, into the Evangelical Union. Happily that breach has been healed, and three years ago the arrangement was made by which the Congregational and Evangelical Union churches are now as undistinguishable from each other as the Free Church and United Presbyterians hope to be in a very short time.

The formation of a strong popular Evangelical Presbyterian church in 1843 did much to cover ground which we had long occupied. From the very beginning of our career as a denomination many pious Presbyterians, finding more suitable nutriment for their souls in our chapels than in the parish church, came regularly to the ministrations of our pastors, more especially at the evening service. There was, of course, an exodus of such when the bold attempt was made to put a National Evangelical church alongside the church which held the endowments.

But in spite of all these discouragements we have held our ground, and we feel strongly that there is a place and a need for our distinctive testimony. We have in the past emphasized experimental and spiritual Christianity as against a Christianity which gives too great a prominence to what is merely dogmatic and ecclesiastical. We believe there is room for a body of Christians who testify specially for the spirituality of the church and the purity of its membership. We endorse such a statement as the Bishop of London made the other day — "There is no Christian country in the world. Because there is a certain number of Christians in it, it does not follow that the country deserves such a title." When the separate branches of Presbyterianism are reunited as one large compact body, as is sure to be before many years, we believe that not a few may be drawn to smaller communities, which can give more opportunity for fellowship and greater scope for individual responsibility.

As in the past, so in the future we hope to take our part in making the theology of the country vital, liberal, and practical. Dr. Ralph Wardlaw, of Glasgow; Dr. Lindsay Alexander, of Edinburgh; and Dr. James Morison, of Kilmarnock, did much in bringing Scottish theology back from the schools to the Bible and up to the needs of the men who were about them. Catching the spirit of the movement with which our churches began, they were to some extent evangelists before they were theologians; and their intense fervid evangelism was one of the principal factors in producing a simpler and broader theology. The discussions initiated by Dr. Wardlaw on the extent of the Atonement in the early part of the century, and far-

ther on, by Dr. Morison, on the work of the Holy Spirit, are now generally acknowledged to have been no unimportant part of the history of the church in Scotland for this century.

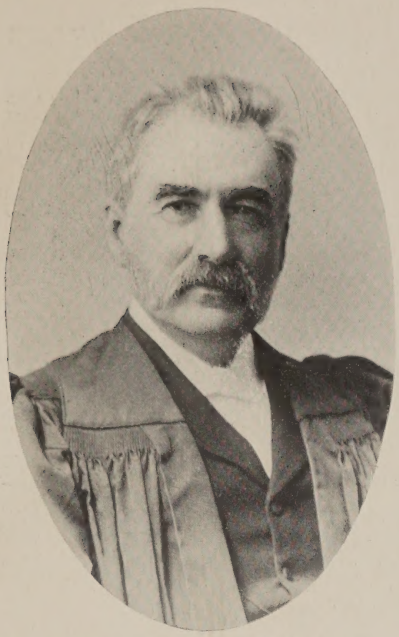
The best service, however, which we have rendered to Scotland is to be seen in the men of marked individuality and public usefulness we have reared in those Scottish Congregational churches — churches not numbering, all counted, more than two hundred. Men such as Sir George Harvey, the Scottish artist, Adam Black, and Daniel Macmillan, the founders of publishing firms bearing their names — such men are our best credentials. English Congregationalism owes the Kennedys, the Spences, Raleigh, Hannay, and many other good men to Scottish Independency. Still more remarkable is the contingent of men we have sent to the foreign mission field. Milne and Legge, of China; Moffat, Livingstone, and Mackenzie, of Africa; Gilmour, of Mongolia, got their inspiration and missionary impulse in Scottish Independency. Am I going out of my way in reminding the members of this Council that their preacher for the occasion, Dr. Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, Oxford, was trained and exercised his ministry in connection with the churches of the Evangelical Union, now embraced in the Union which I represent?

What of our present position and prospects? It was not to be expected that the freshness of the morning which characterized our movement in its early stages should be with us still. So much progress has been made in the religious life of the country that we now no longer regard ourselves as the special dispensers of evangelical doctrine in Scotland. "Missionars" is a designation that happily is not now applied to us in an exclusive sense. Purity of fellowship and freedom of congregational action, bringing with them a certain measure of simplicity, elasticity, and forwardness, are what the majority of our churches regard now as the main parts of our distinctive testimony.

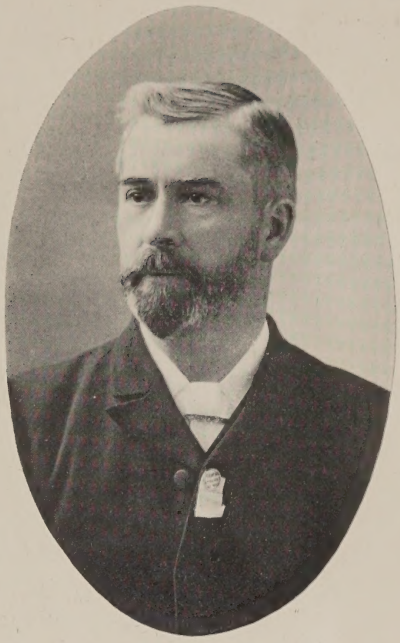
We are quite aware of the difficulties of our position, surrounded as we are by a Presbyterianism that is vigorous and popular, and which by its checks and compromises seems to suit the cautious temper of the Scot, who in things religious is conservative, and likes a liberty that is safeguarded by the signs and forms of constitutional order.

But we do not feel that we are called upon to apologize for our existence. Scotland and we are joined to each other in the providence of God as much as the Presbyterians. We did not obtrude ourselves in Scotland as ecclesiastical interlopers. We did not come at all; like your own immortal Topsy, we "growed." Scottish Independency has written its name upon the religious life of the people, not in large but in indelible characters, and, having done a generally acknowledged historic work, we feel that we have a root in our native soil from which fresh life and new developments may come.

In some respects we do not stand where we did in early days. The simplicity, the fervor, the lively fraternal affection have somewhat abated as we have become less distinctive; we are not so homogeneous theologically; we have not altogether escaped the effects of the unrest and negation which are abroad. But the body of our members hold most tenaciously those great essential principles, the assertion of which brought our churches into existence. We have some trying work before us in the way of a redistribution of our churches to follow the shifting population. We need a much stronger central church aid fund so as to command the services of competent men in all our churches, rural as well as those in large towns. In the great coming temperance crusade, our people will give a good account of themselves. On such social questions we have a place of importance far beyond what our numbers would seem to justify, almost all



REV. JAMES STARK, D.D.,
Aberdeen, Scotland.



REV. JAMES WYLIE,
Belfast, Ireland.

RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D., S.T.D.,
Cambridge, Mass.

REV. PROF. FRANCIS G. PEABODY, A.M., D.D.,
Cambridge, Mass.

our ministers being total abstainers, some of them recognized leaders in the movement.

In conclusion let me say that we are still far from the millennium in Scotland, but we hold by the Book that tells us it is to be, and how it is to come through God manifested in the flesh; and we mean to take our share in giving effect to its teachings, and in the embodiment of its visions. It needs no prophet's eye to discern that the future is to stand less committed to ecclesiastical systems and traditions, and that religion is to become simpler in form, broader in spirit, and more practical in application to life. After also we have become more accustomed to the "full cup" of modern civilization, and are less excited by its contents, we shall feel the need of greater depth and intensity of spiritual conviction than what exists at the present time; and then all denominational witnesses for Christ shall have their importance determined more than ever by the intelligence, persuasiveness, and convincing power of their witness-bearing.

Benediction and Adjournment

After the benediction by Rev. Dr. Stark, the Council took a recess until its meeting with the Congregational Club at Music Hall, at 5.30 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION

Instead of the usual meeting at Tremont Temple, the Council met in Music Hall at 5.30 o'clock, as the guests of the Congregational Club at a reception and dinner.

To this banquet, which was in some respects the finest gathering of its kind ever held in Music Hall, were invited the delegates and their wives. Fully twelve hundred persons sat down to the tables. Near the president of the Club sat the Hon. W. Murray Crane, Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth, and Consul General John E. Blunt, of the British Diplomatic Service. The hall was gaily decorated with flags of all nations, and the stars and stripes were intertwined with the union jacks. Several hundred people gained access to the galleries to enjoy the after-dinner exercises.

The president of the Club, Rev. Albert H. Plumb, D.D., pastor of the Walnut Avenue Congregational church, Boston, presided, and after a social half-hour called the company to order and invited the Rev. Judson Smith, D.D., of Massachusetts, senior secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to ask grace.

After the repast the exercises opened with the singing of Leonard Bacon's hymn, "O God, beneath thy guiding hand," by the congregation, accompanied by an orchestra.

Address of Welcome

The president, in welcoming the invited guests and in behalf of the Club, delivered the following address of welcome.

Address by President A. H. Plumb, D.D.

In behalf of the Congregational Club of Boston, I give cordial greeting to the second International Congregational Council, and to the distinguished representatives of other denominations who have honored us with their presence.

This Council has already been welcomed by our honored Mayor and by His Excellency, the worthy and beloved Governor of the Commonwealth.

I am not permitted to call for any further greeting to you from the state, but I desire to present to this audience a Congregational layman, a delegate to this Council, our Lieutenant Governor, the Hon. W. Murray Crane. [Mr. Crane rose from his seat and was received with loud applause.]

There is an old story that when a certain man was tendered by a political convention the nomination for lieutenant governor, he replied: "I will accept. I think I could fill that office, for it is one which I have

held for the last seventeen years in my own home." But here in Massachusetts we are able to do, and are in the habit of doing in the government, what cannot be done in the home. Good lieutenant governors are promoted, and I hardly need say that you have now looked upon the future occupant of the gubernatorial chair.

As a new Music Hall is in process of erection, this may prove the last of those notable gatherings which for the past fifty years have here been held. Here, for many years, was heard every Sunday that Independent Congregational minister, very independent in his teaching, Theodore Parker, the eminent philanthropist and reformer. During the old anti-slavery agitations these walls often echoed with the silver-tongued eloquence of Wendell Phillips, the stately oratory of Charles Sumner, and the fiery, impassioned speech of that great Congregational minister and friend of mankind, Henry Ward Beecher.

Never, however, in my judgment, was there made on the American continent a more wonderful display of the power of human speech than when in this hall some years ago, for two consecutive evenings, and for two hours each evening, two historical addresses were delivered on the Muscovite and the Ottoman, profound discussions of the great philosophical principles which guide human progress, abounding in interesting and instructive details, with numerous dates and names of persons and places, all given offhand with the utmost ease, enlivened and exalted by those matchless powers of picturesque description and those soaring flights of lofty imagination of which only one man among us has seemed capable — the Nestor of our American pulpit — on whose lips we hope to wait to-morrow evening — Richard Salter Storrs.

Our friends from the mother country, who in these meetings have expressed their pleasure at discovering a family likeness as they have looked upon our faces, may be interested to know, that many years ago a distinguished governor general of Canada, and at one time also an ambassador at Washington from the Court of St. James, Lord Elgin, stood here where I now stand, while this building was crowded to the roof with the children from the public schools at a musical festival given in his honor by the city of Boston. On that occasion I remember he said he was realizing the pleasure, the anticipation of which had been described by one of the minor English poets. For he said a young husband, looking hopefully forward to the springing up of lovely olive plants around his table, had ventured to address his bride in these words: —

> How I should love the little creatures,
> As round my knees they fondly clung,
> To see them look their mother's features,
> To hear them lisp their mother's tongue.
>
> And when, with envy, time transported,
> Shall seek to rob us of our joys,
> You 'll in your girls again be courted,
> And I go wooing in my boys.

The family features, common to these delegates from all over the world, are somewhat sharply defined, and we are proud of the kinship they show. For we are not gathered to minimize the differences between our denomination and others, but to magnify and exalt those differences. The great object of this Council is that we may gain a clearer apprehension of what it is that the distinctive principles, enshrined in our polity, which have made us what we are, and which have wrought through us for

the blessing of mankind, require of us now, in all our relations to the complicated problems of modern social life.

In an address at Rev. Dr. Dale's lecture some twenty years ago, the Hon. John Bright pointed out a momentous fact, of which we are having mournful evidence in the present infamy of France.

He said: "If Protestantism had been permitted to live in France, even in the unfavorable conditions under which nonconformity lived in England, the whole future of France would have been different." There was nothing there to hold in check the profligacy and corruption of the aristocracy and the church, as there was in England. And he quotes Hume and Macaulay as testifying that "the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone, and it was to this sect that the English owed the whole freedom of their constitution."

Now the present fervor of Congregationalists in pressing the democracy of Christianity rests not merely on a matter of polity — on the absolute independence of the local church, but on that principle, held in connection with the tremendous facts of the incarnation and the atonement, which we hold in common with all evangelical Christians. For the Son of God exalted man by becoming man, and still more by tasting death for every man, and those facts, more than anything else, enforce the sacredness of the rights of the individual man, and the transcendent importance of his attaining a holy character and a happy destiny.

And has it not been evident that the more clearly these related facts and truths have been presented here, the more strong has been the response from this great representative body? [Applause, denoting assent.]

Now this does not show that we are united in all shades of opinion, nor that we cannot have a measurable and very pleasant degree of union with other denominations. But it does show that we are more closely united with each other than we can be with anybody else, and simply because we are more thoroughly agreed in holding these great underlying truths which govern the conduct of life.

The distinguished head of Cambridge University, two nights ago, attempted to prove to us that the only union possible is "a moral unity, a unity of spirit, which is completely independent of creed." I am compelled to take issue squarely with that position, and to affirm on the contrary that there is no moral unity or unity of spirit possible except that which is founded on and bounded by an underlying unity of creed. The measure of harmony of spiritual life is absolutely and always determined by the measure of harmony in the creed.

He says the ground of unity is a recognition of "the Christlike conduct of life."

Indeed! and what is that? Mr. Gladstone, in his paper on "Authority in Religion" says: "The human mind is accustomed to play tricks with itself in every form, and one of the forms in which it most frequently resorts to this operation is when it attenuates the labor of thought, and evades the responsibility of definite decision, by the adoption of a general word that we purposely keep undefined to our own consciousness." "So," he says, "men admire the British constitution, without knowing or inquiring what it is, and profess Christianity but decline to say or think what it means."

Now to define "the Christlike conduct of life," one must have some knowledge of Christ, and of the applications of his teaching to our life. Such knowledge to be effective must be apprehended with some clearness, and if thus apprehended it can be stated, and if stated it is a creed, and that creed governs the man's feelings and acts. For all religious life is simply responsiveness to religious truth. The genesis of religion

always is, first religious knowledge, then religious feeling, then religious action. Or, as Professor Robert Flint of Edinburgh says, "Religion is a man's belief in a being or beings higher than himself, inaccessible to his senses, yet not indifferent to his sentiments and practices, together with the feelings and actions which flow from such belief."

All our efforts in this Council to produce more harmonious and efficient religious activities are proceeding on the principle that we must first produce greater harmony of conviction in regard to the underlying truths involved.

This Council is not seeking absolute agreement in all minor matters of belief, but a substantial agreement in the essential truths.

The great London preacher, Joseph Parker, once unfortunately said, "In the case of two men, two hundred, two thousand, two million, unity in mere opinion is not a miracle but an impossibility."

Yet millions upon millions passionately sing "All hail the power of Jesus' name," and that shows they are cordially united in the opinions that he is, and that sinners should crown him Lord of all.

When Mr. Parker adds, "Opinion is necessarily and happily changeable," his confusion arises from spelling opinion with a capital O. For we must ask, What opinion?

The opinions that there is a holy God, that man is a sinner, and that they must be reconciled to abide in peace together, are necessarily and happily unchangeable among Christians.

President Eliot told us that "opinions and beliefs vary more and more, as knowledge advances and freedom grows."

Nay, nay, my brethren, or else this Council had better never have assembled. Who was it that bade us disciple all nations? Why, "when he ascended on high and gave gifts unto men," did he give "some to be apostles, and prophets, and evangelists, and pastors, and teachers"? Was it not for the "perfecting of saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, until we all come into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ"?

That we are coming gradually into this unity in our knowledge of the Son of God appears in the most striking manner by the remarkable fact that there has lately been adopted, by the representatives of over sixty millions of Christians, a statement of evangelical doctrine, called the Free Church Catechism, which is acknowledged to be a greater step toward harmony in Christian faith than has been taken for the past three hundred years.

And it is a most fortunate circumstance that the very eminent Congregational minister who had large influence in shaping that document has been selected by our guests to reply in their behalf to this word of greeting.

I have peculiar pleasure, therefore, in now presenting to you the Rev. Dr. Alexander Mackennal, Chairman of the Federation of Free Evangelical Churches for England and Wales.

Response to the Welcome

A response was made to Dr. Plumb's welcome by the Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., of England.

Address by Rev. A. Mackennal, B.A., D.D.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Congregational Club, — You have given us a very hearty invitation. Indeed, we found the heartiness of our invitation even before Dr. Plumb spoke his words to us, for the provision which you made, so ample and so choice, was really your invitation to us to enjoy the meal, and our reception of it was in some sense our response. But we are here now to say that we thank you heartily. You have made us feel so much at home that when Dr. Plumb was talking of the brethren from abroad I acknowledged to a little feeling of wonder as to whom he meant. I do not feel "abroad." I feel at home. I do not feel as if I had come from abroad, for next week I am going home, and I can only suppose that I am beginning to feel that I have two homes, and possibly it may have been to awaken and to confirm that feeling that you invited us here to-night.

I have had suggested to me while I have been in Boston a certain question which has arisen in my mind more than once. It is not a conundrum, though it may look like one. I want to ask you the question: On which side of the Atlantic is New England? I claim to be a New Englander myself, for the England of the latter part of the nineteenth century is not at all the England of the middle part of the eighteenth century. Even then, however, the seeds of the new England were in the old country, and I imagine that no one would feel himself less at home in the England of to-day than George III if he could come to life again. Many a misconception might have been avoided if we had remembered that New England and Old England are on both sides of the Atlantic, — if you had remembered, for instance, that we Englishmen are no older than you Americans of the same age, and if we also had remembered that you have a common claim with us to the ancestry of which we are proud. Your ancestors are our ancestors and you have as many of them as most of us have.

Then there is that identity of sentiment and of feeling which, as the years go on, is making itself more and more apparent. My friend Mr. Bryan Dale — whom I regret the Council has not had the opportunity of hearing, for he never speaks without communicating something that is worth our retaining — has been telling me that he has made careful examination into the origin of some of the oldest Congregational churches in Yorkshire and Lancashire in what we call the north of England. He says he has found that in every case in which he is able to trace the personal origination of these churches, the founders of the churches have come into Yorkshire or Lancashire by way of America. There was a very considerable and continual migration from England to New England and return during the whole of the seventeenth century, and by a constant process of flux and reflux you were receiving help from England and England was receiving help from you. So that the more fully we go into the Congregational history, the more clearly it appears that the history of the Congregational churches in America and the history of the Congregational churches in England cannot be separated one from the other.

Well, we have come here to say that we do not intend them to be separated from each other. We have sometimes been unwilling learners from each other. It is a very curious fact in human history that in regard to some of the most precious truths that we hold we were originally unwilling learners. Now we have joined in our historical studies, we have joined in our missionary enterprise, we feel a common gratitude to God and a gratitude also to the men whom we recall as our suffering and

testifying spiritual ancestors. We are together in the purpose in which we contemplate the future of the world and in our determination to do what God will enable us to do to spread the truth which he has taught us throughout the whole habitable earth.

I see I have been announced here as chairman of the Federation of the Free Evangelical Churches of England and Wales, and your chairman this evening has thrown out a line of thought to which, if I were to respond, I should keep you here a great deal longer than I have any intention of doing. But I want to say just this about Congregationalism and the Federation of the Free Evangelical Churches in England and Wales. Our chairman exalted our denominationalism. Let me say that the object of this Federation of the Free Evangelical Churches is to exalt denominationalism. We believe that the time has passed when men, if they are to say anything acceptable on the question of Christian unity, Christian fellowship, the oneness of the Church of God, should confine themselves to that in which they agree and make no mention of that in which they differ. We have come to see most clearly that God has divided the denominations as once he divided the nations of the earth. We have come to see most clearly that if a man is to be a Methodist, the better Methodist he is, the better for all the denominations; that if a man is to be a Congregationalist, the better Congregationalist he is, the more will he be fit for catholic fellowship, the more will he have to contribute to the oneness and to the wealth of the Church of God. This is our conception of federal unity. It is the gathering together into a common and continually expressed fellowship of those who rejoice in one another's different history, and who learn from one another quite as much in virtue of attainments in which they do not agree, as those in which they do agree. We Congregationalists have taken a prominent part, I rejoice to say, in the great movement for Christian unity as once we did — and still do — in all efforts towards Christian liberty. A distinguished member of the Society of Friends, Mr. George Cadbury, told me that wherever he went in England, he found the Congregationalists foremost in this work of Christian fellowship and the federation of the churches. That is of course as it ought to be.

Let me simply conclude with one single word. We must take care in our utterances of gratitude for our history and equal gratitude for what God is enabling us to do, and inspiring us to hope we may do, that our gratitude never becomes boasting. Lord John Russell on more than one occasion reminded his hearers that

> They who on their ancestry enlarge
> Produce their debt, not their discharge.

At the close of Dr. Mackennal's address the audience joined in singing two stanzas of "God save the Queen," followed by two stanzas of "My country, 't is of thee."

Remarks by Dr. Plumb

You have been very hearty in the singing. We shall soon give you an opportunity to show your hearty eagerness in listening. The Executive Committee of the Club, as this is an international gathering, deemed it fitting that we should have some expression to the Council on behalf of the national governments of England and America. I am glad to say we have with us the official representative at this port of Her Majesty the

Queen of England — Consul General Blunt. Although he declines to make an address, I will ask him to rise and let you perceive what character of men England sends over here. I am sure he must have appreciated the heartiness with which you sang his national hymn. [Mr. Blunt arose and received the hearty ovation of the audience.]

We had hoped early in the season, and we were encouraged to believe, that the President of the United States would be personally here to-night and give us his salutation. Later engagements rendered this impossible, but I hold in my hand a letter which you will be interested in hearing.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
September 9, 1899.

M. C. Hazard, Ph.D., Chairman Executive Committee of the Congregational Club, Boston, Mass.

My Dear Sir, — Referring to the kind invitation extended to me through yourself to be present at the banquet to be given on the 27th inst., by the Congregational Club to the delegates of the International Congregational Council, I regret that engagements already made will prevent its acceptance. Please convey to the members of the Congregational Club and to the delegates of the Council an expression of my best wishes for the success of the occasion, and my interest in their present international gathering, which ought to be productive of valuable results in the direction of more cordial fellowship among Christian people.

With sincere regret, I am very truly yours,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Quartette

The quartette of the Old South church then entertained the assembly with two vocal selections.

REMARKS BY DR. PLUMB

I remember that in 1870 this house was crowded one evening, as it has seldom been crowded, to listen to a young man who had recently come here from Philadelphia. It was one of the first opportunities that Phillips Brooks had to address the general public of Boston. The occasion was one which you may well imagine awakened and kindled his magnificent powers. It was a meeting for public congratulations in view of the unification of Italy and the destruction forever of the temporal power of the Pope. This building fairly rocked with the enthusiasm of the immense audience as they listened to his magnificent, impassioned, and impetuous oratory. There were seated here, I well remember, the great men of Boston and Cambridge, and they looked as if they felt that at last there had come among us one holding the evangelical faith who had the public ear and would hold it. Long, long we waited upon his ministry on many great occasions, and still we mourn that, in the prime of his great usefulness, the honored and beloved Bishop Brooks was called to his eternal reward. We rejoice that his mantle has fallen worthily upon one who is a chosen and favorite son of Boston and of Massachusetts. Always his presence is grateful and his words are fit. I have great pleasure in introducing to you the Right Rev. William Lawrence, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts.

ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D., S.T.D.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I can imagine the spirit of magnanimity in which the committee made up the list of speakers to-night. No doubt they said among themselves, "We Puritans left England in order to escape the bishops. Now in the spirit of great magnanimity we will ask, as the first speaker, representative of the different denominations, a bishop to give us a word of welcome." May there not, however, be some magnanimity on the other side? We remember how a loyal member of the Church of England, William Blackstone, came here to live quietly, and how after a few years of unhappy existence he removed to the home of those who wished to think and speak as they pleased — Rhode Island. We remember how the members of the then Church of England were obliged to pay their tithes and taxes for the support of the Established Church of Massachusetts. I therefore feel that in the spirit of magnanimity the committee and myself are quits.

Is there not also something, if I may criticise the make-up of the program, illogical in the fact that those who left England to escape the bishops should ask a bishop to stand here and with open arms receive into the land of their flight those who have come here as the representatives of the Congregational churches of England and Scotland? But after all, there is no people so illogical as the English. They are practical, full of the spirit of wise compromise, and often without logic they reach righteous judgments more unerringly than those who, depending upon logic and insinuating argument, reach wrong conclusions.

We meet here, brethren, not so much as Congregationalists and Episcopalians, as children of the English race. There is no subject of study so interesting to-day as the English people. As we consider what the English people have done in the last half-century, and then as we throw our thoughts forward to what we may imagine the English people and their descendants in America doing in the next half-century in the uplift of civilization and the carrying of Christianity to nations that will come under our control, we cannot conceive of a more interesting and important subject than the study, not only of the English people, but of that which has gone to make the character of the English people — the Christian religion as interpreted by the Anglo-Saxon thought and conscience. For, after all, we, whether we be Congregationalists, Baptists, or Episcopalians, represent in our religious life something that is different from the Latin or Greek form of religion. We represent, all of us, that which we may call the Anglo-Saxon form of religion. It is a form which is peculiar to us, racial if you want to call it such; but there are far greater lines of coherence and similarity than there are of difference even among those who differ most from each other in the various denominations. Is it not true that, whether you be a Congregationalist emphasizing to the last the differences between Congregationalism and the Church of England, whether you build your walls as high as you will — is it not true that your ancestors and my ancestors, the ancestors of churchmen and dissenters, were in the loins of Wyclif and his followers? They were in the lives of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; they were in the spirit of those who in the days of Henry VIII and after his time fought for religious and civil liberty — aye, who fought for Christ and his church. We, therefore, my friends, are one. As years went on there came, as there always must come when a new spirit enters an old civilization, a breaking apart and divisions. All the time, however, while we have been differing, as we do differ, in many of our religious conceptions, there has been the same basis of religious thought; we have all of us clung to the

fundamental principle of Christ's religion, that no priest, no church, no state can stand between God and the individual soul. We have stood, as has already been said, for the great fundamentals of the Christian faith. Your program here shows you how there has been, under all the differences, a common literature. On its pages we notice extracts from John Milton and verses from him who was the leader of the Tractarian movement, John Keble. We find, therefore, that there is a common religious literature, a common hymnology in many respects, and a common theology; for was it not this very afternoon that one of your leading English delegates said to me, "One of your churchmen, Frederic Denison Maurice, made me what I am." Do we not, therefore, find that beneath our differences there is a communion of spirit between the Church of England and the nonconformists?

But you who live in England have no idea of the happiness and peace with which we of different denominations live together in this country. And why should we not? You came from England in order to escape from a church which was so allied with the state that it could not speak its own mind. You come here and you find the daughter of that church, with the bishops, with the ancient ritual, with the historic ministry, and with the prayer-book, rejoicing in the fact that their church has no relation with the state. Again, you left England in order that you might escape from autocratic bishops. Well, now, if you can find an autocratic bishop in this country, you will have to look hard. For think of it. The American Episcopal church, under the influence, as I strongly believe, of the religious spirit which had come with the Puritans, so formulated our organization that to-day all the bishops of the American church, voting unanimously, cannot change a word of the prayer-book or a word of the law of the Episcopal church until they have the vote of the representative laymen of the church. The laymen have an equal voice in the legislation of the church with the bishops. To-day our parishes elect their rectors as freely as the Congregational parishes, and they have the inestimable privilege of asking and of not taking the advice of the bishops. You find, therefore, in this country the ancient Church of England in her historic ministry, in her liturgy, in her creed, in all her fundamentals, yet free from the state. We have everything that the Puritans came to this country for, and it passes my understanding why Brother Gordon and all the rest should not come back into the fold.

It has been said that it is only by the statement of our differences that we come more closely to Christian unity. Surely it is only by truth speaking that we can come to understand and to have confidence in each other. But there seems to me to be growing up, as the tide rises and gradually finds its way higher and higher, a feeling of Christian unity which is far deeper than any that can be made upon paper or laid down in statutes. I will close with simply suggesting three or four lines of Christian unity through which Christians may act and live in order that the time may come when even organically we may be brought more closely together.

In the first place, Christian unity comes not always when we are seeking it, but when, through a common interest in a common work for Christ, we are thinking of the work and not of the creation of unity. As in the early days before the Revolution, John Adams, the Puritan from New England, pointed to George Washington, the Churchman from Virginia, as the man to lead the American forces, and as New England and Virginia then joined forces and fought the Revolution, not that they might be bound together, but that the country as a whole might be united, so when Christians of one body join hands with Christians of

another in the upbuilding of the civilization of the country, in the overcoming of vice, in the uplifting of the down-trodden, we are bound together in a common Christian brotherhood as in no other way.

One may, while recognizing the differences, do a great deal towards appreciating the glories and the beauties of those within the other fold. If I may be pardoned one personal allusion; when I begun to study for the ministry, I sought the advice of my friend and mentor, Phillips Brooks, and under his counsel, although I was born a churchman and had lived up to that time within the Episcopal church, I went to study theology, not in a church divinity school, but in Andover, that I might learn something of the beauties and the glories of a Christian faith which had done so much toward the upbuilding of Christian character in New England. The going to Andover did not, as my bishop feared, make me a Congregationalist, but made me, with a fuller appreciation of the glories of Congregationalism, a better churchman. We need an appreciation of the glories and the beauties of each other's faith, habits, and character, gained through intelligent Christian sympathy, and not through statutes.

One great man does more by the throwing of the wings of his charity over men of different convictions than do the resolutions of many conventions. Phillips Brooks, preaching and living in Boston, did and has done more for Christian unity among the denominations throughout the country than many a resolution passed by most learned assemblies. So has it been with others of different bodies of whom we might speak. We want, therefore, to see to it that the young men of the coming generation are so upbuilt in character, largeness of faith, and breadth of charity that their influence may be the web and the woof of the texture of Christian unity.

And lastly, every sun's ray leaving the sun, coming to us, can be sighted back into the heart of the sun. In the spirit of Keble's verse on this program, it is only as we keep our eyes, all of us, upon the same Person and enter into the Spirit of Christ that we become one "in the unity of the Spirit and the bonds of peace."

At the close of Bishop Lawrence's address, Dr. Plumb introduced the next speaker, Professor Peabody, with the following remarks.

Remarks by Dr. Plumb

I am sure that I voice the sentiment of the Congregational Council and of the Congregational Club in returning our sincere thanks to Bishop Lawrence for the instructive and most gracious words which have fallen from his lips. We rejoice in the spirit that he has manifested towards us, and we think his point is well taken in intimating that we were once a state church. We have repented of our ways. We are not now very high church Congregationalists. A little time since there was a high church spirit manifested in a volume which some of you may remember, written by our late venerable brother Rev. Dorus Clarke, entitled "Congregationalism and the Sects." Our Congregationalism to-day would be apt to alter the title to "Congregationalism and the Other Sects." There is nothing invidious in that term; it merely means the other sections of the great army of our Lord. Our friend has very wisely and truthfully said that the disestablishment of a state church, as we have found out, redounds greatly to the increased influence of that church. We have been occasionally somewhat grieved but still very much comforted when our young people have gone to the Episcopal church; grieved at our loss, but comforted in the thought

that we were enabled to contribute to your body, Bishop Lawrence, an element which would help in counteracting those tendencies which you and we deplore.

I am very glad, in introducing the next speaker, to present the following minute: —

At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers held in Boston, June 1, 1899, in which both the Trinitarian and Unitarian wings of the denomination were represented, the following minute, proposed by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., was unanimously adopted. This convention, which is the oldest existing assembly of Congregational ministers in this country, sends its fraternal greeting to the International Council of Congregationalists to be held in this city in September, and welcomes the Council to the state where the Congregational order was first established. The experience of the churches represented in this Convention confirms the wisdom of the fathers and declares that truth, liberty, and righteousness are best upbuilt by the maintenance of the original Congregational polity. Attest, B. F. Hamilton, Scribe.

I now have the pleasure of presenting to you one who bears an honored name in the Unitarian ministry of this Commonwealth — Francis Greenwood Peabody, D.D., Plummer Professor of Christian Morals and Parkman Professor of Theology, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Address by Rev. Francis G. Peabody, A.M., D.D.

The pleasant privilege of bringing to this assemblage the greeting of their Unitarian neighbors is a duty which is not without embarrassment; for it is a greeting not offered by an unrelated body to a company of strangers, but by one member of the divided family of New England Congregationalism to another member of that family, and it brings to mind some incidents of family history which are not altogether agreeable to recall. Suppose, for instance, that the younger son of the New Testament parable, having gathered together all his goods, together with some which, in the opinion of the elder brother, belonged to him, and having wandered away into a far country of riotous radicalism, should be permitted to come back some night into the old home: would it not seem rather audacious for the newly forgiven son to stand at the door, as the good brother returned from his field of labor, and invite him to come in and make himself at home? Many of us, I suppose, have thought that it called for a high degree of magnanimity, on the part of that elder brother of the Bible, to rejoice when he saw the fatted calf killed for the prodigal; but what shall be said of the generosity which invites a prodigal Congregationalist to come to this feast, in spite of the fact that the fattest of the Massachusetts churches have been slaughtered for his benefit?

I turn away, however, as your welcome indicates that you have turned, from the thought of that pitiful schism which rent New England seventy years ago, and which, I thank God, it would be now impossible to reproduce. Opposite wings there are, no doubt, in the Congregational order still — a right wing, which supposes wisdom to have died with the fathers, and a left wing, which imagines wisdom to be a discovery of its own; but we have all learned, I trust, that the function of wings is not that of beak or claws, that wings are instruments provided to lift the entire body, and that, as the purpose and direction of the whole body has thus been lifted to higher interests, the wings have found their proper work and their common unity. The best way out of theological controversies is not through them or round them, but over them; and the devotion of each wing of a Christian organization to its proper task of

personal and social redemption lifts the life of the whole body into the region of mutual understanding and peace. "If I be lifted from the earth," said the Master, "I will draw all men unto me"; and the religious communion which is most lifted up from the unseemly strifes of ecclesiasticism is most likely to inherit the Master's promise, and draw men unto itself.

Nor is this perhaps the proper place to recall the early traditions of Congregationalism, to which even its prodigal child has some claim. "Et in Arcadia ego": the Unitarians also are Congregationalists. We, too, honor the lineage from which we sprang, and rejoice in the achievements, which it now commemorates. I have a young acquaintance who was once a ragged, wandering tramp, and who is now trying to lead a respectable life in his own town; and the one thing that seems to hold this boy up to self-respect is the recollection that his great-great-grandfather was a captain in the Revolution. "It is a great thing," he wrote to me not long ago, "to feel that you have a pedigree." Something of this restoration of self-respect comes to the Unitarian when, in spite of being regarded by some persons much as a respectable citizen regards a tramp, there steals into his heart the comforting reflection that, after all, he has a pedigree. Such pride of ancestry, however, is something one does not talk of before strangers. Our public speeches glory in the separation of church from state and the escape from the evils of an establishment. A rector of the Episcopal church was asked this summer by an English lady, "Is there much dissent in America?" and he boldly answered, "Madam, there is none; for there is nothing to dissent from." This is the view in which we cordially concur; yet within the family circle there cannot but be sometimes a lurking recollection that, if there had happened to be any state church in New England, we should be that church. The distinguished Judge Hoar, a Unitarian Congregationalist, used to say to Hon. Richard H. Dana, a distinguished High Church Episcopalian, when they met, "And how is my dissenting brother to-day?" and, when these bishops and presbyters meet with us here, they ought perhaps not wholly to forget the high degree of toleration which makes the Congregationalist, even of the prodigal branch, associate as if on equal terms with a nonconformist.

These comforting reminiscences are, however, for the family circle alone. When, on the other hand, one comes here to-night, and asks himself in all seriousness why he is glad to inherit the Congregational tradition, there are of course many answers which might be given, and which have been enforced by your own deliberations during these days of council. Your contribution to religious liberty, your devotion to education, your zeal for the conversion of the world, your simplicity and flexibility of organization, — all should have honorable consideration. Standing, however, in my own place, with a specific task to do, there presents itself one commanding trait of the Congregationalist order which unites one to it with a special loyalty, and which gives it a special place in the service of the modern world. It is what I may call its subordination of the accessories of religion and its supreme confidence in the convincing and converting power of the simple truth. There are many other ways in which the impulse to religion may be stirred, and which are widely utilized at the present time. Many lives are moved by symbolism, by ritual, by beauty of color or of form; and many, by the sense of organization, by force of numbers, by external unity and discipline. All these agencies of religion are legitimate instruments, yet to none of them did the Puritan confide his hope. He turned from the ceremonials of ecclesiasticism; he reduced the government of the church to its lowest terms. His worship, like his dress, was plain and unadorned.

All these traits have been regarded as his weaknesses. His way of life, it is said, was meager and severe, without beauty or comeliness or charm. But why was it that the Puritan thus stripped off these adornments of religion and life? It was in order that there should stand before him, undisguised, the real nature of Christian truth. He was dominated by the desire for reality. He was absolutely indifferent to the accessories of religion, as to those of personal attire. He trusted everything to the unobscured effect of the truth of God. That was what made the Puritans breed a race of preachers. Others might create more gorgeous churches or more substantial organizations; it was for him to address the reason of man with convincing truth. That, again, made the same stock great educators. It is not an accident that for many generations the higher education of New England has been practically a monopoly of the Congregationalists. They believed in no conflict between learning and faith; the more truth, they felt sure, the more religion. Was there ever a nobler confidence than that which made the Puritans set on the seal of Harvard College three open books, and across their pages the great word "Veritas"? Or was there ever a clearer consciousness of a special mission than that which made them, in the poverty of their early days, write in words which their sons have inscribed upon our college gate, "When we had builded our houses, . . . the first thing we looked for was to build a college, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry when our present pastors shall lie in the dust"?

Here is the key of Congregationalist simplicity. It refuses to be entangled in the machinery of religion. It sets the individual soul face to face with the truth of God. This is what commends its teaching alike to the scholars of the Oriental world and to the plain converts of Mr. Moody. Whatever controversies may exist among Congregationalists, and however unfortunate they may be, they are at least not likely to be controversies about small things,— about the vestments of clergy or the fumigatory uses of incense or the orders of priesthood or any of the accessories and incidentals of Christianity; they are likely to be about great things, — the mystery of God, the way of redemption, the truth of the heavenly world.

I happen to live in a community of eager, earnest, open-minded, modern-minded young men. What do they want of religion? What do they not want of religion? The first thing that strikes one is that they take absolutely no interest in many of the controversies which seem to absorb the minds of a great many religious people. Such young men care absolutely nothing for problems of church order or form or authority, or any of those things which they would describe as "frills" of the religious life; it makes absolutely no difference to them what title a man bears or what communion he represents. What they want is truth, something to stand on and live by, a wholesome, virile, masculine, unobscured, rational way of life. If they are to attain any freedom of mind or will, it must be in conformity with that word of Jesus, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free"; and, if they are going to be sanctified at all, they are, as Jesus also said, to be "sanctified through the truth." And they observe with the profoundest joy that such was the method of Jesus himself; he prescribed no ritual, he established no priesthood. He brought his followers into the presence of the truth, and left them there. "For this cause came I into the world, to bear witness of the truth."

The work of Congregationalism, then, at the present time is, I would urge, indicated by this very quality of simplicity, directness, and reality which it has always manifested. It would be, I think, a vast misfortune if the Congregationalist order set itself to compete with more decorative communions in pomp of ritual and historical suggestiveness or with more highly organized communions in ecclesiastical discipline. To it belongs

the more sober, the more difficult, yet, I believe, the more exalted function of dwelling near the sources of truth, of disregarding accessories and entering behind the veil; of maintaining a ministry competent to guide the truth-seeker, the virile, the thoughtful, the free; of addressing its foreign missions to the thoughtful and scholarly in other lands; of encouraging the personal and direct approach, unmediated by any priest or form, of the individual soul to its heavenly Father. "When the Spirit of Truth is come," said Jesus, "he will guide you into all truth." Once let the interior reality of religion be communicated to a man's life, and the subordinate aspects of religion will fall into their places under that spiritual guide. If, then, a prodigal Congregationalist may venture to express his deepest prayer for this Christian communion whose blood he inherits, it must be, not that it may be more glorious through its numbers or more splendid in its ritual or more compact in its organization, but that more and more those words of the Master may come true, and the Spirit of the Truth — the Holy Spirit — may be your sufficient guide, and may lead the millions who look to you for guidance into the simplicity of the truth as it is in Jesus.

Quartette

At this point another selection was rendered by the quartette of the Old South church.

Remarks by Dr. Plumb

Whatever may have been true formerly in regard to the monopoly of Christian education by the ruling denomination here, it is not true now, for here in Boston a great university has been built up by our Methodist brethren, and the scholar, eminent for learning and wisdom, who stands at the head of Boston University is to give us the greetings of the Methodist denomination. And let us remember, dear friends, that while we have much to be thankful for in the growth that God has given to us, we have very much to be grateful for also in the amazing progress of the Methodist church throughout our borders. Some of those who have been among our most interesting and useful preachers were trained by the university at whose head stands the Rev. Dr. W. F. Warren, whom I now have the pleasure of introducing to you.

Address by Rev. W. F. Warren, D.D.

Mr. President, Members and Guests of the Congregational Club, — There are many and cogent reasons why the millions of Christian believers whom you have asked me to represent gratefully bring you this day cordial salutations and assurances of Christian love. Of these reasons let me give you a single example.

A century ago there stood in the capital of New Hampshire the most historic building of that Commonwealth. In it, in the year 1784, the Constitution of the state of New Hampshire was discussed and adopted. This was the more historic from the fact that New Hampshire was the first of the thirteen original American colonies to adopt a written constitution incorporating the results of the War of Independence. The building was also the one in which on the twenty-first of June, 1788, another state convention ratified the Constitution of the United States. The vote by which this was done was one of intense interest to each of the thirteen

newborn states. All were feverishly watching the outcome, for it had been provided that the proposed Federal Constitution should take effect and acquire force of law as soon as ratified by nine of the states. New Hampshire was the ninth. In the walls of this building, therefore, the vote was given which transferred an aggregation of separate and discordant states into a henceforth forever indissolubly united nation.

Now, the building in question was a house of worship of the traditional New England order. It belonged to the First Congregational church of the city of Concord. In 1847 its owners were about to move into a new and more modern sanctuary. What should they do with the old, so rich in historic associations? They considered various suggestions. At length they heard of a school of theology that had been projected in the city of Boston eight years before; learned that, after a struggling existence in Vermont, it was now seeking an independent incorporation and home. With a rare catholicity of mind and generosity of heart, these good men tendered to that school, not only their building, but also a handsome sum of money to aid in adapting it to the new purpose. This noble offer was gratefully accepted, and thus it came to pass that the first home of the first Methodist Theological Seminary in America was the free and cordial gift of a church and parish of Congregationalists.

This was not all. The first professor chosen to fill the chair of didactic theology in the new school, though a Methodist, was a graduate of the Andover Theological Seminary. After more than fourscore years of life and threescore years of Christian service, he still lives, and still loves and honors his yet surviving Andover preceptor, the venerable and gracious nonogenarian, Edwards A. Park.

Twenty years later far-sighted friends of the Concord school desired to see it brought to Boston, where it had first been planned and authorized. The New Hampshire Legislature consented, and the Legislature of Massachusetts promptly prepared the way. The removal was effected, and again the first new professor, elected after the removal, was a graduate, not only of the Andover Theological Seminary, but also of Dartmouth College. Its first president in its new metropolitan location had also studied in Andover, and in the Andover Theological Library had found his first opportunity to read and study the works of James Arminius in the complete original Latin edition. Dr. J. M. Manning of the Old South church was one of the earliest lecturers of the new Boston Theological Seminary. President Woolsey of Yale, President Harris of Bowdoin, President Mark Hopkins of Williams, with others of other denominations, were engaged from year to year as lecturers, and rendered a much-prized service. Such catholicity of teaching in connection with a theological seminary had rarely, if ever, before been seen. The public found the institution worthy of its metropolitan situation and opportunities, and it has educated ministers for sixteen different denominations of Christians. Out of it has grown Boston University, chartered thirty years ago this very year. It closed its third decennium with nearly 150 instructors and more than 1,400 students. Here again history attests the closeness of the fellowship between your body and the authorities in charge of this educational movement. The first trustee elected from without the communion of the original founders was a Congregational deacon. The first professor chosen for life by the trustees of the university was a graduate of Amherst, and from that day to this a deacon in a Congregational church. Surely it is not unfitting that the voice of Boston University should be heard in this assembly this day. It has already been heard in the International Council, for two of the preappointed speakers on the program are loyal sons of this *alma mater*. Had the brilliant President of Bowdoin

College been a third, we should have heard a different speech last Monday night.

Congratulations are in order. Your Methodist brethren congratulate you on the catholicity of your present basis of ecclesiastical fellowship. It is understood that in your national and subordinate councils, in this country at least, Arminian churches are precisely as welcome as Calvinistic. Time was when in New England this could not be said; nor was that time prehistoric. Like some other human beings, your present speaker was blessed with four grandparents. I remember them all. By a happy coincidence two of them were male and two female. But different as they were in the accident of sex, all were alike in one far more important particular. All of them received their individual conception of human life and destiny from Congregational teachers of the old Calvinistic type. The theological teachers of that day used to say it was the "preceptive" will of God that all men should come to the knowledge of the truth; but so long as they identified the truth with Calvinism, I wonder not that under the foreordination of heaven they were made most strenuously to insist that at least the "secret" will of God was quite otherwise. I venture to congratulate this Council that the day is forever past when in the churches represented by you, the will of the holy and blessed God can be made the subject of such theological jugglery. And I congratulate you that any child or grandchild of yours who wishes to devote his life to the service of the Lord Jesus in the New Old South of Boston can to-day and forever hereafter do it without professing to believe the hard sayings of the rescinded Westminster Confession.

Again, I congratulate you upon the elements which you have contributed to the social and civil life of our American people. Were I in search of a chart by whose aid I could show some foreign visitor the states and localities in this country in which popular intelligence is highest, the moral tone of the community purest, the institutions of education and religion best supported, the press most conscientious and salutary, the duties of citizenship best discharged, the first that would occur to my mind would be one found in one of the reports of the last national census. This map is found at page 330 of the volume prepared by Dr. Carroll, and it is colored in four different degrees of shading, according to accurate percentages, as follows: First, brown, indicating populations having less than one per cent. of the represented ingredient; next, a deeper shade, indicating a percentage between one and four; then, deeper yet, a percentage between four and eight; then, deepest of all, the populations having from eight to twenty per cent. The title of this notable map says nothing about intelligence, morality, education, citizenship. It is not necessary. It simply reads: "Map showing the proportion of Congregationalists to the Aggregate Population" throughout the United States. That your history in this country has made possible such a statement as the foregoing is something of which you may be proud, and for which all fellow Christians are devoutly grateful.

Let me bring you sincere congratulations on another point. A century ago I am not sure that there was a Congregational church in all North America outside of the six New England States. Fifty years ago your main strength was still in this limited area of the nation. This year, for the first time, your ecclesiastical Year Book will show every state and every organized territory within our borders represented by one or more regularly organized churches of the evangelical Congregational order and fellowship. The nation has a new ecclesiastical organization conterminous with itself.

Passing the show window at the Congregational House the other day,

I noticed a well-chosen collection of books illustrative of English and Scotch Congregational authorship. It was an array of which any communion in the world might be proud. Not the least suggestive was an ample volume written by a layman now no longer on the shores of time. I was glad to see it, for it not only reminded me of the distinguished rôle always taken by your laymen in the maintenance and extension of Christ's kingdom, but it also suggested a ministry of measureless instruction and inspiration to Christians of every name the wide world over. The volume was entitled "The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Browning." So long as your form of ecclesiastical life can produce and bind to itself, lifelong, such spirits as his, we shall all be moved to catch his own optimistic spirit, and to join in his stirring oracle: —

> O world as God has made it! All is beauty;
> And knowing this, is love, and love is duty;
> What further may be sought for or declared?

Standing this evening in the presence of the unpicturable promise of the twentieth century, the Methodists of the whole world hail you as true and loyal fellow servants of our incarnate Lord, and in his name give you their heartiest godspeed.

Remarks by Dr. Plumb

Much has been said of the part that Congregationalists have played in the establishment of civil and religious liberty. We are reminded of what the apostle said, "Are they ministers of Christ? I more." Our Baptist friends may claim a like prominence, for in the forefront of this effort have always been our Baptist friends.

We shall hear now from Rev. Dr. Augustus Hopkins Strong, President of the Theological Seminary and Professor of Theology at Rochester, N. Y.

Address by President Augustus H. Strong, D.D., LL.D.

THE TRANSCENDENT ELEMENT IN THE CHURCH

Mr. President and Members of the International Congregational Council, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I respond to your gracious invitation to address you, with some due sense I trust of the dignity of the body which I address, and of the responsibility which rests upon me in assuming to speak for the four millions of my brethren in the United States who bear the Baptist name. I bring to you the assurance of their Christian fellowship, of their pride in your glorious past, and of their prayers to God for your future growth and prosperity. I can do this with the more sincere affection because I am a loyal son of Yale, and feel a personal debt of obligation which I can never fully repay to my revered teachers Woolsey and Porter and Hadley and Dwight and Fisher. One of the most vivid reminiscences of my college days is that of a cartoon, handed about in my class one morning, which depicted Prof. James Hadley trotting a small baby upon his knee to the tune of *Ton d'apomeibomenos prosephe polumetis Odusseus*, and this was the first announcement to the student world that President Arthur T. Hadley was born. With all these Homeric and paternal influences about me, it was a narrow escape for me that I

did not become a Congregationalist myself. I feel to-night that I am coming back to my friends.

But, entirely apart from all personal considerations, I am at home with you. Doctrinally and historically, the Congregational and the Baptist strands are woven closely together. Hall Caine says that the Deemster had two sons who were utterly unlike each other: they were as unlike as the inside and the outside of a bowl—but the bowl was old Deemster himself. So there are serious differences between Congregationalists and Baptists, but they both trace their descent from one common stock. Of course we think of ourselves as on the inside. Baptists indeed are only Congregationalists of the Congregationalists, Congregationalists raised to the *nth* power, Congregationalists who, as you will be apt to say, by our inhuman treatment of infants, out-Herod Herod with our Congregationalism. Baptist doctrine of the supremacy of Scripture, of each man's right to interpret Scripture for himself, of the duty of conforming the church to Scripture, this is the formative principle of Congregationalism. It is the doctrine of the Pilgrims. It is the Separatism to which the Pilgrims soon converted the Puritans of the Bay. Baptists think it is because we have held consistently to this kernel of your creed, its inmost principle of vitality, that we have grown to be in numbers the second denomination in the land.

The Baptist is only the quintessence of a Congregationalist, a Congregationalist not narrowed, but only condensed and boiled down. The quintessence of most things is volatile, and that accounts in part for our leaving you and setting up for ourselves. The missionary to the Maories in New Zealand, on returning from a vacation, found one of his converts missing, and in reply to his inquiries was told: "He gave us so much good advice that we had to eat him up." Roger Williams would possibly have stayed with you if you only had permitted him to give you good advice. But the greatest of vices is sometimes advice. It was the greatest vice of Roger Williams. You did not deal with him after the Maori fashion,—he would have been very indigestible. But you did intimate to him that Narragansett Bay would furnish him a better auditorium than Massachusetts Bay. So Roger Williams became first a Baptist, and then a Seeker, and gave us the right to maintain that a Baptist was the first to embody in a civil government the principle of entire religious liberty.

I acknowledge that at the first we Baptists had too much of the Separatist spirit. We carried our independence to an extreme. We were inclined to separate not only from the standing order, but also from our own churches. But during the last century we have gained a new sense of denominational unity, and, with this, a new sense of our oneness with the whole church of God throughout the world. We have learned something of the new zoölogy, which classifies by similarities rather than by differences. We are coming to emphasize the agreements more than we emphasize the disagreements, and we hope that soon denominational barriers, even if they continue to exist, will be completely hidden by the activities of the church, as the fences in the summer time are hidden by the growing corn. I am not sure but that we Baptists have learned something of our recent interdependence from you, our next neighbors in the Congregational faith. Your associations and consociations, your synods and councils, have been object lessons to us. We, too, have our non-legislative associations and national missionary societies, and there are many among us of late who urge that we add to our present system a new form of interdependence in the shape of permanent local councils, to which the individual churches of any given association may apply for advice.

But if we learned something of our *inter*dependence from you, I am inclined to think that in earlier times you learned something of your *in*-dependence from us, or at least from the Anabaptists who preceded us. You are apt to point to Robert Browne as the first proclaimer of religious liberty in England. But, as your distinguished historian, Williston Walker, has generously pointed out, Robert Browne came from Norwich, where more than half the population was composed of immigrants from the Netherlands. Many of these immigrants were Anabaptists, driven to England by persecution. There were Anabaptist conventicles at Norwich, and Robert Browne could hardly have been so near them without learning something from them. His own confession dates back only to 1582. But in 1575 Terwoort, the Anabaptist, had suffered martyrdom in London, declaring that "the true church of God is persecuted, but never persecutes." As early as 1560, indeed, John Knox quoted an English Anabaptist as claiming absolute freedom of conscience. Robert Browne's independency may possibly have been original with him, but it is certain that he was not the first advocate of soul-liberty in England. Is it not probable that he caught his independence from his next neighbors, the Anabaptists of Old England, even as later we may have caught a portion of our interdependence from you Congregationalists of New England? Is it likely that he and his followers would have taken refuge in Holland, if he had not known that the principles of religious liberty had come from Holland?

But whether you are a branch of the Baptists or we a branch of the Congregationalists is not a matter of so great importance. The really important thing is our agreement in the great essentials of the Christian faith and in our general conceptions of the Christian church through which that faith is expressed to the world. Both your fathers and ours contended that the church should be spiritual and scriptural. Our ancestors were with yours when they left home and country to establish such a church on these rocky shores. And so we, who went out from you, put in our claim to inheritance from those same fathers. We, too, share in the memory of that wind-swept graveyard of Plymouth, where during the first year were laid away a full half of those who came over as settlers in the *Mayflower*. We see something more than human in their persistent courage. Congregationalists and Baptists alike have suffered for their faith, and it is proof that there is a transcendent element in their conceptions of the church.

Abraham Lincoln defined the word transcendental by pointing to the swallow-holes in the banks of the Ohio River: "Take away the banks, and what is left will be transcendental." The word transcendent in my use of it is something different from this. I mean by it the invisible and eternal which lies at the basis of the visible and temporal. The transcendent element in man is the soul; for the soul, though itself spiritual, energizes and informs the body; without the soul indeed the body is not a true body, but a corpse instead. What, then, is the transcendent element in the church? It is Christ, and his life; for Christ is the soul of the church, and the church is essentially the body of Christ. Here is the ultimate ground and rationale of Christian union, that, as every believer is spiritually united to Christ, so all believers in all lands and ages are spiritually united to one another. It is this spiritual fellowship of the universal church of God which we celebrate to-night. I congratulate you and I congratulate myself that we all belong to this one body of Christ, and that through one common Holy Spirit we have access to the Father. Our differences are superficial: in our inmost heart

We are not divided,
All one body we,
One in hope and doctrine,
One in charity.

Our Congregational and Baptist fathers had this conception of an invisible and spiritual church. But they went further. They seized upon a principle which united Baptists and Congregationalists, but separated both these from other bodies of Christians. What was this principle of their common faith? It was this: They held that the invisible body of Christ was to have its characteristics reflected in visible form, and that there was a divinely appointed embodiment of this supersensible reality in the doctrine and organization, the ordinances and worship, of the church on earth. They did not regard the order of the visible church as merely human and optional; like Moses, they would constitute it after the pattern of heavenly things, the pattern which they had seen in the mount. That mount of vision they thought to be Holy Scripture. They had no manner of doubt that the Scriptures contained such a pattern, and they had no manner of doubt that the pattern there revealed was authoritative and final. To admit into their polity anything that was merely human, traditional, unscriptural, was to be false to that transcendent element which was the distinction and glory of the church of Christ.

If you seek for a symbol of that mechanical and external unity which is consistent with the church's deepest moral corruption, you can find it in the middle-age cathedral, with its long vistas of vaulted arches and colonnaded aisles, looming up before the traveler while he is yet miles away, the focus of many converging ways and the center of a whole city's adoration, yet, with all its height and space and gloom and glory, a mount of marble piled by human hands, with many a demon face grinning from gargoyle and clustered column to suggest the presence and power of the Evil One. The Pilgrims of 1625 had a fairer and nobler vision before them as they marched three by three, with muskets on their shoulders, up the rough street of Plymouth, between the rows of hewn-plank houses, to the square meeting-house on the hilltop with its six cannon planted on the roof. To them the church was something entirely distinct from the meeting-house; it was an invisible and spiritual structure; they were building it for a habitation of God through the Spirit; and, whether they knew it or not, the City of God, with its streets of gold and walls of jasper and gates of pearl, had already come down from God out of heaven, and God had begun to dwell with men. Being members of the body of Christ, they were themselves a holy temple in the Lord — a temple which should never crumble or dissolve, but whose lifetime was eternity. They were careful about the doctrine, the organization, the ordinances, the worship of the earthly church, only because they saw in it the temporal expression and concrete embodiment of the Jerusalem that is above.

Here is the secret of our independency as Congregationalists and as Baptists. All through the English Revolution under Cromwell, and through the American Revolution under Washington, Baptists and Congregationalists stood shoulder to shoulder in their struggle against ecclesiastical and civil tyranny — and that, because the Congregational principle recognizes every believer as a priest and a king, and can tolerate no intermediaries between him and Christ. When Wyclif preached his doctrine of lordship, he sowed the first seed of the Reformation in England; and when the Pilgrims proclaimed the sole lordship of Christ, they prepared the way in America for a church without a bishop and a state without a king. This principle has made you leaders in education, in

theology, and in missions. And why? Because the duty of each believer to take his part in the government of the church requires trained intelligence, and that means education; because this trained intelligence is under the law of Scripture, and the study of Scripture means an improved theology; because direct subjection to the law of Christ makes every believer responsible to the whole world for which Christ died, and this means modern missions.

During a lull in that awful massacre of the Armenian Christians at Sassoun, when the ground was thickly strewn with the mangled and the dead, and the savage Kurds were too tired further to pursue their work of slaughter, the fearful and unusual silence was broken by a question of one of those same Kurds: "Who is that 'Lord Jesus' that they were calling to?" It was the first time that the merciless dragoon had heard Christ's name, and he heard it uttered as Saul heard it uttered by the lips of Stephen. The pallid faces of those Armenian martyrs were turned to Christ, as Stephen's was, and they too cried in their death agonies, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" The overmastering conviction of the sole lordship of Christ has made your converts and ours willing in every land to suffer for his sake. No wonder that the unspeakable Turk fears your Congregational missions. He sees in them the preparation for free government, and the sign that Mohammedan tradition is nearing its fulfillment and Islam is giving way to the religion of the Cross.

You gave us our Rice and our Judson, and your American Board gave the impulse that led to the formation of our Missionary Union. Plymouth numbered only three hundred souls after ten years of settlement, but these three hundred have now increased two thousand fold. Yet it has been Baptists who have shown the greatest power of multiplication. When the critics tell you that Congregationalism dooms a church to confinement within the region where it is indigenous, you can tell them that Baptists are Congregationalists, and Baptists have shown that Congregational polity is no hindrance to the broadest expansion in a great and growing country like our own. When the critics say that Congregationalism is divisive and not unitary, that its voluntary principle has no organizing power, that individual believers and individual churches have nothing to draw them together, you can tell them that Baptists are Congregationalists, and that they are one, not only in the faith of their fathers, but in the work of spreading the gospel at home and abroad. When the critics say that Congregationalism lacks the power of a sacramental system because it teaches so much by words and so little by symbols, you can point to Baptists as proof that symbols, held to their office as symbols and counted worthless except as signs of a preëxisting faith, may have as great a power in a Congregational as in a sacramental system. Keep in mind the transcendent element in the church, make sure that Christ himself is with us, and the Congregational polity will answer every demand. For

> Mightier far than strength of nerve and sinew,
> Or sway of magic, potent over sun and star,
> Is LOVE.

The true sacramentalism is the abiding presence and energizing of the transcendent Christ. Even if Scripture gave us no model, or if the model given had no authority, still the voluntary and democratic polity is best on purely rational grounds, because most congruous with the true theory of the church as the body of Christ, and best adapted to reflect and express to the world the direct relation between the believer and his Lord. Congregational church polity is the best polity for very good people. Its

greatest merit is that for its successful working its members must live in constant communion with Christ. It would not be a better polity if it gathered the world into the church. Christ has made no provision for the Satanic possession of Christians. It is best that a church in which Christ does not dwell should by dissension or immorality reveal its weakness and fall to pieces; and any outward organization which conceals inward disintegration and compels a merely formal union after the Holy Spirit has departed is a hindrance instead of a help to true religion.

Let me quote to you an utterance of one of the most noble and godly of your fathers. About the year 1705, your own Increase Mather declared that "the Congregational church-discipline is not suited for a worldly interest or for a formal generation of professors. It will stand or fall, as godliness, in the power of it, does prevail or otherwise." That was less than a century after the landing of the Pilgrims, yet it was a day of religious declension, — which shows that the same danger to which the National Church in England had succumbed still attended the reformed churches in America. Increase Mather went on to say: "If the begun apostasy should proceed as fast the next thirty years as it has done these last, surely it will come to pass in New England (except the gospel depart with the order of it) that the most conscientious people therein will think themselves concerned to gather churches out of churches." And you know how that prediction was fulfilled. History has given abundant proof that Congregationalists and Baptists alike have grown and prospered because, and when, and just so far as they have kept in mind the transcendent element in the church.

I would summon all Congregationalists, and Baptists among them, to be proud of their polity and to defend their heritage. We have something which religious zeal and patriotism may well defend. And yet it is union with Christ, and not external union with any particular church that represents him, that binds us most closely together. Blood is thicker than water, and the atoning blood is more important than the baptism which merely symbolizes it. "Here," as our John Bunyan said so long ago, "here is a common ground of communion which no differences of external rites can efface." Burke said that "the nation is indeed a partnership, but a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are yet to be born." The church is a partnership grander still. It includes ten thousand times ten thousand who have gone to their rest, and a multitude whom no man can number who shall yet follow their example and share their reward. But there is a silent Partner, a transcendent Partner, more important still. It is Christ, the Son of God. Let us cultivate that personal relation to him which is the living ground of the church of Christ. Then the church shall not only live but grow. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Past increase shall be only, like Pentecost, a first fruits of the great world-harvest that is to come. God shall lead us out under the night-sky, as he led out Abraham, and pointing us to the myriads of heaven's host he shall say to us also, "*So* shall thy seed be!"

Quartette

Another selection was then sung by the Old South quartette.

Remarks by Dr. Plumb

The pulpit is often called a throne, and high among the thrones of influence in our land has always stood the Presbyterian pulpit. A very ex-

alted and prominent place in that pulpit has been occupied by the ministry of Brooklyn, N. Y. I remember three preachers in my early life to whom I used to listen with great delight, Presbyterian pastors in Brooklyn. Dr. Ichabod Spencer, the author of "A Pastor's Sketches," was one. I can still see the glance of his eye as he told us if we were not Christians to look upon the wall of our room every morning on waking and read there concerning our hearts the words, "Hardening through the deceitfulness of sin." I recall with delight the anniversary speeches of the eloquent Dutchman, rubicund and rollicking, a poet as well as a preacher, George W. Bethune, of Brooklyn Heights. There was still another, very brilliant and somewhat eccentric at the last, who used to electrify us on the floor of the General Assembly by his wonderful coruscations of wit and the exceeding copiousness of his vocabulary — Samuel Hanson Cox, father of the late Bishop Cox, of Buffalo. When Worcester's Dictionary came out, the eminent Chief Justice Shaw was told that it had so many thousand new words. "Don't let Choate hear of it," he said. Our friend Dr. Cox was quite independent of dictionaries, new or old. He could make his words as he went along. You remember, perhaps, his expression of contempt for academic degrees — "semilunar fardels" — a term which used to cling to them for a long time. But there came in due course of time to the pulpit of the First Presbyterian church of Brooklyn a man of such superior learning and modest grace, and withal of such charming personality, as to prove himself one of the most winsome men in all the Presbyterian pulpit.

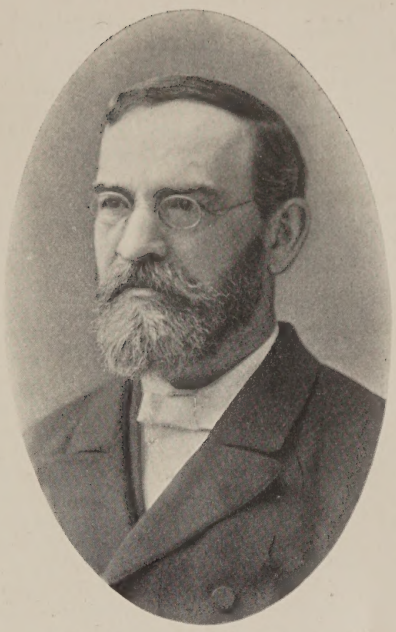
I have great pleasure in introducing as the next speaker, Rev. Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall, now President of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Address by President Charles Cuthbert Hall, D.D.

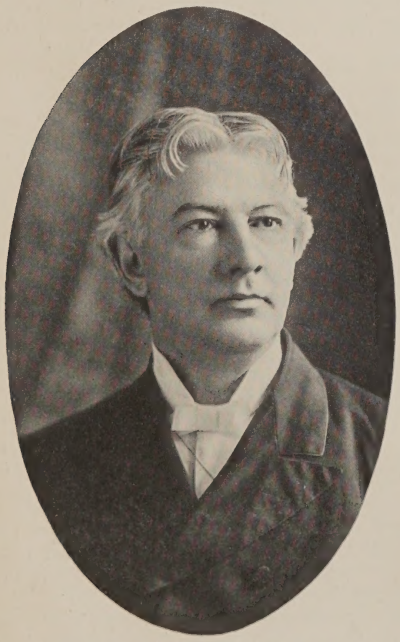
Fathers and Brethren, — It is a striking illustration of the sequence and rotation of interests within the universal church of Christ that, as the proceedings of the International Council of Congregationalists draw to an end, and the hour of its dissolution approaches, the first notes of praise announce the opening of an assembly that represents a world-wide Presbyterianism. Not only is America honored in being permitted to entertain successively within her bounds these two epoch-making conferences; the whole Christian world is edified by beholding in such close geographical and temporal proximity these two prolonged and serious sessions of men gathered from afar, at great expense of time and money, to ponder and pray over the religious and social problems that lie within the opening gates of another century. It is difficult to overestimate the moral value of such deliberations as these; undertaken in a spirit of love; conducted on a commanding plane of intellectual dignity; penetrated with the flavor of evangelical truth; and published to the world by a generous newspaper press, which must be looked upon as one of the most efficient agents of social progress.

It may scarcely be questioned that the ethical and religious advances of society are accomplished by deliberation far more than by legislation; that the popular discussion of principles avails for the culture of righteousness beyond the enactment of legal commandments; that the press, sowing broadcast among the people the earnest utterances of these conciliar platforms, advances the causes of religious liberty and evangelization, fortifies the public conscience, and serves the pacific purpose of the Spirit of God more than many statutes written in the books of the law.

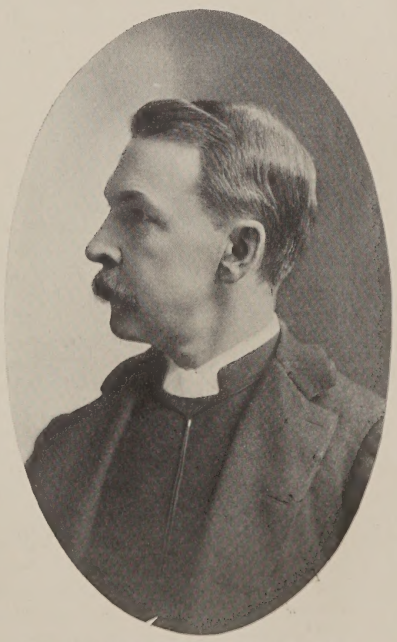
PRES. AUGUSTUS H. STRONG, D.D., LL.D.,
Rochester, N. Y.



PRES. WILLIAM F. WARREN, D.D.,
Boston, Mass.



REV. ALBERT J. LYMAN, D.D.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.



PRES. CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL, D.D.,
New York, N. Y.

It is very meet and right and (one may almost add) our bounden duty that between the two polities represented in these International Councils of Congregational and Presbyterian churches there should pass the direct and positive expressions of Christian love and mutual confidence.

The existence of denominational organisms within the body of Christ shall neither retard its health nor misrepresent it before the world so long as the relations of diverse polities to one another are rational, sober, and thoroughly Christian relations. It is not denominationalism that has from time to time smitten the church with a curse and made her the derision of unbelievers. It is the unhallowed enmity, the irrational persecution, the supercilious contempt, the haughty self-seclusion which at times but too well remembered and from quarters but too well known have usurped the philosophical principle of denominationalism and misapplied it in the interest of ecclesiastical intolerance or of worldly ambition. For the principle of denominationalism, which is the principle of differentiation in temperament and function within the vast membership of the church of Christ, is truly a philosophical and rational principle. I am quite sure that it lies in the nature of things; that it is not an arbitrary and artificial principle superimposed, through the weakness or folly of men, upon a fundamental possibility of absolute uniformity. Denominationalism is a psychological necessity. It arises from fundamental differentiations of temperament and function in the constitutions of men. It is not an abnormal condition of the church. Its absence would be anomalous. It is true that it has been accentuated and thrown up into high light because of the acute vicissitudes of civil and religious history; but the denominations of the church of Christ were not created by its controversies. Controversies but accentuated preëxisting psychical conditions, fundamental in all human life, and potentially present in seasons of perfect peace.

Undoubtedly many persons may be found among the adherents of every denomination whose church connection represents no special psychological adaptation, but is rather the result of family inheritance, traditional loyalty, local opportunity, or some other minor cause. But the persistence of denominational types from generation to generation bears witness to causes that lie far beneath the levels of controversy or convenience. The persistence of denominational types in the polity of the church reflects and confirms the persistence of temperamental and functional types in the constitutions of successive individuals. One recalls the distinction powerfully drawn by St. Paul between an outward and conventional Judaism and an inward and spiritual conformity to the faith of Israel: "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter." Analogous to this distinction is that which may be drawn between a conventional and casual denominationalism and a psychical and necessary denominationalism.

There are adherents of one polity or another polity whose ecclesiastical relations are avowedly matters of inheritance or matters of convenience rather than matters of conscience. There are those who pass lightly from one polity to another, affirming with a sincerity not to be impugned that such changes are unimportant and involve no vital conviction. On the other hand, history (especially Post-Reformation history) will support the statement that in the several branches of the evangelical church the leadership of great constructive movements has been allotted, as by a law of divine selection, to men whose ecclesiastical connection was determined not

by inheritance, not by convenience, but by psychological and spiritual necessity. These men were what they were, whether conformists or nonconformists, not outwardly and in the letter, but inwardly and in the spirit, by reason of a natural and involuntary adaptation which made it impossible for them to be otherwise except by the suppression of God-given individuality. From time to time this resistless force of psychological adaptation has been seen to operate along the lines of episcopacy and prelacy, as when Archibald Campbell Tait is borne onward from the Presbyterian household of his Edinburgh boyhood to the Archbishopric of Canterbury; or as when John Henry Newman, beginning his life work as the Protestant curate of St. Clement's, Oxford, ends it as a member of the college of Roman cardinals. But if one would see the most striking examples of that law of psychological necessity which makes denominationalism a deep and vital function of human experience rather than the mere unhappy fruit of controversy, one should look for them in the splendid annals of dissent and nonconformity. The history of nonconformity may be interpreted from two points of view. It may be regarded merely as the sum of occasional protests against what was regarded by the Protestants as ecclesiastical tyranny or corruption. From this point of view dissent has been condemned as schism, an interruption of historic continuity, a rebellious inroad upon the completeness and sphericity of the Catholic church. But there is a totally different point of view from which the history of open dissent and nonconformity may be regarded and interpreted. It has, from time to time, been the irrepressible evidence of the persistence of a certain mental and spiritual type. To deny the existence of this type is impossible. To presuppose its perpetual non-expression would be folly. In the nature of things that which is must reveal itself. "There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, neither hid that shall not be known." The living fire sooner or later shows itself in heat or light. The living conviction in the heart of man, whatever it may be, sooner or later finds voice and utterance. "If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out."

There may be the rising up of providential leaders, as when James Haldane hands over his paternal estate to Sir Robert Abercromby. Or there may be the acute crises of controversy, as when, on that immortal day in 1843, David Welsh arises in St. Andrew's church to read the solemn protest; and then, bowing to the Marquess of Bute, as bidding farewell to a state that had turned a deaf ear to the appeals of earnest men, withdraws to the hall at Tanfield, with Chalmers, Gordon, McFarlan, Macdonald, and four hundred others in his train. These uprisen leaders, these providential crises liberate, but do not generate, the forces of dissent. Those forces are preëxistent to the souls of like-minded men; awaiting the hour of their deliverance into the free air of speech and action. From this point of view nothing appears more unlikely than the accomplishment of a placid uniformity within the whole Christian church. So long as men are men, they must differentiate under persistent types. Uniformity of doctrine, uniformity of order, uniformity of ritual throughout the whole Christian society, could it be brought about by the edict of some central authority, would be but a superficial concealment of persistent variations. Far more wholesome is open nonconformity than secret or suppressed dissent. Better the parting of the ways than the shackling together of incongruous religious individualities.

The world is wide, and the one great arch of God's sky is broad. The soul, like the body, finds more joy and strength in service, on the free hills where the foot is untrammeled, than in the prison lock-step of compulsory subscription. All flesh is not the same flesh; one star

differeth from another star; one soul seeth, feeleth, speaketh not as another soul; yet is there one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all; who is above all, and through all, and in us all. So long as these types persist in the human family, from which have come the modified dissent of Presbyterianism and the virile strength of Independency, the one thing most to be desired for the health, happiness, and efficiency of the church which Christ hath purchased with his own blood, is not organized uniformity, but spiritual comprehension; not identity of opinion or identity of practice, but the gathering together in Christ of men that represent temperamental and functional variations. Speaking as a Presbyterian, and as one who is a Presbyterian not alone by the sacred bonds of ancestry and affection, but also, as it would appear, by psychological necessity, I would give utterance to two convictions: —

On the one hand, spiritual comprehension of one another by those who represent, within Presbyterian lines, temperamental and functional variations in matters of theological and critical opinion is the one thing, next to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, most to be desired in that church at the present time, more especially in America. The future peace, growth, and efficiency of that honored church depend, under God, very largely on the frank, mutual recognition of rights of conservatism and rights of dissent in matters of opinion. On the other hand, nowhere within the bounds of the church of Christ does the principle of spiritual comprehension find more satisfactory illustration than in the Congregational church. Whatever else may pertain to the mission of Congregationalism in Christendom, its educational value as an object lesson in spiritual comprehension cannot be overestimated. Here is allowance for temperamental variation. Here is a balanced liberty of opinion and method. Here is centralization around Christ and the gospel of Christ. Here are simplicity, frankness, and the trust of man in man.

If one who believes in the mission of Presbyterianism might offer one word of counsel to men of the seed of Edwards and Doddridge, it would be this: Protect your independency. Let no man take your crown. For Christian independency is the root of enduring brotherhood in Christ.

Benediction and Adjournment

At the conclusion of the exercises, the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D., of England, and the Council adjourned until 9.30 o'clock, Thursday morning.

Thursday, September 28, 1899

MORNING SESSION

Devotional Service

The morning prayer and praise service was led at nine o'clock by the Rev. Joseph Robertson, M.A., of Adelaide, South Australia.

Session Convened

The Council met at 9.30, President Angell in the chair.

The hymn "How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord," was sung, and the Rev. William H. Davison, M.A., of Scotland, offered prayer.

The Future of the Council

The committee on the future of the Council presented the following report through its chairman, Dr. Mackennal.

Report on the Future of the Council

The committee appointed to consider the future of the Council reports as follows: —

First, That in its judgment, such councils of representatives of national associations of Congregational churches as have already been held in London and Boston should continue to be held periodically at intervals of from five to ten years, as may from time to time appear desirable.

Second, That each Council, before rising, appoint a provisional committee of fifteen, including the secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and the secretary of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States, to discharge the duties which may be assigned to it by the Council, and that this committee have power to fill vacancies in its own number, and in any other appointments of the Council.

Third, That to this committee be assigned the work of preparing for the ensuing Council, at the time and place fixed by the rising Council, and to determine time and place if these be not fixed, or if the resolution of the Council on this matter be found impracticable.

Fourth, That this committee be also charged with these special duties *inter alia*: —

(*a*) To encourage the mutual intercourse of the National Congregational Associations, and to appoint deputations representing the

International Council to attend meetings of the National Congregational Unions, where this is deemed desirable;

(*b*) To confer with other international bodies representing evangelical churches, and to appoint delegates to attend their meetings.

Fifth, That the provisional committee appointed by this Council is hereby instructed to consider the question of a constitution for the Councils, and, if it see fit, present a draft at the next Council.

Sixth, That, until a constitution is adopted, each Council shall appoint a president and six vice-presidents, a secretary and six assistants, a registrar, a treasurer, and an auditor, of whom the secretary, auditor, and treasurer shall report to the next Council; and that the president, secretaries, auditor, and treasurer shall be *ex officiis* members of the provisional committee.

Seventh, That the provisional committee be authorized to raise money for the discharge of the expenses of carrying these resolutions into effect.

Eighth, That this Council appoint a provisional committee under clause two, and that this committee hold its first meeting before or immediately after the rising of this Council.

Supplementary Report

The committee on the future of the Council made a supplementary report as follows: —

Place for Next International Council

That the chairman is instructed to report to the Council that two invitations have been received for the next Council — one from Montreal, one from Sydney. The committee has shared with the Council the gratification that these invitations have given. After some consideration of them the committee found itself not in possession of information which would warrant a decision to accept one or the other of them. Suggestions were also before the committee that other National Congregational Associations might wish to present invitations. The committee reports this to the Council, expressing its own judgment that so important a question should be referred to the provisional committee for deliberate judgment and decision.

These reports were unanimously adopted.

Message of Greeting

The following telegram of greeting was received from the International Presbyterian Council in session in Washington, D. C.

TELEGRAM

"To Rev. Dr. Angell, President International Congregational Council:

"The General Presbyterian Council assembled in Washington offers fraternal greetings to the International Congregational Council. Hoping that the divine blessing may rest abundantly upon the sessions of the Council and upon the churches represented,

"(Signed) J. MARSHALL LANG."

Response to the Presbyterian Council

In response to this telegram President Angell sent the following message of greetings by telegraph to the International Presbyterian Council: —

TELEGRAM

"To Rev. Dr. Marshall Lang, President International Presbyterian Council, Washington, D. C.

"The International Congregational Council begs to thank the Presbyterian brethren for their loving message. We have appointed Rev. Charles H. Richards, D.D., of Pennsylvania, delegate to bear in person our salutations to your Council. He goes with our prayers that your meeting may receive the special blessing of God and quicken the spiritual life of your churches, which have done so much to establish the kingdom of God on earth.

"JAMES B. ANGELL,
"*President International Congregational Council.*"

Report of Committee on Decorating Samuel Johnson's Grave

Rev. President James W. Strong, D.D., of Minnesota, chairman, made the following report for the committee appointed to decorate the grave of Samuel Johnson: —

REPORT

The report which your committee has the honor to present is simply such a statement of procedure as is necessary to a complete and satisfactory record of the Council's action. Early in the sessions of this Council upon motion of Hon. Samuel B. Capen, of Massachusetts, it was unanimously voted — to quote the phraseology used — "that the Rev. President James W. Strong, D.D., of Minnesota, Rev. William J. Woods, B.A., of England, secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, Rev. Michael Burnham, D.D., of Missouri, and Rev. James Wylie, of Ireland, chairman of the Irish Congregational Union, be constituted a committee of the Council to bear a tribute of flowers to the grave of Samuel Johnson, so dearly beloved by us all, who, before his death, had invited the

delegates of the Council, many prominent Congregational ministers and laymen, and representatives of other denominations, to a reception and collation at the Hotel Vendome." (See page 79.)

On the morning of the twenty-second of September this committee fulfilled the wish of the Council and completely covered with flowers the graves of Samuel Johnson and Mrs. Johnson — side by side — in the cemetery at Mount Auburn. The chairman made brief remarks and read selections from the fourteenth chapter of the Gospel of John and the twenty-second chapter of Revelation. Dr. Burnham offered prayer, and all the members of the delegation shared in arranging the flowers upon the grave. Thus by their representatives in this International Council the Congregational churches on both sides of the Atlantic honored the memory of their beloved and revered dead.

In behalf of the committee,
JAMES W. STRONG, *Chairman.*

The report was accepted.

The hymn "A charge to keep I have" was sung.

At this point Vice-President Mackennal took the chair.

Address

Rev. Albert Josiah Lyman, D.D., of New York, pastor of the South Congregational church, Brooklyn, delivered an address on Independence and Fellowship.

ADDRESS BY REV. ALBERT J. LYMAN, D.D.

INDEPENDENCE AND FELLOWSHIP

"Twenty to thirty minutes" was the courteous and rather elastic assignment of time indicated by the committee for this paper — an allowance surely generous enough in these crowded sessions, and it should be a point of honor not to overstep this limit. Formal discussion, therefore, of the topic given to me is impossible.

Indeed, I would prefer to make my simple word only a kind of brief "American preface," so to speak, to the "English work" which is to follow on the same topic from the lips of that honored leader of Congregationalism in England, Dr. John Brown of Bedford, the sixth pastor, I believe, in the line of apostolic succession from John Bunyan. Dr. Brown and I took a kind of modern pilgrim's progress together ten days ago on the *Oceanic*, and I am bound to say that on certain unsteady days, as we caromed along the deck we both managed to illustrate beautifully both the theory and practice of nonconformity.

I shall not, then, enter upon any general discussion of Congregational polity. I shall not hazard an exegesis which, even seeking to be Scriptural, so easily becomes sectarian. Nor shall I more than hint at our good old simile of the two foci in the ellipse to illustrate the beautiful balance still believed to exist between independence and fellowship in ideal Congregationalism. Perhaps that simile of the ellipse, by the way, has been just a little overworked. The trouble with the foci is that they are apt to be stationary. What we need is force, is movement rather

more than focus. Therefore, simply doffing our hats at these gates of academic discussion, let us pass swiftly on to state briefly, and even baldly, one or two practical considerations which just now impart to our old dual watchword a somewhat sharpened accent of immediate and critical concern.

And in this preface to Dr. Brown I can speak, of course, only of our American churches. I do not know how these things appear in the motherland.

We know well enough what we Congregationalists mean by "independence." It is what we otherwise call the "autonomy of the local church." We know what we mean by "fellowship." It is the principle of fraternal coöperation between the churches. We believe that these two principles, though in some sense contraries, can be harmoniously and efficiently combined in church life. Whether we are so combining them is another story to be read by observing results. What results do we observe? In other words, though in a ponderous way of putting it, what is the present condition and drift of our denomination? On this large field let us put only one practical question and put it flatly and even bluntly. Trying ourselves on the generous scale of comparison with our brethren of other Protestant communions, do we or do we not observe in our churches a certain lack of aggressive enterprise, with possibly even indifference to such enterprise?

Not that as a denomination we are not doing fairly well. Fairly well is not well enough. We are not ashamed of the record in our churches, in our colleges, in our missionary fields, to name which at present is almost to "*feel* the touch of a vanished hand," for American Congregationalism recognizes not only the "sharpness of death," but the power of an indissoluble life as it vividly recalls to-day the noble gifts, the genial manliness, the beautiful devotion of the late President of the American Board.

But we are asking more than whether we are doing well. We are asking whether matched with other Christian communions we are keeping pace with them. We would be chary of criticising others, but fearless in criticising ourselves. How is it in the matter of the growth of our churches, of church expansion, if the word may be permitted — "expansion" is perhaps permissible if the word "church" precedes it? How is it especially with the establishment of new churches in metropolitan centers? We must do very well indeed to match in these particulars with our brethren of other communions. Are we doing very well indeed? Or are we, to echo a recent phrase from distinguished lips, "marking time instead of marching."

And if anything of charge be true, as a certain vague disquiet among us seems to indicate that it may be true, then the question arises whether these two great sentiments, the sentiment of local church independency on the one hand, and the sentiment of church fellowship on the other, may not partly neutralize each other in the present changed conditions of social feeling instead of coöperating as complementary forces in securing a swift and aggressive advance.

For if, under the fierce and splendid stimulus of the time, any subtle division of sentiment were making itself manifest among us, might it not disclose itself at this point, not so much along the line of doctrinal debate as upon the practical question whether independence or fellowship shall receive the controlling accent in the present readjustment of church activities.

I am not so much troubled about discussion or even division in the field of doctrinal belief. The great speculative and critical debate which is

rocking the last decade of our century is not in itself an evil; for it leads both parties back to the Scriptures, back to the soul of man. And as in the great creed-making epochs of the past, so now also such doctrinal debate is a providential agent in the elucidation of truth. It is the tremendous, but necessary, readjustment of storm — "the removing of those things which are shaken as of things that are made, that the things which cannot be shaken may remain."

But ecclesiastical discrepancy between men who put independence first and fellowship second, and men who put fellowship first and independence second, may result in practical deadlock. When the starboard oar is pulling hard and the port oar is backing water, the boat simply turns round and round; or, to drop a poor figure — and adopt a poorer one probably — we all agree that both independence and fellowship shall ride in the Congregational carriage; but which shall drive? While you are settling that practical question, the practical horse stands practically still. For this is the practical question between Old-School Congregationalism and New-School Congregationalism.

Take an instance, presumed to be imaginary. When half the leaders in a certain Congregational conference, for example, hold so stoutly by the autonomy of the individual church as to be jealous of every fancied encroachment upon it by council or missionary board or even local church extension society, and other leaders in that same conference are so filled with the new ideals of social effort, of business combination, or corporate denominational enterprise, as to increase the emphasis upon committee, conference, and council, why, Congregationalism in that section will simply not get on; that boat will simply turn round and round; because the two great integral forces are balancing each other in the sense of neutralizing each other.

Now one sees with half an eye that something like this is actually coming to be the case here and there among us. Because from the tumult of the time emerges every instant more plainly the possibility of this cleavage in our Congregational fold. On the one hand is the superb veteran corps of Old-School Congregationalists, typified in this country, for example, not to name living men, by such a man as the late Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, who held that Congregationalism is not a sect; that there is no such thing as "The Congregational Church of America," but only individual Congregational churches. Noble men these, echoing the ancient Puritan war-cry of freedom and nonconformity and holding to the supreme right of each body of believers under Christ wherein each church is a complete Republic of God.

The function of Congregationalism is thus unique, so these men feel; it is not that of sectarian propaganda, nor in rivalry with other sects, but, as once Henry Ward Beecher said to me, I remember, "One Congregational church to about three Methodist and two Presbyterian and, perhaps, two Episcopal, is about as much Congregationalism as the community can stand or calls for."

On the other hand is a group of earnest and, for the most part, younger men who represent the new movement in Congregationalism; of which the phenomenal growth of Congregational churches in the city of Chicago, for example, during the last two decades may be taken as a type. These men, and there are no better Congregationalists, have the conviction that independency has had its day, and that the providence of God is now leading the church into a new era, wherein the great thought is society, the discovery of social facts, the harnessing of social forces, — combination, fellowship, corporate life and work. They feel that Congregationalism must share this drift; that it *is* a denomination in the sense of being a

distinctive and corporate social force; that it must emphasize its denominational life, adopt corporate and social methods, concentrate its energies, consolidate its benevolent boards, perhaps; at any rate, more perfectly correlate them; and, not in rivalry with other communions, but in generous emulation with them, and with similar unity of method, must I launch upon the community its own noble propaganda, swiftly swinging to meet the age; without any surrender, however, of essential ideas.

Now, it is further perfectly evident that each of these wings of modern Congregationalism possesses an indisputable and indispensable truth; and the living question for our body in the coming century is, whether these two classes of men can pull together. Can this be done? I believe it can be done and will be done. But how? Not by any conference or debate between the two, nor by any mere readjustment of these dual factors, but by the realization of a third factor or class of factors.

And here opens the particular consideration which I venture to urge today. For we Congregationalists, in our rather vain dualism, have too much forgotten a principle as true in the realm of ideas as in physical nature, — that two counterbalancing forces are turned into coöperating forces by the presence of a third and higher force which coördinates them. In this hall it is yonder splendid roof which connects these two separated walls, both holding them apart and holding them together, making the two-ness which of itself is a weakness into a one-ness, full of beauty and strength. Church independence and church fellowship simply oscillate with a tendency towards quiescence, a perpetual ecclesiastical seesaw, save as a third force impels both into the swift rush of two oars pulling at the same instant, of two wings in simultaneous stroke.

Congregationalism is peculiar in this: That made up as it is of two antithetic sentiments, it becomes powerless except in the presence of a third overmastering energy, which must be purely spiritual. But where and in what field shall this energy be realized? And here I shall advance an idea which is perhaps contrary to the sentiment of many Congregationalists, differing certainly from the traditional sentiment of Congregationalists in the mother country. The third and uniting factor is to be found — if I mistake not, in a new and larger conception of the function of our Congregationalism — in its relation to other communions in the Church Universal.

For modern investigation in every department is surely reminding us that the outward equation of life is to be found in structure plus environment. As to our Congregational structure we have nothing to change, we have nothing more to add. Its formula is stated in our present and historic phrase — independence and fellowship, a formula which is to our judgment complete and symmetrical — two equal slopes that shoulder in toward each other up to the mountain summit. But what vision flashes upon us from that summit? What do we behold? For our third factor we are to look off from that summit to our environment, to our errand; and this in two aspects. First, in our relation to other Christian communions; second, in our relation to society at large and the advancement of Christ's kingdom therein. In other words, the spiritual energy that will blend our otherwise dual and incompatible independence and fellowship and so swiftly and incessantly translate a balance of quiescence into a balance of power, is a kind of rediscovery of our specific function in and with other communions, in carrying forward the cause of Christ.

For we are not the only religious communion, nor the largest in numbers or in means; nor is our polity the only legitimate polity. Indeed, the deeper logic of our own principles commands us to go beyond the mere sentiment of affiliation — commands to honor the claim and believe

in the errand of other communions in their several fields. Not that we need to slacken our conviction that Congregationalism is the best and most Scriptural polity in the world — *for us*. But there are several kinds of best in God's many-roomed mansions, and the true best in each instance is the sum of a method added to a man. You cannot ask all men into the same church. As well ask Peter to take Paul's place on Mars Hill. As well impose upon the ethereal canvas of Raphael the titanic brush of Angelo.

It is related that in the Continental Congress Mr. Jay, member for New York, spoke against opening the proceedings, on one occasion, with prayer, on the ground that upon the floor of the Congress were Episcopalians, Quakers, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and they would hardly be able all to join in the same act of worship. Whereupon Mr. Adams, a Congregationalist from Boston, Mass., arose and said that he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from any man who was a lover of his country. He then moved that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, read prayers in the presence of the Congress. The motion prevailed. Prayers were read. So were the wings of religious fellowship spread over the cradle of the American republic by the hand of a Congregationalist from Boston.

The incident was typical and prophetic. We Congregationalists must always take the initiative in this direction.

What is needed is much more than mere amiable and kindly sentiment toward other denominations. What we need is intelligent honor for them as for ourselves, under the rational and driving passion of the conviction that all the great denominations are mutually necessary parts of one immense Christian force, masterful because varied, and by its very variety adapted the better to work and to save. This is scientific Congregationalism, the larger Congregationalism, the coming Congregationalism, namely, the conviction that each great denomination historically developed is a product of divine Providence, moving along the lines of necessary social evolution. Our own denomination takes its specific place and function among these, and all are interacting, coöperating toward one transcendent end. The sublimely rational urgency of the "*unitas in diversitate*" is behind the special office of each. And the main force of this proposition stands, whatever subordinate defects any denomination has. Our function, therefore, is initial and unique. Swinging aloft our own logic as our banner up into the light, we are, under its warrant, everywhere to start the coöperative enginery among the denominations as well as among ourselves. We are to be the pioneers of the cosmopolitan in Christianity.

The army cannot spare any of its regiments, and the fiery finial of regimental enthusiasm is the sense of the place of the regiment in the army. It is for us Congregationalists to reassert this principle, not the mere emotion of Christian fraternalism, but the working principle that a variety of departments, a federated family of denominations is a product of life, an order of law, a phase of progress, a source of power, provided the sense of underlying unity is made and kept regnant through them all. And we are to stand sponsors for this underlying unity.

Our duty, then, is different from what it would be if all Christians were Congregationalists or ought to be Congregationalists. We are to stand for the unity of the many-battalioned church, together with the legitimacy of each great body composing it. We must set the pace — who better than we? — in the practice not only of generous comity between the denominations, but more than that. We must strike the note of rational, strenuous, instant, definite coöperation in Christian work. This is what we are for. Everywhere in city and country we must take the initiative in these things. We might even conceivably help the Presbyterians and

Episcopalians again to see eye to eye through our lens, as they did in the Continental Congress long ago. We might offer some sort of connective link between Methodists and Baptists. Who better than we? We must stand for the dual principle of individual denominational right plus interdenominational coöperation. Somebody must do this, and always start in, as we say, to do it, and we are the somebody; because we have the large and loving logic that lies behind it.

Of course it is perfectly evident that this general conception of Congregationalism is radically different from that which makes of it a mere plea for independency or a protest against an establishment, but it has the profounder logic of Pauline ecclesiology behind it.

I suppose St. Paul was in this sense a Congregationalist when he wrote that twelfth chapter of First Corinthians, about the "many members in one body"; or, to take another simile — perhaps inferior, yet also Pauline — we are to support other regiments in the army as well as fight at our own gate. Let us have among our own body the utmost *esprit de corps*. But the sense of the army must even dominate the sense of the regiment. The army is the thing.

And all the more because it is, our special function in it becomes reasonable and permanent and commanding. Free, democratic, "out in the open," as we are (rather too much out in the open, some people think), yet loyal to the one Christian banner, we Congregationalists have a double duty. We are in some sense sentinels: we are scouts; we are rangers for the entire body of the forces. In the great evangelical battle against intellectual falseness and moral wrong we hover here and there along the entire front of the fight. We are to be ever on the firing line. We glory in our separate insignia, but we are set forever to bear with us through all the field the instant and thrilling message that the army is one. And speaking simply for myself, I would say further that surely we should carry this so far as to include in this practical fellowship all whose souls acknowledge Jesus as Master, however otherwise distant from us they may be in their forms of belief. He who loves Christ is my brother, call him Unitarian or call him Romanist if you will.

Well, is all this rodomontade, or does not the conception convey at least some far-off hint and foregleam of what we are to strive unto in the years before us? Make whatever deduction from this view you please on the ground that churches are not what they ought to be; that inferior forms of church organization are to be criticised; that organized ecclesiastical Christendom is not precisely coincident with the real church, it yet remains true that this large sense of our place in the church universal, that we are to sound the bugle and lead the march for federated Christian activity, — this it is which will give the permanent, rational fire and push to our specific denominational life. It gives to it on the large scale intellectual and Christian dignity. It provides the larger *raison d'être*, issuing in a commanding and constant enthusiasm which will coördinate our dual forces, our independence and fellowship, and make them pull as one.

But all this even is not yet quite the heart of the matter. This by itself, enkindling as it is, would fail. The unity of the army is unity in the Chief Captain of the army — the Lord himself. Ah! he is more than Captain. The thrilling martial analogy is yet inadequate. Is it a mystic's dream that he is the one personal, present, divine Life at the heart of all true Christian communions? The supremely unifying energy between an independence apt to become weak through isolation and a fellowship apt to become weak through compromise is a deeper realization of Jesus Christ, a profounder grasp upon the nature of his kingdom

among men, and our office as a denomination to interpret the blended law and liberty of his gospel.

I have not time even to hint at the radiant vistas of thought which open here. Oh, Independence and Fellowship! You are both great angels, but of yourselves you are rather wide asunder and cannot see eye to eye, save in the realized presence of the Son of God. In his light they each see light. Independence becomes humble enough to be fraternal, and fellowship becomes truthful enough to be free.

Congregationalism is the poorest of all polities for a state of religious lethargy. The glory of our order is what its combination of diverse factors enables it to achieve under the stimulus of aroused religious purpose. The economic weakness of our order is that this very interplay of factors becomes inoperative the moment that spiritual purpose is withdrawn. For Congregationalism is a spiritual polity in this sense — that it requires spirit to make it work successfully; it is spiritual if we define spiritual as the union of free intelligence with religious passion; it is spiritual because its wheels do not move save as there is a "Living Spirit within the wheels."

This, then, in hurried and meager outline, is the bare suggestion of what cannot but seem to me the superb and spiritual idea which shall unify and inspire our otherwise dual denominational life — the sense of our special office and function in the larger fellowship of the church universal, and beyond that, the living sense of Christ himself and of our peculiar errand in his broad and beautiful and mighty kingdom of truth and grace.

In the power and glory of these ideas we shall not be afraid to be a denomination. We must be, and we must push forward our denominational life. We shall get together more than we are doing now, and yet each church will hold its own. More than we have done as yet; more than we are doing now; we shall respond to the social drift; we shall incorporate the social ideals; we shall obey the social law in these tremendous and prophetic decades of social evolution and progress. And yet the old, white, free flame will not cease to burn in individual churches and pulpits. In a word, is not this what we need, dear brethren, more and higher *comradeship* in our Congregationalism, yet keeping it Congregationalism — *comradeship* all along the line, upward, inward, outward; upward and never less than adoring toward our Divine Leader and Saviour, inward among ourselves, and outward toward our brethren of every communion, and even of no communion, in Christ's name!

Address

Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D., of England, pastor of the Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, followed Dr. Lyman with an address on the same topic, Independence and Fellowship.

Address by Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D.

INDEPENDENCE AND FELLOWSHIP

I have been asked to speak to you on independence and fellowship in church life. The title suggests at once the problem as to how we can best reach that ideal point where we get the most effective combined action of all the churches, and at the same time secure the freest play of personal character and individuality in each. This is not merely an ecclesiastical problem. It is the problem of healthful, vigorous life in the family, of

citizenship in the community, and of nationality in the state. An extreme either way works evil. Excessive individualism loses the advantages resulting from combination, and substitutes monotony for variety in the life forces of the community. There are some men like that Acesius, the Novatian, to whom Constantine said: "Ho! ho! Acesius; set up a ladder for yourself and climb up to heaven alone"; but it is bad for the men themselves and bad also for the brethren with whom they refuse to act on honorable terms. Still, there is also danger on the other side. Too much combination, excessive organization, cramps the action of that true individuality which is the very salt of life, and turns what is vital into that which is merely mechanical. The point to be aimed at, of course, in church life, is to secure the advantages resulting from both — free, healthful individuality, and vigorous combination. The first Christian churches seem to have been able to do this in the most natural way. Fullness of spiritual life in the individual craved for brotherliness in the community. They probably had no theories on the subject and they needed none. The new life from heaven made channels for itself. As soon as they became believers they became communities, and as fast as the communities multiplied they recognized each other as several parts of a common brotherhood. When the church in Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John; and when at Antioch a great number believed and turned unto the Lord, the same church sent Barnabas to inspect and report, and he came back glad of heart to tell what God had done. Salutations were sent from Christian to Christian, and from one church to the rest of the churches. Hospitality was enjoined and practiced among the brotherhoods. Gaius was not only "my host" to the apostle Paul, but also to the whole church. In a time of famine and scarcity it was the good pleasure of the brethren in Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor among the saints that were at Jerusalem. The brethren at Rome were enjoined to receive a Christian sister from Cenchreæ in the Lord, worthily of the saints, and to assist her in whatsoever matter she may have need of them. When Timothy left Corinth to rejoin the apostle he was to be set forward on his journey in peace by the brethren; and the apostle himself was of the same church set forward on his journey into Judea. As Professor Ramsay has said, it would hardly be possible to exaggerate the share which frequent intercourse between separate congregations had in moulding the development of the church. Most of the documents in the New Testament are the products and monuments of this intercourse. They all attest in numberless details the vivid interest which the scattered communities took in one another.

In post-apostolic times also the community feeling still prevailed among the churches. The Epistle of Clement shows that the condition of things in the church at Corinth was matter of grave concern to their brethren in Rome. And whether the Ignatian Epistles are genuine or false, they are valid as evidence of the intercommunion existing among the churches. As the martyr is on his way to Rome deputations of honored brethren are sent from churches off the road to meet him, and convoy him, and assure him of their love and sympathy. There seems to have been a regular, established chain of communication, as we gather from the rapidity with which the news of his progress was sent round, so that deputations from Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles were ready to visit him in Smyrna; and news from Antioch which was unknown to him in Smyrna reached him in Troas.

From other sources also we gather that long after New Testament times the members of one church received the members of other churches to

hospitality; letters of commendation were given and received; apostles, prophets, and teachers moved to and fro among the various churches, tarrying and teaching here and there, and so begetting a kind of corporate congregational unity among the many brotherhoods scattered abroad. In the course of the second century also there sprang up representative assemblies, more or less informal, not unlike those local conferences or associations which have come into being among the American churches, in the local groups of churches, and in the several state bodies. In the early churches there were points of practice, questions as to Christian teaching, and questions of discipline affecting more than one community, on which individual churches were perhaps divided and on which they consequently desired to consult with their neighbors. The simple beginnings of these councils or conferences are thus described for us by Tertullian: "Throughout the provinces of Greece there are held in definite localities those councils gathered out of the universal churches by whose means not only all the deeper questions are handled for the common benefit, but the actual representation of the whole Christian name is celebrated with great veneration. And how worthy a thing is this that under auspices of faith men should congregate from all quarters to Christ! 'See how good and how enjoyable for brethren to dwell in unity!' This Psalm you know not well how to sing except when supping in a goodly company." The results of the deliberations of such conferences were expressed sometimes in a resolution and sometimes in a letter addressed to other churches. But it must be borne in mind that they did not interfere with the independence of the several churches. As Dr. Hatch tells us, it was the rule for such letters to be received with respect; but so far from their having any binding force on other churches, not even the resolutions of the conference were binding on a dissentient minority of its members.

Thus in early days of church life the problem of independence and fellowship was solved by Christian feeling and common sense. But with the union of the church with the state came the change which overthrew the balance so wisely adjusted between combination and individualism. The preponderance was given to organization, and in process of time the rights of the individual in the church and the rights of the separate church in the community of churches came to be overridden by central authority. Then, further, as the centuries went on their way, the all-devouring system of Papal Rome absorbed not only the rights of individual and national churches, but also the rights of nationalities themselves in the various European states. In this way it came to pass that after the Reformation the problem of independence and fellowship had to be faced once more; the true *modus vivendi* between the separate church and the community of churches had to be rediscovered. By 1644 it was not only rediscovered, but there was embodied in a formal document a practice which no doubt had obtained still earlier. In 1644 seven churches in London set forth a Confession of Faith in which they said: "Although the particular Congregations be distinct and severall bodies, every one is a compact and knit Citie within itselfe; yet are they all to walke by one rule of truth; So also they (by all meanes convenient) are to have the counsell and helpe one of another, if necessitie require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Christ their Head." Since then we have gone one important step farther. At the International Congregational Council held in London in 1891, the following resolution was referred to the Committee of Reference: "That for the better manifestation of the unity of the church of Christ throughout the world this Council will heartily welcome a fraternal federation, without authority, of all Christian bodies at such early date as the Providence of God will permit." I

had the pleasure of being present at the Triennial Council held at Minneapolis the following year, when it was "Resolved, That this Council heartily agrees with the unanimous declaration of the International Congregational Council, held in London in 1891, in favor of a federation without authority of all bodies of Christian churches, for the manifestation of the church of Christ upon earth, and for harmonious action in advancing the kingdom of Christ."

But it is with the interdependence and fellowship of Congregational churches among themselves we are now concerned. While maintaining that internal freedom essential to true church life, no church has a right to do just as it likes — to be as isolated, as angular, as contentious as it pleases. If it is a church of Christ at all it is a member of the body of Christ, and therefore what it does affects the character and reputation of the whole. If in willfulness or in a worldly spirit it chooses a minister of shady reputation, because he happens to have certain flashy popular gifts, it inflicts a wrong upon the reputation of neighboring churches. The good name of other churches is committed to its trust, and the estimate in which our churches are held touches the honor of Christ. It is here we come upon a weak place in the harness of the English Congregational churches. There is really very much of intercommunion among us. We have our Congregational Union, our county associations, our societies in which we act freely and cordially together on a large scale, and we have our fraternal associations of ministers. Then, too, we admit members of one church to communion with another at the Lord's table; and in the case of erring members we respect the discipline of individual churches; ministers are welcomed to each other's pulpit; counsel is sought for and granted; help is given and received. All this is most real. But there yet remains one weak point among us, which, as it seems to me, might be remedied by some sort of adaptation of the system of church councils as obtaining among the American churches. I should like to say, by the way, that speaking generally, the ministry in English Congregationalism stands as high for character and ability as that of any of the churches. But if, as may occasionally happen, a minister of doubtful character gets in among us, he does so by ignoring the opinion or presence of the churches in the immediate neighborhood of the one over which he settles. All he has to do is to arrange for some personal friends of his own, from a distance, about whom he is sure, to be present at his ordination or recognition. The services are then held, reports of these services are sent to the columns of denominational papers over which we have no surveillance, and the thing is done. The churches and ministers in the immediate neighborhood have had nothing to do with it; they have not been consulted; have not been present, either personally or by representative; and yet they have been more seriously and even vitally affected by the proceedings of the day than any or all of those strangers who came from a distance to give their endorsement. These ministers are expected to receive this man into brotherly relations, and these churches to treat him as one of the ministers of the body to which they belong. The mischiefs resulting — thanks to the good sense of the community — are perhaps not so great as might have been expected, but they are sometimes considerable and call for wise and united action.

There is sound judgment in the principle laid down by Increase Mather in his "Disquisition on Ecclesiastical Councils," of 1716, when he says: "In Matters of common concernment Particular Churches should proceed with the concurrence of Neighboring Churches." Dr. Quint, whose absence from this Council we sorely feel, commenting on these words, truly said: "It is a 'matter of common concernment' when brethren

desire to be organized into and recognized as a distinct church; and it is a 'matter of common concernment' when a church desires the ordination or settlement of a minister in so far as it may well take the advice of other churches in so grave a matter." A fair interpretation and application of this principle seems to me to be perfectly consistent with the freedom of such Congregationalism as we find in the New Testament. It surely does not pass the wit of man to devise some means, or to adapt some already existing means for dealing with an evil which is acknowledged to be such, and which really bars the way against the creation of anything like an effective sustentation fund among us.

At the conclusion of Dr. John Brown's address President Angell took the chair.

Discussion following the Addresses of Drs. Lyman and Brown

At the close of the stated addresses of the morning a discussion on the general subject, Independence and Fellowship, was engaged in by the Rev. Robert R. Meredith, D.D., of New York; the Rev. William Salter, D.D., of Iowa; the Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A., of England; the Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., of England; the Rev. Dugald Macfadyen, M.A., of England; the Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois; and the Rev. William H. Moore, of Connecticut.

Remarks of Rev. Robert R. Meredith, D.D.

I feel as if it would be a privilege to detain the Council for just a moment to give emphasis, if I can possibly do so, to what has been so eloquently and impressively set before us this morning.

"Independence and Fellowship." All of us who have listened to the two most interesting and instructive papers which have been read have it clearly in mind that, in the practical aspects of the subject, our difficulties on this side of the ocean are not just those that the brethren in England have to meet. And yet it is true that even our church councils here do not save us entirely from that important difficulty which Dr. Brown pointed out with reference to the settlement of unworthy men — unworthy in the judgment of neighboring churches — in our ministry. We would all of us here be glad if councils came together with a keener sense of their responsibility to all the churches in this matter. But we have to meet this question in the most practical form, and Dr. Lyman has not put that aspect of the case any too strong. Take the single fact with respect to our church extension work in the cities. It is true that we have an illustration of successful coöperation in Chicago and that the principle of the fellowship of the churches for work — and what else under heaven is there for Congregationalists to fellowship in but work for God and the extension of his kingdom? — has been successfully illustrated in the churches of Chicago. There is no St. Louis man here who would for a moment acknowledge that he ever received anything good from Chicago. But he did; he got this very idea from Chicago. And so in St. Louis also we have had an illustration on perhaps a smaller scale of the practical expression of Congregational fellowship in aggressive and wise and practical coöperation for church extension in our cities that are growing so rapidly that we can hardly keep the count of them. They are telling us to-day,

sir, that 250,000 people are coming into the borough of Brooklyn in the city of New York within this year. What shall we do? Let us try to teach each other this: that it is the indefeasible right of any body of Christian men and women, in the name of Christ, to meet and to organize a Christian church, to adopt the symbol upon which they shall unite, to adopt the rules by which they shall be governed, to elect the officers of their church, to call their pastor and settle him and be a New Testament Christian church. There is no doubt about that; nobody is going to contradict that here, but that is not on this side of the water a Congregational church. It may be better than a Congregational church; it may suit the people that organize it better; but it is an independent church. Now if that organized church wants to become a Congregational church in the United States and have the rights of a Congregational church — and one of the grandest of those rights is to sit in this Council — it must call a council of the vicinage. They cannot go around the country and pick out their friends. That would spot them and smut them at once, any attempt of the kind. They must call a council of the vicinage and submit to them their creed symbol and their rules and all that a council needs to know about them, and the council recognizes that independent church which has to that extent yielded its independence. The council recognizes that church, and it is a Congregational church then and not till then. Now it is in the fellowship of the Congregational churches. Its autonomy as a local church is its right. No other church has any ecclesiastical authority over it. That is its right, but with the right there is a responsibility that is as sacred and awful as the right, and that is the responsibility of fellowship. You must recognize it. You are dishonorable, you are denying the responsibilities that you have voluntarily assumed, if you do not come up here with your sympathy and your prayers and your money and join with us, the other churches in this city or in this part of the country, and meet the obligations of your fellowship. That is a Congregational church.

Remarks of President Angell

I see before me here two gentlemen belonging to a band that is historic, the renowned and long-honored Iowa band of Congregational ministers, who went out into that beautiful state when it was an unsettled prairie. I am sure we shall be very glad to hear from Rev. Dr. William Salter, who represents that body.

Suggestion by Dr. Noble

I wish that Dr. Ephraim Adams, who was associated with Dr. Salter in the work of this band, would come on the platform with him this morning.

Dr. Salter and Dr. Adams came on the platform and were heartily greeted by the audience. Dr. Salter spoke as follows: —

Remarks of Rev. William Salter, D.D.

Mr. President, — In 1801 the younger President Edwards, President then of Union College, took his part in the General Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in organizing a "plan of union" for the federation of the Congregational and Presbyterian people in the newer settlements of our country. That plan of union continued until the year 1837, and under that plan of union, look

out upon western New York, look out upon Ohio, look out upon other regions where, as a result, the wilderness was turned into a fruitful field. In 1837 one of our Presbyterian brethren said that the Congregationalists were Congregationalizing the Presbyterian church, and they passed an act of excision, so that in western New York and in Ohio several hundred churches were exscinded from the Presbyterian church. And so it went on. But in the meanwhile the American Home Missionary Society had been organized in 1826, and the superintendent of that society out in Iowa wrote a letter to some of the students of Andover Seminary inquiring as to whether they would not come into the wide fields of the west. Some Nestorian had said, "Come among the Nestorian people," others had invited us to come here and there, and this letter from Iowa Territory said, "Here is an open door for you; come here and enter into this field." A band of students, eleven of them, had a prayer-meeting in one of the alcoves of the library at Andover and prayed over this matter. They finally made up their minds that the voice of God to them was to go out into the territory of Iowa. They did so, and most of them spent their lives there. Two of that band of eleven students remain to this day and are here before you.

We have labored in the spirit of coöperation with all our brethren. A little friction has arisen once in a while, but on the whole the work has gone forward. Some 300 Congregational churches now exist in the state of Iowa, with more than 30,000 church members. There are two Congregational colleges, one at Grinnell and the other at Tabor. The only one of the original trustees of Iowa College at Grinnell who still survives is my beloved brother, Dr. Adams. What I wish to emphasize, however, is that we have labored there in the spirit of coöperation, not merely with our Presbyterian brethren, but with our Methodist brethren who were the pioneers in that state. Our Methodist brethren have been on the fighting line and it has been hard to keep up with them, but some of our brethren have been even in advance of them. I remember Mr. Spaulding, a graduate of Harvard College, was the first minister on the upper banks of the Des Moines, the first minister to preach the gospel where now stands the capitol of our state, a city of 60,000 inhabitants. We have uniformly labored in sympathy and coöperation with our brethren of other denominations, our Methodist and Baptist brethren, and so far as possible with our Episcopalian brethren, though some of you may know that the former Bishop of Iowa, now gone to his rest, was one of those who opposed the consecration of Bishop Brooks to his office as Bishop of the Diocese of this state. I had for twenty years a member of the Episcopal church as an organist in my church at Burlington, besides other dear people of that church who have affiliated with us. Our Unitarian friends have also come in with us in many cases and we have found among them some of our stanchest and most faithful and beloved people. And so I wish to commend — from what has been brought about in Iowa — the spirit of coöperation and federation after the example of our brethren and the beloved president of the Federation of England and Wales. We want to encourage that spirit of sympathy and brotherly love and fellowship, not merely with all who call themselves Congregationalists, but with all who love our Lord and Saviour, both theirs and ours, in sincerity and in truth.

President Angell

President Angell called upon the Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A., of England, secretary of the Yorkshire Union, who came to the platform and spoke as follows: —

Remarks of Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A.

Mr. Chairman, — I have been very unexpectedly called upon to address you this morning and I do not know that there is very much that I can say bearing upon the subject under discussion. But I may observe that the original Congregationalism of England was far more in favor of fellowship than the recent Congregationalism has been, and I attribute that fact to another fact, namely, that a large proportion of that Congregationalism was derived from the Congregationalism of New England. Dr. Mackennal last night made a very generous reference to myself in regard to certain investigations which I have been making on that subject. I found that so far as the north of England is concerned, particularly Yorkshire and Lancashire, Congregationalism was certainly introduced and largely extended by Congregationalists from Boston. I will give you two particulars in proof of this. One is that a man called Christopher Marshall, who was a student under John Cotton of Boston, went back to England about the year 1643 and established a Congregational church in Yorkshire, from which all the Congregationalism or nearly all in that country was extended. Another instance was that of Samuel Eaton, who played a distinguished part in the early history of Congregationalism in Boston, who returned to Lancashire and established the first Congregational church in that county, from which other churches speedily extended. These two instances are sufficient for the present moment to indicate how far old England is indebted to New England for the Congregationalism which was established in the old country.

Then I find further that during the time of Cromwell the Congregationalists who established churches in England had not exactly councils for fellowship, but they very frequently met together by their messengers in order to consult upon matters which were of common interest to the Congregational churches of England. They in fact carried out to some extent the councils which were afterwards established in New England and which have continued in some form unto the present day. But in the course of time, when persecution began to prevail to a large extent, all that organization was entirely broken up and both Congregationalists and Presbyterians had to fight for their very existence. These councils were attempted afterwards to some extent, but owing to the peculiar conditions of England they were never fully carried out; and I believe that in consequence of these councils not having been carried out Congregationalism or Independence in England suffered for many a long year. But we have found in the practical working of our Congregationalism that some form of fellowship, more definite and more effective than any that exists at the present time, must be in some way instituted by the wit of man. I hope that Dr. Brown's wit, or the wit of some other man, will be able to frame some definite plans whereby a closer fellowship may be entered into by all the churches. It is because of the lack of such fellowship that we are comparatively powerless in our large towns to do the work which Congregationalism ought to do in those towns. Our weakness is our extreme independency, and the great problem that lies before us at the present time is how to shape the independency of our churches into some form of fellowship so that we may be more effective in accomplishing the work of God that lies before us at this time.

Suggestion by President Angell

President Angell said that the Council would be very glad to hear a few words from Rev. Dr. Mackennal, who responded as follows: —

Remarks of Rev. A. Mackennal, B.A., D.D.

Mr. President, — I have risen for the purpose of saying that one of the most remarkable movements in connection with the federation of the evangelical free churches in England has been this: it has greatly stimulated denominationalism. Dr. Lyman has referred to the fact that the Congregationalists both in England and in America in the early part of the century were greatly opposed to the idea of speaking of a Congregational church as representing the aggregate of all the Congregational churches. So far as England is concerned, I believe that it resulted not so much from jealousy of organization as from the large catholicity of spirit that went side by side with great zeal for the independency of the churches. That is to say, the Congregationalists of that time were very jealous indeed of the interposition of any body whatever between the individual church and the whole family in heaven and in earth. That was the spirit that animated them. In England, too, at the same time that you had your continual approaches and your continual repulsions on the part of the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, we had the same thing. In one of the chapels which is under my own pastorate we have a series of trust deeds. In one of them land is given that "thereupon may be erected a meeting-house for the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters called Presbyterian." In a deed which followed within a very short time after the meeting-house had been erected, the meeting is described as "for the use of that Congregation of Protestant Dissenters called Independent." This is only one illustration of what went on for a very long period indeed in which the terms Presbyterian and Independent were used as synonymous. You have trust deeds in which there has been a very careful avoidance of the phrase, "the Protestant Independents of the Independent or the Presbyterian denomination." You have instead, "the Independent or Presbyterian denomination."

There was in the early part of the eighteenth century a very considerable promise of the merging of the Congregational communities and the Presbyterian church into one. I believe myself that in the larger providence of God the idea which broke down that union was this: that the larger church which was being looked upon with the eye of affection must be large enough to include others than Independents and Presbyterians, and if we had instituted a new religious community in England and united Congregationalism and Presbyterianism under one organization, I am very much disposed to believe that it would have been adverse to, instead of favorable to, the larger catholicity of the church.

Now it has taken the whole of this century to learn that it is quite possible to have federations of the free churches. When the Episcopal church is free we shall be glad to federate with that church also. But I say we have learned that it is quite possible to have federations of these churches for the expression and cultivation of fellowship, and still more for the following out of all those practical objects which are common to the churches without sacrificing either the independence of the particular church for which we are zealous or the autonomy of any one of the denominations. That is the object which we have before us at present, and it is coming about not only by that continual yearning for closer and more expressed fellowship which comes out of the true Christian sentiment and the common Christian faith and life, but it is coming about in another direction. The English problem is too large for any one of the denominations to solve. We as Congregationalists cannot meet the home missionary demands of our country. We cannot meet the necessities of the new and largely increasing towns. We cannot meet the necessities of the sparse

and rapidly diminishing populations of the villages. The Methodists cannot do it. They laugh at impossibilities and say, "It shall be done," but they have not laughed at that impossibility. A great sense of gravity has arisen among us all,— Baptists and Presbyterians and Congregationalists and the Society of Friends and every section of the evangelical nonconformists. The sense of national obligation has imposed upon us the desire of organizing efforts upon the national scale. We do not despair of overtaking all the wants of England when we do so in fellowship and coöperation, and the home missionary impulse has had as much to do, as the yearning for the expression of catholic unity, with this federation of the free churches. But let no man, be he zealous Congregationalist, zealous Presbyterian, zealous Baptist, or zealous Methodist, think that he will forfeit anything which he values in his denomination by federating with the other communities. We love each other for being faithful to the distinctive principles of our own denominations; and as I have said, the uprising of this new spirit of unity among the evangelical churches is distinctive of, is provocative of, and is not destructive of, the intense loyalty we cherish each one to his own denomination. It is just exactly as it is with you. Your Federal Union is by no means destructive of your state rights. You rise to the conception and exercise of your state rights to the fullest extent, as you proved in your Civil War, when you are faithful to the Federal Union.

President Angell

President Angell announced that the Rev. Mr. Macfadyen, of England, desired to put some questions to our American Congregationalists as to how we do certain things.

Remarks of Rev. Dugald Macfadyen, M.A.

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, and Members of the Council, — I hope I may be pardoned if I do not make a speech, but simply ask two or three questions on matters which are to us of very vital importance with regard to the question which has been before us this morning. As you know, we are engaged in England in a great effort to raise what is for us a large sum of money to commemorate the opening of the new century. One of the things which is proposed as the object of that fund is that we shall establish in our large cities a number of new Congregational churches. It seemed to me when we came over here that we should have an admirable opportunity of finding out how you had met that great problem in dealing with your rapidly growing towns, your great cities in the West, and your territories. I am very glad indeed that the opportunity has come for extracting some information definitely on that point, and there are three questions which I would like to put. First, in settling a new district do you send out a minister first to gather a congregation and then build a church, or do you try to build the church first, in order to gather the people, and then let them call a minister? Second, when the new church is formed, how do you deal with the financing of the new place? Do you finance the minister and guarantee a stipend, or do you finance the church and allow them to give the stipend as seems best to them? Third, we have heard a good deal about councils, and I understand that in some of the great Western districts the superintendent, who is an officer of the home missionary board, has a preponderating authority in those councils — not of course an official authority, but a preponderating weight as adviser, some-

thing which makes him almost a bishop in those districts. We should like to know just what the authority of the superintendent is and how far it extends, both in the directing and in the vetoing of the choice of ministers. These are the three points on which I wish especially to get information. I am very glad indeed that the Council has ended where we hoped it would begin, in giving an opportunity for the discussion of methods of work and for raising points which are of real importance as well as of great interest to many of our delegates.

President Angell

I am sure we shall all agree that there is one man present foreordained to answer these questions, Rev. Dr. Noble, of Chicago.

Remarks of Rev. F. A. Noble, D.D.

Mr. President, — I am in no condition this morning to answer these questions extemporaneously, and yet I suppose every Congregational minister in America has the answer to them on his tongue's end. Let me say, as a preliminary word, that I think in these recent times we have made two discoveries which we have not sufficiently emphasized. I am not sure that we fully realize the importance of these discoveries which we have made. As I have heard Dr. Mackennal from time to time speak of the federation of the churches in England, and state over and over again that no emphasis is lost upon the denomination in virtue of that federation, I have been led to think that our discovery here in America is that we do not become sectarian and narrow simply because we become, as some people would say, intensely denominational. And another discovery which we as Congregationalists have made, and which lies at the foundation of all the questions that have been asked, is that Congregationalists are not necessarily to wait before they send a minister into a community or before they establish a Sunday-school out of which may grow a church or before they attempt to establish an academy or a college, until they have heard that the way has been pioneered by a large number of people who have received their education in Congregationalism in Massachusetts. We have discovered that where there are people that do not have the gospel, whether they know anything about Congregationalism as a polity or not, there are people to be reached. If Presbyterians reach them, we thank God. If Baptists reach them, we thank God. If anybody else reaches them, we thank God. But we do not stop to ask whether those people were from this land or from any other land, whether they were educated in this polity or any other polity. If we find them ignorant of the faith of Jesus Christ and outside of the fellowship of our Christianity, we count it that we have heard a voice from God calling us to reach those souls and to bring them into the fellowship of Jesus Christ.

Now, it is because we have made these two discoveries that we can emphasize our denominationalism to the utmost and still keep it in line with aggressive Christian activity, and it is because we count it our mission to go wherever there are souls to be reached that such questions here on our side of the water are constantly coming up. One of these questions is whether the man shall go first or the church. Ordinarily it is the man who goes first. It is the man in Nebraska, in the suburbs of Chicago, in Boston or Brooklyn that ordinarily goes first. But sometimes a church, for instance, like Dr. Meredith's in Brooklyn or Dr. Goodwin's in Chicago or like Dr. Burnham's in St. Louis, will find a certain territory that is not

preoccupied — a territory that falls to the special charge of that church. They send out and start a Sunday-school; they house the Sunday-school; by and by conversions take place, and these converted souls are gathered into the church, sometimes uniting with the mother church and yet holding their membership in the little organization that began in the Sunday-school, and sometimes starting at once as an independent church. In process of time, and often in a very short time, there comes to be enough of these converted souls to be organized into an independent church. Then they want a pastor, and the mother church that has laid the foundations in the Sunday-school — just as my Union Park church in Chicago had its foundation laid in a little mission school that was started by the First Church, of which Dr. Goodwin is pastor — takes an interest in this matter. Sometimes until the little organization has money enough to support itself the mother church, it may be, will send some minister to it, not forcing a minister upon them, but in consultation with them trying the man to see if he is likely to suit the people and do the Lord's work among them. But it is always done in the spirit of coöperation. By and by the little church grows up and is able to take care of itself. The child is now twenty-one, and while there is reverence and love for the parent, there is the independence of mature and adult years, and that church becomes an independent church. That, I think, is the process in cities and in the country by which our churches are established and by which they grow up.

Now let me say a word about this fellowship while I am on my feet. I suppose the brethren here in America have been surprised that they have not heard more about Chicago, but this is Boston, and Chicago keeps very quiet in the city of Boston. But it has seemed to me that we in Chicago have come upon what is largely, in my estimation, a model plan for the establishment of new churches. When I went to the city of Chicago twenty years ago we had, I think, thirteen or fourteen Congregational churches in the city. Four or five of those churches were what would be called strong churches; but we found the city growing so fast, with so many races and nationalities coming in upon us, that it came to be a very serious question whether it was going to be an American city and whether we were going to have churches and Sunday-schools enough established there so that this rapidly increasing population could be met with the gospel. We formed a city missionary society. All the ministers and delegates from the several churches came together and secured the incorporation of the body which is called the Chicago City Missionary Society. For fifteen years we have been working under that society, and the policy of that society is this: all the churches of Chicago which were then in existence came heartily and loyally into the compact, accepting the articles of incorporation which we had secured, so that to-day in the city of Chicago we have something like seventy-five or eighty Congregationalist churches. These are not all strong churches, and some that were strong twenty years ago are now losing their strength. But we have followed this policy in every section of the city; we have gone into a community that had in it the promise and potency of a strong Christian community and we have established a church there. We have also encouraged the churches in the outlying villages and cities and in the immediate suburbs; and to-day, when our strong central churches are suffering from disintegration and the moving away of families out from the heart of the city, we have in every direction, in which men and women can move in the city of Chicago, a Congregational church into which they can go at once and where they can make themselves just as efficient as they were in the old church. Let me illustrate. In a single church in Evanston, a suburb of

Chicago, ten miles out from the center of the city, there are in that one church twenty-one families that have gone out from my church and united with it. Dr. Goodwin very likely could count up still more. In all these churches round about us there are the representatives of these old original churches where they have wrought and where they have caught the spirit of aggressive work, and when they go out to these new churches they carry that spirit with them. To-day our seventy-five or more Congregational churches are bound together in just as close and aggressive a fellowship as they were when we began fifteen years ago.

Let me say another thing. I know how difficult it is in a city like New York, possibly also in a city like Boston, and still more it may be in a city like London, where the independency of the church has been emphasized, to overcome prejudices so that the churches will stand together and give together and work together without any jealousies. Now in this Chicago City Missionary Society, from first to last, there has been no man in the whole body who had to be consulted because he wanted to be at the front. We have had no church that has ever thought of backing water simply because the central committee in the City Missionary Society had asked it for a little larger contribution than it thought it ought to give. This is what we do. We have a committee that says, for instance, to the Union Park church through me, "We want you to give us this year $2,500 for city missions." The same word goes to Dr. Goodwin and to others They are asked to give $2,000 or $1,500 or $100 or $50 as the case may be. The thing is apportioned according as the committee which looks the whole field over and surveys the needs and the abilities of the churches judge it will be right to ask, and it is not one time in fifty that there is any bolting from that assignment of the amount made to a particular church. Sometimes a church is not able to do this thing, but there is such general acquiescence in the plan that we have absolute harmony. We have spent in the last fifteen years from twenty to thirty thousand dollars a year, and sometimes as high as forty thousand dollars a year in this work of planting churches in the suburbs and in the needy places of the city.

As to the matter of the council and the authority of the superintendent. Here is a charge that is sometimes made against the superintendent. We all of us have our sore spots and there is always more or less jealousy of the superintendent on the part of certain men who want places as preachers. If a man goes into Nebraska or Idaho or anywhere and wants a church that he is not quite fitted for, the church through its committee consults with the superintendent and they decide that on the whole the man is not just the man for that kind of work. Consequently he does not get the place, and very naturally the first man in sight is the superintendent, and he charges the superintendent with having worked against him. Now, quite likely the superintendent in some of these places has an authority more nearly approaching that of the bishop than would be possible in the city of Chicago or Boston; but so far as my knowledge of these home missionary superintendents goes, they adhere just as loyally as any men in our body to the idea of the validity of a council and the value and need of the decisions of a council in all of these difficult cases. It is not always an easy thing to get a council, especially when your church is out on the frontier with the next neighbor twenty-five miles away on one side and fifty miles away on the other side. The superintendent is sent out by the Home Missionary Society and is charged with the business of seeing to it that the gospel is preached in those neglected places; and if sometimes he has to assume authority which would not be tolerated in a city where there are a large number of Congregational churches, everybody that has any Congregational common sense in him says Amen to it.

A Delegate: How about the stipend?

Dr. Noble: Well, sometimes we pay them and sometimes we do not. Generally they get something.

Rev. W. H. Moore: I think the point of the question is whether you give the money to the church or to the minister.

Dr. Noble: No man in the world can answer that question better than Mr. Moore of the Connecticut Home Missionary Society.

Remarks of Rev. William H. Moore

Mr. Moore: Well, if a church wants aid, they apply for it in accordance with certain circulars which we send out to them. If the facts brought out in the circular prove the church to be worthy and that it really needs aid, and if it appears that its minister is a deserving man, then the question of pay comes up and we make that church a grant of anywhere from one hundred dollars to four hundred dollars. But we never pay that money to the church; we always pay it to the man whom we commission to do the work there. That is our uniform practice. In the case of a new church, if the church is formed by a council and at once takes measures to find a minister they frequently ask us where they can find the right man; but we expect them to make the choice themselves of the man they want, and then we expect to help them pay that man if he proves satisfactory according to the questions asked in our circular. Of course we do not pay the entire salary — we pay only a part; the rest of the sum comes from the church and congregation which the minister is called to serve.

A Letter from the Norwegian Delegates

Secretary Hazen presented a letter from the Norwegian delegates to the Council, which was referred to the publishing committee.

NORWEGIAN LETTER TO THE COUNCIL

To the Second International Congregational Council in Boston, Mass., from 20–29 *September*, 1899: —

It is to us a great pleasure to be present with you in this Council, as delegates from the land of the midnight sun (the little, glorious Norway), and to thank you for the interest and brotherly kindness which you have shown us and our country. It is surely an honor to our country that three of our red flags with their blue and white crosses are decorating this large hall. Christianity was introduced into Norway by force by King Olaf Trygrason in the year 995; but the hearts of the people were strange to the truth of the Bible, and therefore their religion became a mere form instead of personal faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. In the year 1537 the Reformation was introduced by force. The preachers who came made war on Catholicism and robbed the churches and tried to justify their deeds by preaching Luther's doctrine, justification by faith, which made the spiritual condition of the people still worse. Not before the year 1796 did the country realize any spiritual revival. This revival came through the noble work and preaching of Hans Nilsen Hauge. He cried with power, "The axe is laid unto the root of the trees," etc. Many were awakened to see their condition and repented from their sins, and tried to follow their leader in all, and were therefore called Haugianeres, and after him is called the Hauge synod.

In the year 1850 a great revival went right through the country; the

people were so thoroughly awakened that they cried in the houses and sometimes on the streets, "What must I do to be saved." They fell on their knees and on their faces, earnestly praying for mercy. They confessed their sins to each other and rejoiced in the Lord.

From this time the Christian (the regenerated) people commenced to organize themselves into evangelical free churches, which are the same as the Congregational churches of this country. This new movement had a great leader in Pastor Lammers, who left the state church and became a dissenter. For a time the new movement was prosperous; but severe persecutions caused dissension and some went back to the state church and to the world. This gave an opportunity for new organizations to come in. The Methodists, Baptists, Advents, and Mormons were quite successful for a time, and tried hard to get the people and property. They succeeded in getting some of the people but little of the property. Those who remained became a small praying band.

In 1880 this faithful flock were again recognized and many Christians throughout the country joined this people. The Congregational movement was revived and churches were again organized all over the country. Later the Norwegian Mission Forbund was organized (the Norwegian Conference) which we represent. The Norwegian Conference numbers now thirty-seven churches and about the same number is to join the same. The Conference has a Ministers' Union with fifty-five members, thirty of whom are permanently in the work and the rest temporarily. The Conference has three traveling missionaries, one in Lapland and three more engaged in the darkest parts of the country. The Norwegian Conference has its own mission in China with three missionaries and has undertaken the free mission in Africa with several missionaries.

We are conducting a large, successful, well-organized Sunday-school work, each church having a Sunday-school. The Lord is wonderfully blessing the work, sinners are saved, unity and coöperation are growing, the children of God are gathering together in one mind, and the gospel is preached with power. One thing we want to lay heavily on your hearts. We have no school for the education of preachers; we need money for this. We like also to tell you this is the time for work in Norway. The Norwegian Conference sends greeting to the International Congregational Council, with the 133d Psalm and Revelation 7:9–17.

Yours truly,

MARTEN OLSEN V. HAGGUIST.

Overflow Meeting Announced

A notice was given by the business committee of an overflow meeting conducted by the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor under the auspices of the Council, to be held this evening in the Park Street church.

Benediction and Adjournment

The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Robert Bruce, M.A., D.D., of England, and adjournment was had until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Council came to order at the appointed hour, President Angell in the chair.

After the hymn "Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings" was sung, prayer was offered by the Rev. George A. Tewksbury, of Massachusetts.

Resolution from the Business Committee

The business committee, through its chairman, Rev. Morton Dexter, D.D., of Massachusetts, presented the following

Resolution of Thanks

In addition to the resolution of thanks proposed by the Rev. Dr. Mackennal and adopted yesterday, this Council desires to express its hearty recognition of the zealous and efficient labors of Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D.D., Rev. William J. Woods, B.A., and Rev. D. Burford Hooke, its secretaries, and Rev. Eugene C. Webster, Rev. Herbert W. Gleason, and Rev. Frank G. Woodworth, D.D., its assistant secretaries; and of the discriminating and successful work of the program committee. We also wish to put on record its grateful appreciation of the courtesies which it has received from the City of Boston, in connection with the harbor excursions, which so many of its members have enjoyed; from the United States Postal Department, in the establishment of a temporary post office in this building; from the New England Telegraph and Telephone Company, and the Boston District Messenger Company, in the prompt and efficient service which has been rendered; from the Boston & Maine, the New York, New Haven and Hartford, and the Boston Elevated Railroads, whose coöperation in respect to transportation has been of much value; from the press of the city, in its full and careful reports; and from all others who in any manner have contributed to the success of this gathering.

Resolution of Thanks amended by Dr. Gladden

The above resolution of thanks was amended by the Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., of Ohio, and seconded by the Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois. The resolution is as follows: —

Resolution of Thanks

We wish also to recognize our obligations to the publishers of *The Congregationalist* for preparing and issuing, for the use of the members of the Council, the "Boston Book." Containing as it does not only a list of the delegates and the program, but information about our missionary work, and the objects of interest in and about Boston, the book with its fine illustrations will be to us a pleasant remembrance of the Council.

The whole Council has heartily united in the resolution of thanks so fittingly expressed by Dr. Mackennal yesterday. The American delegates,

for their part, desire to add their own testimony of gratitude to those who have represented them in providing for the Council in a manner so munificent. Boston, the mother of us all, has opened her doors both to those who are near and to those who come from afar, with a hospitality so thoughtful, so gracious, so abundant that the hearts of all her children have been stirred with pride and gratitude. What Boston has done, not only in entertaining us, but also in making us better acquainted with the historic heritage she holds for us; what the Congregational Club has done in spreading for us a feast so sumptuous; what the press of Boston has done and the publishing committee has undertaken to do in giving wide publicity and permanent value to the discussion of the Council — all this will be gratefully remembered by the American Congregationalists.

Not only to the living are we indebted, but to those who are alive forevermore; for with tender and reverent affections we remember that greeting and benediction were waiting for us when we came from one who has passed to the city where night never cometh.

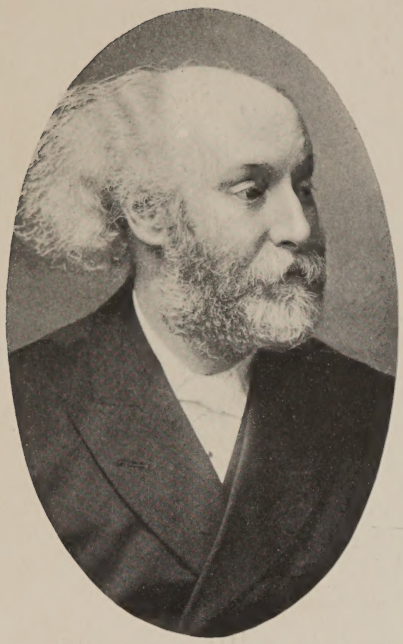
We had reason before for thinking well of Boston, but in days to come the hearts of the children will return to the old homestead with a deeper sense of filial obligation.

In seconding the above motion the Rev. F. A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois, spoke as follows: —

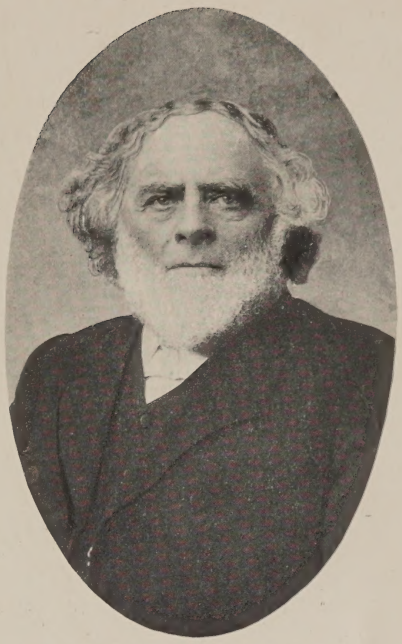
Remarks of Rev. F. A. Noble, D.D.

Mr. Chairman, — I ask the privilege of just a moment that I may second that resolution. I think our hearts have been stirred, and wonder has been excited day after day, as we have taken in something of the proportion of the preparations made for this Council by the brethren here in Boston. I do not wish to present myself as an expert on anything, but I have had some little experience in my ministerial life in making preparations for the entertainments of large bodies such as the American Board and the National Council and other similar gatherings. I know something by personal experience of the amount of labor involved in such preparation, and I think I know enough by personal experience to recognize when a thing is magnificently done. And I want to bear my testimony, out of whatever experience and observation I have had, to the magnificence of the preparations made for us here — a magnificence that surpasses anything in which I have ever had any share or of which I have had any observation. The hospitality that has been so abundant, the thoughtfulness which has prepared so many things that ordinarily are never taken into account, and the day-by-day and week-by-week watchfulness for the interest and comfort of all the delegates to this International Council fill our hearts with profoundest gratitude. As has been said in the resolution, when we go to our homes we shall think about what Boston has been to us during these days; and however much we have loved Boston and the brethren of Boston before, I am certain we shall give them a warmer place in our hearts and feel more and more that Boston is fit to be the mother of our great Congregational family. I second these resolutions with all my heart, and I would that I might give a better expression to my sense of my obligation to these brethren and to my sense of the fullness and richness and beauty and warmth of the hospitality which they have extended to us and in the preparations they have made for this great International Council.

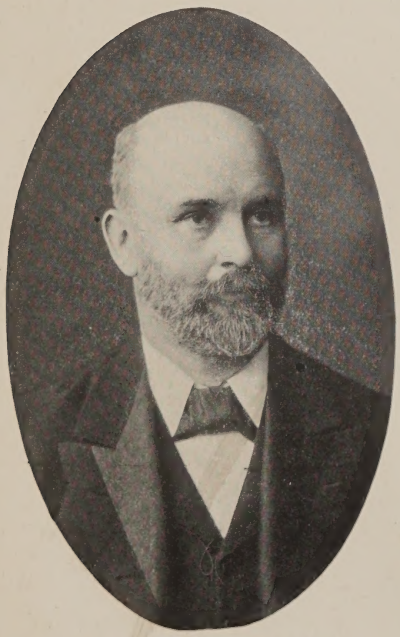
Both the above resolutions of thanks were unanimously adopted.



REV. PRIN. ALFRED CAVE, B.A., D.D.,
London, England.



REV. JOHN BROWN, B.A., D.D.,
Bedford, England.



REV. R. WARDLAW THOMPSON,
London, England.

REV. JEE GAM,
San Francisco, Cal.

Address

Rev. Ralph Wardlaw Thompson, of England, senior foreign secretary of the London Missionary Society, gave an address on Adaptation of Methods to New Conditions in Foreign Missions.

ADDRESS BY REV. RALPH WARDLAW THOMPSON

ADAPTATION OF METHODS TO NEW CONDITIONS IN FOREIGN MISSIONS

The subject of which I have to speak is not one of my own choosing, but it is one of primary importance for the successful prosecution of the great missionary enterprise. Not only so, but if you agree, as you should, with the clear and strong pronouncement of our President in his inaugural address, you will see that the subject is of primary importance to the church of Christ. The missionary enterprise is, in the deepest sense, the very life of the church. How best to prosecute it must therefore necessarily be a consideration of vital importance to the church. My friends who are engaged in foreign trade tell me that the conditions of commerce have so completely changed that the methods and arrangements of twenty years ago are quite obsolete now, and that, unless business houses are able to adapt themselves to the change which has already taken place, and which is going on with increasing rapidity, they speedily go to the wall. Are the churches as much alive to the interests of their own great enterprise as are the business men in prosecuting the various enterprises of commerce?

It can scarcely be disputed that the conditions of missionary work have changed greatly during the past century. Mr. Eugene Stock in his history of the Church Missionary Society mentions that, at the commencement of the Queen's reign in 1837, the solitary missionary of that society at the remote post of the Hudson Bay Company on the Red River was able to communicate with home only once a year by the company's annual vessels. The Red River is now the center of a great, thriving, ever-expanding, civilized community; and in place of the annual voyage of the Hudson Bay Company's fleet, with their hard fare of salt junk and other unattractive provision, and their wearisome buffetings with the wrathful Atlantic, it has the services of a dozen lines of magnificent floating hotels, traveling at express speed, and furnishing weekly communication with all the rest of the world. This change, remarkable as it is, but feebly illustrates the immense differences between the conditions of missionary work to-day and those which faced our great fathers.

We cannot but look with pride and thankfulness to God at the heroic courage of our great missionary pioneers. As the early voyagers launched out across the unknown Atlantic to discover the great continent on which we stand to-day; as they navigated their heavy and clumsy craft from point to point along the African coast to the place so painfully known as Cabo de los Tormentos, but which in their faith and courage they named the Cape of Good Hope, and then boldly set forth again under the tempestuous buffetings of the southeast monsoon, first to India and then on to far Cathay; as at a later period LaPerouse, Bougainville, Dampier, Cook, and others sailed to unknown seas on trips of exploration and astonished the world by their accounts of sunny climes and lovely islands on the other side of the globe—so in the same spirit of fearless enterprise our great missionary fathers went forth with

the high purpose to win new kingdoms for their divine Master, and to gather the wealth of new lands for his enrichment. They knew not whither they were going. They knew not the conditions under which they would have to labor. They knew nothing of the characteristics or of the thought of the people among whom they would dwell; but they were impelled by a divine impulse which would not let them stay at home. A story is told of one of our South Sea evangelists who went to New Guinea in the early days of our mission there. They tried to frighten him by telling him that the fever was very deadly in that climate; that there were crocodiles in all the rivers; that the people he would meet were fierce head hunters and cannibals. He listened quietly to all they had to say and then asked: "Are there men there?" That was enough for him — men for whom Christ died, men who did not know Christ, men who had not felt the magnetic touch of the divine pity, and had not heard the winning voice of the divine love. *This was the spirit of the early missionaries.* God, in his providence, may we not also say, in the fullness of time, lifted the strange, impenetrable veil which had separated East from West, and which had for ages effectually hidden nation from nation. Our fathers had a vision of a great world in the darkness of spiritual death. In the enthusiasm of their own realization of the saving power and Kingship of Christ, they heard the divine call to go forth and preach the gospel to every creature, and they went, eager to proclaim to all men the way of salvation.

Many of those early missionaries were grand men — I am often amazed at the breadth and soundness of the plans of work they laid down. We have not, even now, advanced much beyond their positions. Such a man as William Carey would be regarded as in the vanguard even now. It must, however, be acknowledged that the work of the early missionaries was carried on under conditions as different from those of our day as were the labors of the early settlers in your great forest clearings in comparison with the high scientific farming which is requisite in England and which is now characteristic of the smiling homesteads of these fair lands.

Let me briefly indicate one or two of the most important directions along which a change is evident. First, the opening of the world which has been characteristic of our times. I do not refer to the remarkable work of our great explorers in regions previously unknown, nor to the amazing change in the attitude of China and Japan to the rest of the world. The last fifty years have certainly revolutionized our knowledge of geography. Nor do I wish to call your attention to the political and territorial changes which have taken place. The world hunger of the European powers has put us all in an entirely different relation from anything we knew in the past, with the inhabitants of more than half of the surface of our globe. Such changes as these are of profound importance, and they are suggestive of most searching thoughts as to the responsibility of the peoples to whom God has given such leadership among the races, and such opportunities of influencing them.

I desire, however, rather to call your attention to the social, intellectual, and spiritual effects which the opening of the world has already had upon the lands and races which require our missionary effort, and the conditions of which stir our missionary ardor. Probably none of us can adequately estimate the influence on the life and conduct of the vast multitudes in the heathen world exerted by the thousands of vessels which carry our merchandise, and which are now to be found on every sea and in every port. Those of you who know what the life of a seaport town is in lands where Christianity and philanthropy are recognized can judge whether this influence is likely to be morally helpful or the reverse. In addition to the sailors

there are now thousands of traders, settled in the most out-of-the-way places, all over the globe. There are officials, soldiers, and tourists in ever-increasing numbers, pushing their way everywhere. All these, consciously or unconsciously, exert a powerful influence on the conduct and life of those with whom they come in contact. I am thankful to testify from personal observation that there are not a few truly good and high-minded men among all these whose influence is really elevating and beneficial to those with whom they are associated. But is it possible to say this of the majority of those to whom I have referred? We have the high authority of Mr. Kipling for the sentiment that: "There ain't no ten commandments up in Mandelay." This, I fear, only too truly describes the moral influence of multitudes of those who represent our nations among the heathen peoples of the world. Such undefined yet powerful influences have been exerted for years and are being exerted on an ever-increasing scale, often to the great grief, and adding greatly to the difficulties of the missionary worker.

This indefinite influence of example is, however, not the only form in which the influence of Christian nations is now being exerted on the heathen world. One great and very important section of the great heathen world, the continent of India, has, for the last fifty years, been increasingly under the influence of Western knowledge, brought to it by a far-sighted and splendid provision of education, supplied or fostered by the British government. This education is, necessarily, entirely secular; but it is as effectually destructive of any real faith in popular Hindoo religious ideas as it is destructive of their childish theories of the physical structure of the world and the universe. Again, students in increasing numbers are finding their way to the lands of Christendom from every country of the East. We usually have in London about a hundred and thirty Indian students — chiefly of medicine and of law. Others are to be found in our great universities in England and in Scotland. I am informed that you have a still larger number in America. These young men go back to their own homes with their mental attitude towards every subject entirely changed. They have thrown away all real faith, if they ever had it, in the religions of their fathers. They look out upon the world of literature and of life from an entirely new point of view. They are creating in the East that most impervious and most mischievous class, men who are agnostic at heart, but who give an outward conformity to the religion of their people for social reasons. Such men, there as here, are the enemies of all change which involves personal conviction or sacrifice.

Nor is this the only change. The most significant fact of the present hour is that the greatest and most ancient empire of the East is at length awakening to a sense of its own isolation and danger, and China is actually asking for knowledge at the hand of those outer barbarians whom, until quite recently, she has treated with contempt and suspicion, and whom she has striven entirely to exclude from her own borders.

What does all this mean — and whither does it all tend? It means, certainly, a great disintegrating process, loosening, weakening, and breaking down all the old bonds. Much of what is thus destroyed was only bad, cramping and deadening the intellectual and the moral nature of the people; yet, under the sanctions of even the most corrupt systems of heathenism, there was some influence of restraint, some exercise of control, some grain of the salt which alone keeps society from utter corruption. Destroy faith in the old without supplying something to take its place, and you have repeated in actual life and on the vast scale of three quarters of the world's population the terrible parable of our Lord of the man out of whom a devil was cast, and who, finding his house empty and

swept and garnished, invited seven other spirits more wicked than himself to come in, and his last state was worse than his first. Unless the Christian church is alive to its opportunities and responsibilities, what has been done in the process of opening the world will mean the ruin of the world that has been opened.

Second, the Christian church now has an acquaintance with the religious condition of the world which was denied to our fathers; and the world knows our message and our motive as it did not when missions first began. This is, at once, a great gain and a great increase of difficulty. We have to-day a knowledge of the faiths of the great Eastern world in their weakness and their strength, which ought to be invaluable to us in prosecuting our Christian enterprise. The Bhagavat and the Ramayana are in the hands of the student of Hinduism. The great classics of Chinese Confucianism have been translated for our benefit. The Koran is to be had with commentary in English dress. Learned and accurate books on Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism instruct us in the principles of all those great faiths. We now know their limitations and defects. We know, also, the secret of their power, and we are able to form a just estimate of their special value as formative influences and as means of binding and holding together great societies. We may still smile at the childishness and crudeness of popular idolatries; but the smile is not that of light-heartedness. We have begun to see what is behind all this. We have begun to realize how stupendous a revolution is presupposed in the acceptance of any great and general change of faith. In some quarters, the old fearless confidence in the complete triumph of Christianity has been replaced by troubled thought of the moral and spiritual chaos which must come if there is any great and general weakening and destruction of the old faiths; and men within the circle of the Christian church are beginning to ask whether we are justified in doing what seems inevitably to involve such result.

Africa is opening to us in its vastness, its multitudinous populations, its awful darkness. It has come as a great shock to some of us, whose atlases in school days boldly printed across the whole interior of Africa "Unknown, probably desert," to learn that it is a land not only of great inland seas and of giant rivers, rivaling the greatest of those on this continent; but also a land teeming, even now, after all the horrors of the Eastern and Western slave trade, with a population of fully two hundred millions, whose languages and dialects number fully six hundred — to be told further that many of those languages bear abundant evidence in their structure and in the words still embodied in them of a long, sad process of deterioration and degradation, the result of which has been that races of fine physique and of real capacity have become enslaved to a gross materialism and animalism, without mental stimulus — without any ambition to improve, even in material things. So painful is the impression of the vastness and hopelessness of the task of attempting to evangelize such a continent as Africa under present conditions that even in this Council we have been assured that law, trade, and the railway must precede the gospel if Africa is to be Christianized.

I need scarcely say that I do not share in the dark and gloomy thoughts and doubts the existence of which I have indicated. I believe the gospel of Christ is intended for all the world. I believe that it has been entrusted to us that we may carry it to all the world. I admit that the more closely we look at the task entrusted to us, the greater and more difficult it appears. But let us not forget that the nations to whom the task is entrusted are the greatest, the richest, the wisest, the most influential politically of all the nations of the world; that we have a free, living

Christianity amongst us to which more than to anything else we owe the high position in which we find ourselves; that there is nothing in any other sphere of our life and purpose which we regard as too difficult to be accomplished by us. No enterprise in material improvement, however costly, however vast, staggers our mechanicians or engineers or men of science. No scheme of commerce seems too large to frighten our men of wealth. No demand for heroic courage and splendid self-devotion is too serious for the temper and the character of our sons and daughters. God proportions his tasks as he knows the strength of those who have to do them. To us, the greatest, has come the heaviest burden. To us, the strongest, has come the hardest work. This missionary enterprise is the final and most noble testing of the character and the quality of the races we represent.

Not only is this the case, but the results already attained are full of encouragement to us. I hear men sometimes belittling the missionary enterprise. They tell me that the heathen population of the world has increased under the protective influences of civilized government to such an extent that there are probably now two hundred million more heathen in the world than there were at the beginning of this century, and they point to the little company of converts from heathenism, probably two millions at the most, and they say, "Is this all?" No, it is not all — nor is it the greater part of what has been done. Our fathers, with limitation of knowledge and untold difficulty besetting them at every point, have made for us splendid preparation. It has been a century of beginnings. If we on our part have a clearer knowledge of the religions of the world and can estimate more justly the difficulties in the way of acceptance of Christ, it is also true that the heathen now know something of our motives and that our message is no longer regarded with the hostility and prejudice which belong to ignorance. Think of this one fact — nearly three hundred versions of the Scriptures in whole or in part are now in the possession of races who had never heard of the Scriptures a hundred years ago, and thus the Bible is now beginning to do for them the beneficent work which it has for generations past done amongst us, filtering into the thought of the people, providing new forms of speech, giving new and gracious interests to childhood, suggesting new sanctions to growing life, gradually creating new ideas of truth, of morality, of love, of God. That, of itself, is an inheritance for which we, who have the greater work of the future upon our shoulders, may well be grateful to our fathers.

Let me point to one other fact of personal interest here. Forty years ago it was death to an inhabitant of Japan to attempt to leave his own country, and death to a foreigner to attempt to dwell in it. To-day we have on this platform representatives of Christian churches, independent, supporting and carrying on missionary enterprise, standing in their youth side by side with us and who are the sons of that people. We have abundant reason to be encouraged by what has been done; but if we are wise men, we shall recognize that the new conditions and the new problems require an adaptation of methods wisely to meet their needs.

To sum up what has been said of the conditions of our work, we have before us to-day an open world — a world of vast extent, a world of growing difficulty, involving the church in a task which is seen to be of enormous magnitude, and making exceptional demands upon our faith, our wisdom, and our consecration. One thing only has not changed — that is, our responsibility to undertake and to carry through the great task. This responsibility has been intensified by the political changes of recent years.

Now, the question comes, how are we to satisfy — how are we wisely

and adequately to use these new conditions? First, we must be careful to send the very best and most capable workers into the field. I desire to be clearly understood. I have no sympathy with the idea that only those who have been college trained are fit to do great work for God. Experience has contradicted this repeatedly in the history of the church, and amongst us to-day there are men and women whose natural gifts are such that despite the difficulties which come from defective education, they are able, inspired by the spirit of Christ, to do splendid service for him. It is, however, true, as a general principle, that the trained worker, other things being equal, will do far better work than the worker who is untrained. It costs just as much to send out and maintain an untrained worker as to send out and maintain one of the very highest qualifications. The conditions of the work are increasingly such that the highest qualifications are in increasing demand. I know there are fields in which men and women of humble gifts and limited attainments can still do most useful service, and for want of better, God will call them and use them; but my experience leads me to feel with increasing force that it is a mistake to send out to the mission field many of those who would do most excellent service at home, whose spirit, temper, and zeal are beyond reproach — are indeed a lesson and inspiration to their neighbors, but who, amidst the difficult conditions and the solitude and responsibility of mission stations, speedily find themselves unequal to the larger tasks which are continually pressing upon them. We ought to recognize, more and more in the present stage of missionary enterprise, that the rank and file work should be done by native workers. They think the thoughts of the people as we never can. They speak the language as we never can. They live amongst them as we never can. If Christianity is to be naturalized in the countries of the world, it will only be as Christian natives become the evangelists and native homes become the training ground. There are already in every great mission field some who have had the advantage in their childhood of Christian education, who are likely to profit by all the advantages of training, and who, if their hearts are touched, and they feel the call of God upon them, will make better evangelists than the best of foreigners. We must give increasing strength to the training of our native ministry of both sexes; and to this end we must have a larger proportion of thoroughly educated and capable men and women sent out to the mission field. We must recognize more and more that the foreign missionary is to be the officer of the company — the head of the department, the general of the army, rather than the soldier in the ranks.

Second, this leads me naturally to mention the need for a recognition of the growing importance of systematic labor in educational and literary work as one of the most urgent demands of the modern mission field. Next to the proclamation of the gospel, the most serious need of the young Christian communities of the East is such an education for their children as will lift them out of the ignorance and darkness of the past and put them in a new position materially and intellectually as well as spiritually. If education is of importance, pure literature is equally important. In the early stages of our mission work, it often happens that the only reading book is a more or less imperfect translation of the Gospels; but to leave our people in that condition, or even with the whole Bible and the "Peep-of-Day" and the "Pilgrim's Progress," is to leave them still in the nursery. They need books, and as Western education extends they will get books in India and China, whether we provide them or not. But if we do not provide them we must not be surprised if the literature that is circulated is not by any means helpful to the development of that strong

and pure Christian life which we desire to see created and maintained amongst them.

Third, the church must learn to look at this great missionary enterprise more seriously than it has hitherto done, and must provide more adequately in men and means for the prosecution of the work. Dr. Lyman Abbott, in his most thoughtful and interesting paper, spoke of the mission stations in Africa as glow-worms amidst darkness, and insisted that the railroad, the store, and the reign of law must come before the gospel if Africa was to be evangelized. I venture to suggest that this is not true in experience, and that a much simpler and in the end much less expensive way of doing things could be found. If your capitalists go mining in Africa, they are content to spend millions of dollars in setting up plants for gold crushing, and feel themselves well rewarded if they get eight or ten pennyweight of metal for every ton of dirt. If your politicians want to reduce to order some native tribe in some obscure corner of the earth, they feel it necessary to send a fully equipped army, with every branch of the service represented, and they feel themselves seriously culpable if, through neglect of any detail in provision, unnecessary loss of life should occur; but when the church of Christ wants to evangelize Africa, it feels it is doing well if it provides two or three missionaries at stations two or three hundred miles apart; and it is surprised if those workers, poorly equipped with means and seldom encouraged by cheering words from home, are not speedily successful in their great endeavor. Give us funds as your capitalists give their funds. Give us men as your politicians give their soldiers, and then begin to compare the work of the church with the work of the world. The one great condition of success in the missionary enterprise to-day is that the church should be alive to the fact of its greatness, and of its own responsibility to perform it, and should arouse itself in the strength of the Lord and in the fullness of that rich provision the Lord has given it, and undertake the task on lines of adequate magnitude and wise adaptation.

Address

An address on "The Living Christ" was delivered by the Rev. Alfred Cave, B.A., D.D., of England, principal and professor of Theological Encyclopædia, Apologetics, Doctrinal Theology, and Homiletics, at Hackney College, London.

Address by Rev. Alfred Cave, B.A., D.D.

THE LIVING CHRIST

I. THE RECOVERY OF CHRIST?

We have been told on high authority that this nineteenth century, the century of so many great discoveries, has excelled its other exploits by rediscovering the Christ. The scholars and critics of the last fifty years have recovered, it is said, the lost Christ. I have never been able to understand the opinion. I did not know that Jesus had been lost. Many religious movements, intellectual, moral, and social, have characterized this century, and I had hoped Jesus was in them all. Since Pentecost, and the advent of the Holy Spirit, the world had constantly known, I had believed, the Spiritual, the Living Christ.

Of course, I understand that every soul that becomes a member of

the kingdom of God, in the New Testament sense, discovers Christ, but that is a discovery which, blessed be God, goes on in all churches and in all centuries. And, of course, I also understand that some centuries have been years of peculiar Christian insight and of exceptional Christian character, but I am not sure that I could say that of this nineteenth century, though I hope it will be said of the twentieth. The Christian churches of this century have had too much fighting to do, and colonizing, to develop the more meditative side of Christian life. And, of course, I know the evidence which has been offered of this recovery of Christ. Lives of Jesus, we have been told, have been the successes of our book markets, from the rationalistic Lives of Jesus by Paulus and Strauss and Renan to the more evangelical Lives of Farrar and Stalker and Didon. But do these popular Lives of Jesus amount to a recovery of Christ? Do they even prove that more is known of Christ to-day by their readers than was known by our fathers? Our fathers, be it remembered, found their biographies of Jesus in the four Gospels. Nor am I by any means convinced that it is better to read Dean Farrar's circumstantial "Life of Christ" than the circumstantial Gospel according to St. Mark, or to read Edersheim's "Life of Jesus the Messiah" than the Messianic Gospel of St. Matthew, or the cultured Didon's "Jesus Christ" in preference to the Gospel by the cultured Luke. Nor can I think that Renan's romantic *Vie de Jésus* better discovers Christ than the Gospel according to the holy John. Indeed, I am disposed to say with Fleury: "Whoever imagines he could write these Gospels better, simply shows he does not understand them." This age has certainly brought to our knowledge, as never before, the Christ of history. But in the search after the Christ of history you may divert attention from the Living Christ. Our Christian faith does not depend upon a life of Christ of a strictly scientific kind, with every date exactly determined, and every spot minutely described. Settle the precise date of our Lord's birth, you have done interesting archæological work, but your argument has brought no man nearer the kingdom of heaven. Accurately assign to years and months and days every event in our Lord's human life, and your chronological efforts are interesting to chronologists and others, but you have conveyed to no man that Jesus is the Light of the World, the Living Bread for every hungry soul, and the Water that welleth up eternally to quench spiritual thirst. Decide the interminable dispute as to whether Jesus died on the 14th or 15th of Nisan, and again you have laid the historically inclined under obligation, but you have helped no poor soul to learn that there is spiritual cleansing in the blood of Jesus. In our modern biographies of Jesus, stress is apt to be laid upon the wrong things.

II. THE THREE CHRISTS

A great writer, not unknown and not unhonored in Boston, has told us that every John is three Johns, and every Thomas is three Thomases, and consequently that, when John and Thomas are conversing together, among the six there is apt to be misapprehension. Every man, that is to say, is three men, namely, what he really is, what he thinks he is, and what other people think him. Well, it is worth while reminding us of our composite selves. But I have a more important truth to emphasize. There are three Christs, the confusion of which has done a good deal of mischief. There is the Christ of History, and there is the Christ of Dogma, and there is the Christ of Experience.

By the Christ of History I mean the Christ of the historian. The historian desires to paint a picture in prose as true as it can be; it may be of a nation, it may be of an epoch, it may be of a man. And history is of two kinds.

There is artistic history and there is scientific history. The artistic type is rather literary than critical. Its aim is to tell a good story. Striking scenes, dramatic situations, interesting speeches, picturesque heroes — these are the sphere of artistic history. History of this high literary type aims at perfect forms, strives after weighty and dignified and beautiful speech, brings in wherever possible acute moral reflections, displays whenever it can political sagacity. Indeed, there is no great step from the literary history to the historical novel. Now there have been artistic histories of Christ. Then there is the scientific variety of history. This scientific form is characterized by minute research, careful study of environment, exact inquiries into date; it is great on causes and effects; it is sensitive about evolution; it deals much with the influences of heredity and vicinity. A true picture, whether artistic or not, is its ideal. The scientific history is not so careful about literary form; it rather avoids moral reflections; but it is laborious in all varieties of research — manuscript and printed sources, geographical and climatic conditions. And we have had scientific history of Jesus of Nazareth. One writer gives us a "Study of the Saviour in the Newer Light," and another presents us with "The Natural History of the Christian Religion." By the Christ of History, then, I mean the life of Jesus as told by the historian, whether his aim be literary or scientific.

By the Christ of Dogma I mean what Christ is to the Christian thinker. I intend no slur by the name "dogma." Nor do I draw any distinction between "doctrine" and "dogma." I am a Protestant and not a Romanist, and therefore no dogma of the church is to me more than the doctrine of its thinkers. Some have informed us that dogma is dead, but dogma cannot die. Ever since there has been a church of Christ, there has been an attempt to explain to the intellect all that is meant by Jesus Christ, his person and his work. From the religious attitude, thinking men have necessarily passed to the theological.

There are multitudes, I know, who believe profoundly in the divinity and atonement of Jesus who have never studied with any care or thoroughness the evidence either for the Person or work of Christ; nay, there are multitudes of believers who are actually unable by constitution or by circumstances to collect or weigh the necessary evidence. I, for one, heartily believe in their belief. They have the inner testimony of the Christian consciousness, which is by no means so irrational as some logical minds have averred. On the other hand, there are believers in Jesus who can argue as well as state their convictions, who can weigh the evidence, who can defend the position assumed, who can express their careful belief in balanced language. There are those who are ready to give to any man a reason for the faith that is in them. There is a belief in Jesus which is the product of the Christian consciousness; there is a belief in Jesus which is the dictate of the Christian intellect. Now, it is this intellectual belief which constitutes the Christ of Dogma. The Christ of Dogma is a Christ of two natures, human and divine, but of one Personality. The Christ of Dogma is a Christ of three states — his state of preëxistence, and his state of incarnation, and his state of glory. The Christ of Dogma is a Christ of three offices — in each of his three states he is our Prophet or Divine Teacher, our Priest or Divine Mediator, and our King or Divine Ruler. Now, I have no word to say against the Christ of Dogma. The theological attitude is inevitable. Nay, I have always found that those who object to doctrine in religion always do so for doctrinal reasons. We can no more refuse to think concerning Christ than concerning anything or concerning any one else. Any thought once expressed in words brings you to the Christ of Dogma.

Then there is the Christ of Experience. The Christ of History is the

Christ of the historian or of those historically inclined. The Christ of Dogma is the Christ of the theologian or of those theologically inclined. The Christ of Experience is the Christ of no class, but of all men. The Christ of Experience is open to man as man. Choose to be the disciple of Jesus; accept him as teacher; submit your reason for him to illuminate, your conscience for him to direct, your will for him to inspire, your very life for him to control, your very destiny for him to shape, and straightway the Christ of Experience demonstrates himself to be a power over mind and heart and conduct. When the Living Christ calls, follow; when the Living Christ commands, obey; when the Living Christ teaches, listen; let his whisper become your truth, his hint your law, his friendship your hope; and a clear voice, audible above all human voices, makes itself heard, saying, in oriental salute, "Peace be unto you." Into your heart the Living Christ has come. As we open the door, the Living Christ enters, and our souls are borne along as upon a flood-tide setting from the throne of God. Jesus has come to sup with us. There is stimulus, conquest; ennobling is his very presence. We can feel nothing but Jesus, we can think of nothing but Jesus; his will is our only law. At the conscious advent of the Living Christ into our souls, we know the Christ of Experience. When the Living Christ enters our hearts as a welcome guest, the consummation is reached of God's approach to man. It is the advent to the human soul of the Spirit of Christ. It is the spiritual advent of Christ.

III. THE LIVING CHRIST ALONE INDISPENSABLE

Of the three Christs the only indispensable Christ is the Christ of Experience. It is his presence alone which can make tolerable the Christ of History or the Christ of Dogma. Let the Christ of History be depicted for us by any one, however æsthetic or cultured or scholarly, and let the painter have no personal knowledge of the Christ of Experience, and his representation is misrepresentation — of course it is. You must know Christ to paint him. You must love Christ to paint him, however unworthily. As I read some well-known Lives of Jesus I am reminded of a lecturer upon George Fox. Most carefully and charmingly had the facts of Fox's life been sketched and discussed and told, but after the lecture a Quaker went up to the platform and made this simple remark: "Friend, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep." The soul must be large that would fathom Christ. I know no boredom like reading Lives of Christ by men, who, write they never so prettily, manifestly are ignorant of the Christ of Experience. Who ever read to the end Strauss' *Leben Jesu?* Then these scientific Lives of Christ. Only a knowledge by their writers of the Christ of Experience can make them tolerable. Science has many limitations. There is a beauty and a soul which science misses. You may turn botanist with a rose, and lay out before you most accurately its calyx and corolla, its sepals and its petals, but with all your technique, where is the rose? The scalpel of an anatomist is a poor instrument with which to study a human face. Pedantic work it is reducing the nightingale's song to musical notes. If you would revel in summer sunshine you had better leave your spectroscope at home. Chemistry, with physics thrown in, cannot tell the secret of Niagara. A scientific picture of Christ, which emanates from a man who does not know the Christ of Experience, is simply unscientific. Again, the Christ of Dogma is only useful to him who knows the Christ of Experience. Experience and no doctrine is better than doctrine and no experience. What do we mean by Pharisaism but just this, most orthodox doctrine where there are no eyes for the Living

Christ? Know Christ historically and you know a picture of him more or less accurate. Know Christ doctrinally, and you know a definition of him more or less exact. Know Christ experimentally, and you know Christ himself. The Christ of History is man showing Christ; the Christ of Dogma is man showing Christ; the Christ of Experience is the Living Christ declaring himself.

IV. HOW KNOW THE LIVING CHRIST?

Here comes in a very important question. Knowledge of the Christ of History and knowledge of the Christ of Dogma may be acquired by ordinary mental processes. Read and you may know; listen to sermons, and you may know. But how are we to arrive at knowledge of the Christ of Experience? How can we come to know the Living Christ?

The problem is both serious and vital. It is the problem of all genuine religion. It is the problem which every true preacher must come to some settlement upon for personal peace of mind and for spiritual usefulness. There is no faithful pulpit which has not settled that stupendous question. It is the prerogative of the Living Christ to disclose himself to us. It is the preacher's privilege to prepare the way of the Lord. There are deserts to be straightened into highways; there are hills to be leveled; there are crooked places to be made straight and rough places to be made plain and valleys to be filled in. There are blind eyes to be opened and deaf ears to be unstopped. Moral work of many kinds has the preacher to do, and intellectual work and practical work. As a messenger he is to announce the coming of the King. All that he knows of the King he is to tell, unintelligible though his words will often appear. Much will depend upon the fidelity of the message, and much will depend upon the fidelity of the messenger. All that man can do in this spiritual work man must do. Our Lord himself must walk up the mountain before he is transfigured on the top. But the preacher's comfort is that he knows that, as he speaks at times, Christ comes. The way has been prepared, and suddenly the Lord, the Living Christ, has come to his temple. Preaching at its best is a sacrament; to faithful human toil of many kinds there is added, by the grace of the Living Christ, a divine presence.

The transition from the spoken word to the regenerating presence is the most blessed part of the preacher's experience. Oh, the blessedness and power that transition inaugurates! Let me illustrate the point before I pass on.

The time has come, let us suppose, the very painful time in the life of a foreign missionary and his wife when they must say farewell to their child returning to civilized lands for education. And the child has a very distinct remembrance for a while of parents and home. But the child is growing fast, body and soul and spirit. An indefiniteness is coming into the filial relation. What is father like? What is it to have a mother? The yearning affections call out they scarce know for what. True, there are letters many, and an occasional portrait from the far-off land. But there is an unsatisfied soul hunger, and there is mind confusion. One day the child is told, "Go into such and such a room and your father and mother are there." What an experience, when eyes meet eyes and heart clasps heart, and the riches of fatherhood and motherhood and childhood are disclosed. The advent of the Living Christ is something like that. We have had our letters and portraits from a distant Christ in the Bible and in sermons and in the various means of grace. For these we are supremely thankful. But the Bible is not himself, nor are sermons about him himself. Oh, the joy of the day when the Living Christ enters our

hearts, whispering his own inimitable "Fear not," and "All hail!" So much for the experience itself.

Now for the preacher's part, parallels to which every preacher and possibly every Christian in this audience could supply. After I had been preaching once in one of our best-known English pulpits, a young fellow came up to me in the vestry — "Thank you, sir, for your sermon. I wish I believed as you do, but I do not. I am the son of Unitarianism, and Jesus Christ is not to me what he is to you. I am especially set against your miraculous view of Jesus." I knew that one of the critical moments known to most ministers had come to me, and according to my usual custom, a prayer for guidance winged its flight to heaven. The only thing which came into my mind to say was: "Will you oblige me by reading carefully, in private if you can, the Gospel according to St. John?" "Yes," he replied, "I will do so, but what about the miracle question?" "Let us discuss that later on" was all I could say. A few weeks passed; the young fellow called upon me. A glance at him showed he was in his former condition. "I have done what you asked," said he, "and I have very much enjoyed reading the Gospel. Jesus was a remarkable man, and the story is told in a remarkable way; but to my mind the miraculous element colors and spoils everything." Again, I asked for guidance in the momentary thought, and to my own pain and disappointment, the only response I could make was: "Now oblige me, my friend, by reading that Gospel once more." A few weeks after the young man returned. His very step was more alert, his face brighter. "Well," said I, "things are different then?" "Yes, sir, and I can scarcely say how. I was reading the Gospel steadily, and suddenly the thought grew upon me, what a marvelous man this is! What marvelous words! What marvelous thoughts! What marvelous acts! Surely there is the accent of truth everywhere! I found myself praying, 'Lord, make thyself known to me as to the disciples at Emmaus, if thou canst.' I do not know how it was; a miracle had happened to me; I knew I was speaking with Christ, and he was speaking with me. I had gained a new experience, and that experience seemed to change my outlook upon everything. All my questionings about the miraculous fell away; it was not necessary to answer them. My rationalism was gone because of my new experiences; why, my half-avowed materialism, my drawings to positivism, all these, too, had fallen away, because of my new experiences." The Living Christ had settled the matter, you see. I had been the instrument in preparing the way, and then the Living Christ had demonstrated himself. At his approach, old things had passed away, all things had become new. Brother preachers, let us prepare the way of the Lord — praying will have much to do with our laboring and thinking and living. The Living Christ himself will show us how to make his paths straight.

V. ONCE KNOWN, AN IDEAL OBTAINED

And when the Living Christ comes to a man, he comes to stay. From the moment that we have clearly heard the royal '*Akolouthei moi* (Follow me) of the Living Christ, from the moment we have determined to go his way, acknowledging him as Captain, Teacher, King, from that moment we have a new and ever-enlarging experience. We have gained a new sense, we have entered upon a new world. There is something ridiculously narrow to us about many of our prior conceptions. I remember as a boy forming a close boyish friendship with a blind basket-maker, and being much amused at his views of things. He could tell accurately the colors of the different skeins of willow he worked with. I asked him how.

"Well," said he, "blue you see has a sort of shiny feel; and yellow is like a number of very small spots; and red seems to have no feeling at all." The man must have had some very strange associations with the blue of the sky, and the yellows and reds of the sunset. I think, too, he must have wondered a little at the enthusiasm expressed by those with eyes. And many of our judgments were as foolish, before the advent of the Living Christ. A long adjustment has to be undergone to get all we can from his presence. We cannot know the Living Christ, and not wish to think more as he thinks, and feel more as he feels, and act more as he acts. Our ideal becomes ever more clear, with the daily more precious friendship of the Living Christ. Our certainty becomes ever more assured with the daily more momentous fellowship of the Living Christ. All parts of our nature should be affected, if we do not wish to become one-sided. Heart grows in reliving his love, mind grows in grasping his thought, will strengthens in doing his wish. It is in such mental development that the Christ of History becomes really useful to us, for whenever we learn what the historians can teach, the Living Christ can supply what they lack. And it is in such mental progress that the Christ of Dogma can be so useful to us. How blind and deaf are the historians to much we see and hear, but we will learn from them all we can, communing meanwhile with the Living Christ. The winter of dogma may invigorate our thinking, whilst the presence of the Living Christ shall make the winter summer time. Nay, the very trouble of our life, and the doubts of our minds, are different things since he has come. The doubt which the Living Christ does not see fit to remove ceases to disturb. The burden which the Living Christ does not see fit to take away affects us like an invigorating waft from the eternal sea.

VI. ONCE KNOWN, A TEST OF ALL BELIEF

Once know and accept the friendship of the Living Christ, and a new range of experiences, thoughts, and duties open before us. We have entered a new life; we have become as little children; there is an infinite avenue of new thought to climb; there is an infinite ocean of new feeling to sound; there is an infinite task of previously unrecognized duty to achieve. Life in the kingdom of God is an eternal growth, and that is on all sides of our nature.

Thus our new experiences provide us with a test of all beliefs. As the apostle John has told us, we "have an unction from the Holy One," and we "have all things"; we "need not that any one teach" us. As the apostle Paul has said: "He that is spiritual discerneth all things. . . . We have the mind of Christ." In our growing fellowship with the Living Christ, we have a touchstone of what to believe and what not to believe.

Forgive a personal reference, but I give it only in emphasizing the point before us.

In the days before my conversion I attended for some months quite regularly the services of the London Positivists. Now it is very easy to raise a laugh at the revelations of Auguste Comte and to amuse ourselves at the conceit of the man who finds in poor humanity his Supreme Being, his *Grand Etre*. But the Positivist position had strength, as well as weakness. Its strength lay in its love of facts, and in its refusal to believe except on adequate evidence. Its belief in science, its insistence upon observation and experience, its reverence for the great intellectual leaders of our race, fascinated me, I frankly confess. But my reverence for Positivism fell away under the stress of a new experience. In his mercy God led me out of darkness into his marvelous light. As surely as I knew that

I was alive, I knew that I was alive unto God. I knew as a fact, and as I knew all other facts, what is meant by the internal testimony of the Holy Ghost. At once I saw that the Positivist leaders, whom I had so highly esteemed, were ignoring facts as real as any facts of the realm of the physical. While boasting that they clave ever to the region of experience, I found them ignoring a large section of that region. God and the Divine World were outside the access of human experience, they said; now I knew they were wrong. I had heard the other side, by the grace of God. God and his forgiveness, Christ and his friendship, had demonstrated themselves to me, and my Positivism fell away forever. It is part of my personal experience that I know the Living Christ as surely as I know myself.

Let the Living Christ come into your soul, my brother; open to him the door, when he stands and knocks, and you have entered upon many new convictions. You know that there is a Soul in the Universe, and materialism dies away. The uncertainty of the agnostic as to a spiritual realm can never again be yours. The Personality of the Divine, the Divine Holiness, and Love and Forgiveness, are all realities. When the Living Christ demonstrates himself, a New Testament has been added to our life besides the Old Testament of our natural selves.

Nor is it unreasonable, this Christian experience. It has the highest testimony of all truth. It is postulate, not deduction; it is fact, not inference; it is first-hand, not secondary; it is intuition, not argument; it is the clearest of all knowledge, and the most sure of all truth. All it means is, that the eye of the soul has begun to see, and the ear of the soul to hear, and the mouth of the soul to taste. A whole new realm of knowledge has been added to an earlier acquisition.

And this friendship of the Living Christ is very steadying. In his remarkable book, "The Living Christ and the Four Gospels," Dr. Dale has called eloquent attention to this stability. How is it that renewed and prolonged attacks on the Christian faith, — assaults from our own preachers and sustained with great intellectual vigor and with all the resources both of the older learning and of the new sciences, — have produced so little effect! How is it that the discoveries of geology, and the theory of Darwin, and the attacks on the Gospels of Strauss and the Tübingen school, and the modern criticism of the Jewish Scriptures, have had so little effect upon the rank and file of the Christian church, agitating the pulpit a great deal more than they agitate the pew? How is it? Dr. Dale truly says in reply to this question that those who know the Living Christ have a witness within themselves. As Dr. Dale insists, there is an argument from experience.

I have no time to expound the position. Nor is there much need to do so. I have mentioned Dr. Dale, who has passed to this open vision since our first International Congregational Council. Let me mention another who has also passed to the eternal shore, too early as it seems to us. In Dr. Lewis French Stearns' "Evidence of Christian Experience" is a book that those who have read will not willingly let die. In that able book the whole enormous range of the argument is most admirably suggested.

VII. ONCE KNOWN, A TEST FOR ALL WORSHIP

In the Living Christ there is given to us the settlement of the great controversy between Romanism and Protestantism. The career of Luther has been repeated in myriads of lives. The system of human mediation falls away in the advent to our souls of the Living Christ. Who wants stars or even moon when the sun is up? Who wants priests and masses

and mechanical sacraments, and all the paraphernalia of Judaism back again, when Christ has come to the heart? Loving him, and worshiping him, feeling with him, thinking with him, acting with him, the utterances of popes and councils seem strangely crude, the ceremonies of priestly ministrants seem bluntly material. It is all petrifaction and externality, fossil and fetish, where the Living Christ we know is life and spirit, love and presence, God and Friend.

VIII. ONCE KNOWN, A GUIDE FOR ALL CONDUCT

Rejoicing in the friendship of the Living Christ, we desire to do as our heavenly Friend wishes. "In His Steps" we would walk, not mechanically and legally, but spiritually and evangelically. In every hour of difficulty there is our Friend to refer to, and the growing acquaintance with the Living Christ means growing acquaintance with his mind. The law of life for us is, as he himself said in the day of his flesh, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness."

But, blessed be the name of the Lord, a new and enlarged meaning begins to enter into our view of his righteousness. There is a righteousness which is personal, and there is a righteousness which is altruistic. In the phrase of Henry Drummond there is a righteousness which is a struggle for life, and there is a righteousness which is a struggle for the life of others.

Now in the centuries of Protestantism there has been a remarkable deepening of experience. Compare "The Imitation of Christ" with "The Pilgrim's Progress" and you will see it; or compare Fénelon's "Spiritual Letters" with Jonathan Edwards' "Resolutions" and you will see it. There is nothing in Roman Catholicism at its best equal to the peace and joy of Protestantism at its best. But how much of Protestantism has been saving our own souls, and maturing our own lives? Prayer, faith, the reading of the Bible, personal feeling with Jesus — those have been the great Christian virtues. But a larger view of Christian duty begins to be felt, under the suggestion, doubtless, of the Living Christ. We now understand that it is the duty of every Christian to stand for the mind of Christ everywhere, in the store, in the parish meeting, in the political gathering, in the state, in the Parliament, wherever we are called to live and work we are to be known as thinking with Jesus, and feeling with Jesus, and acting with Jesus. The world has to be won for Christ in a larger sense than our fathers knew. Wherever there are wrongs, wherever there are tyrannies, wherever principles of evil are working their frightful mischiefs, wherever bodies as well as souls are suffering as they should not, there every Christian stands for Christ and the kingdom of God.

Is it not good that the last word at this International Congregational Council should be upon the Living Christ? For faith in the Living Christ, and all that such faith means, our fathers lived and died. We have fallen upon better days. But we have no other watchword. For the Living Christ we speak, we live, we work. Our great Puritan heritage, in a single phrase, is just this attitude, "For the Living Christ." We are battalions in the Church Militant; other battalions have other banners; but ours floats clear, "The Living Christ." We are entering a new century: let us win it for the Living Christ. Shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, soul to soul, let us do our allotted task, — our English and American Congregationalism, — and God defend the right. There is victory in our battle cry. At Naseby fight, the white banner of the Queen floated side by side with the royal standard, and so the Cavaliers rang

forth as their war-cry, "Queen Mary." How could they hope to stand before Cromwell's shout, "God our Strength"? For the kingdom of God and his righteousness we will stand, will we not? In life and in death and beyond, and our one watchword ever "The Living Christ."

At the close of Principal Cave's address, the hymn "Hail to the Lord's anointed" was sung.

Nominating Committee Reconstituted

Upon motion of the business committee it was

Voted: That in view of the absence of several members of the nominating committee, the committee for nominating the next provisional committee should consist of the vice-presidents and such members of the nominating committee as are present.

Address

Rev. George C. Lorimer, D.D., pastor of the Tremont Temple Baptist church, was introduced and addressed the Council as follows:

Address by Rev. George C. Lorimer, D.D.

Mr. President and Brethren, — You have been passing resolutions commendatory of your committee and of our good city. I am sure that could I convene a gathering of our citizens they would in turn pass resolutions commendatory of the International Council. For if the city made magnificent and hospitable preparations for your reception, you on your side have made most magnificent preparations for our entertainment and our inspiration. I therefore, as a citizen of this "no mean city," take great pleasure in voicing what I know is in the hearts of multitudes of our people, thanking you, both the Congregational brethren from abroad and also those who are from other portions of our own country, and saying to you that when you can find no other place of meeting, come again and we will take you in. We have been very glad to have you in Tremont Temple. There was a time when you were not as cordial to us as we have been to you, but, though you turned us out of Massachusetts once, we are more than pleased to have this palatial temple wherein to receive you, and to show that brotherly love continues, and that bygones are bygones for good and all.

You have had one demonstration that I trust you will not forget. It is that in this city of Boston there is no theme that appeals to our people more fully and more strongly than the subject of religion. There is no topic that you can bring to this city that will command the hearing that you have had of our best citizens, and in such numbers, as the great and all-absorbing topic of our faith. You will find it to be true here that when men come together, as you have, with a distinct message to speak, people are always ready to hear. We clergyman very likely may carry it with us from the city, and those who remain behind may keep the message as a guide for our own life, that when we have definite convictions positively to express, especially if they center in the Living Christ, the multitude of the most intelligent of our people are only too anxious to listen. What the world has grown tired of is pulpit themes consisting of the merest drivel and twaddle concerning all kinds of trivial matters. Magnify the subjects

of contemplation, and there will sweep over our land, and over all the world, a magnificent revival of religion.

Another thing I want to impress upon you in these few words that I am permitted to speak to you is this: We believe that the mission of Congregationalism is not ended. It has practically only commenced. For Congregationalism can never be at its best except when it enjoys the privileges afforded to it by free institutions. Congregationalism in England is greater to-day than it was at the beginning of this century; and the Congregational principle in this country is marvelously strong, and means to carry out a wonderful program for the world's conquest to Jesus Christ. I was delighted to hear what Mr. Thompson had to say about the vast movements among us for missionary extension. Brethren, it is true that the European world has been partitioning up and labeling the parts of the earth occupied by savage and semi-savage tribes, on island and on continent. Some of us are perfectly willing that the Old World should have the monopoly of that business, and that we should try to save this whole continent, north and south, to liberty and Jesus Christ. But we have, as English-speaking people, to realize that the great burden rests upon us for the world's evangelization. You know Austin sang a year or so ago: —

> Aye, fling them out to the breeze,
> The Shamrock, the Thistle, and Rose,
> And the Star Spangled Banner
> Unfurl it with ease,
> A message to friends and foes.
> Wherever the sails of peace are seen,
> Or wherever the storm wind blows,
> A message to bond and thralled to wake,
> For wherever we come, we twain,
> The throne of the tyrant shall rock and shake,
> And his menace be void and vain,
> For ye are the lords of the young, strong land,
> And we are the lords of the main.

We are glad to see the two flags blended together here, and I trust they will float side by side on sea and land; and wherever they float that the poor and oppressed, the cursed by many years of superstition, may be able to turn their eyes to the light, thanking God that liberty has dawned, and that the light of the everlasting truth of Christ is flushing the sky to make beautiful their lands forever. Only for this, and not for conquest, not for terrorism, not for gold, not for ambition, not for earthly purposes, but for the glory of the Living Christ let us join hands and move onward, and God will give us the victory.

Missionary Address

It was the intention of the program committee to give this session a decidedly missionary character, and it was proposed to have reports from several fields. These began with the following address by the Rev. Otis Cary, of Japan.

Address by Rev. Otis Cary

Mr. President and Christian Friends, — A great burden of sorrow was taken from my heart by the first paper to which we listened this afternoon, because I feared lest this great Council should dissolve without anything

being done to parry what seemed to me the terrible blow that was struck at foreign missions by a paper read on a recent forenoon. I felt that if no one else should speak upon that subject I could hardly keep silent, but one has spoken and perhaps there is no cause for my adding more unless to show you how one missionary looks upon that subject.

We were told that the gospel could do but very little in certain lands unless it was preceded by the law, and the context showed that for great parts of Africa and for some other portions of the world law meant armed subjugation. Now if this is true, it is certainly very important for us to know it, for in the present condition of the treasuries of our boards a just regard for true economy would lead us to withdraw from certain fields and wait for a while until greed, political purposes, or some other cause should send armies to subjugate those whom we would bring to Christ. But is the assertion true? It would seem to me that the assertion is disproved by many a fact in ancient and in modern history. How is it in regard to Africa itself? Have those who have gone forth from the Congregational churches of America and of England into many tribes as yet unsubdued kindled a light that can fitly be compared to that of the glow-worm? How about Madagascar, to which these missionaries of the London Missionary Society went? Did the light that they kindled pale before the glorious sun, the coming of French conquest and law? And how in regard to missions that have been conducted in Hawaii, in Micronesia, in Samoa, and other islands of the sea? How was it with those missionaries of the Wesleyan Society who went into the very darkest part of the world, even into the midst of cannibals and held up the cross of Christ? Yes, let the church be in earnest. Give to us a hundredth part of the men that are sent forth on these expeditions of conquest; give to us a hundredth part of the money that is expended in such operations, and then see whether any one can talk of glow-worms. A single first-class war vessel with its armament costs more than all of the Protestant churches of America spend in a year for foreign missions.

> Were half the power that fills the earth with terror,
> Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
> Given to redeem the human mind from error,
> There were no need of arsenals and forts.

Do not misunderstand my meaning. I am not discussing the question whether other reasons justify what England has done in Africa, what America is doing in distant islands; but when it is conceded that these things are necessary for the progress of Christ's kingdom I, as a missionary of the Prince of Peace, must protest. To an ancient prophet there was taught a more excellent way for building up God's holy temple. Read the message as given in the margin of the Revised Version: "*Not by an army*, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

But away with controversy. We, after all, whatever our various views on this and other questions may be, are united in one thing: we would see the Living Christ held up before men, and whether it be that we go where contending armies march before us or whether we go where as yet there have not been those scenes of blood, let us go forth in Christ's name, holding up his cross, that men may see and know him as their Saviour and their Lord.

Address

Rev. J. Vernon Bartlet, M.A., of England, professor of Church History in Mansfield College, Oxford, addressed the Council in discussion of Principal Cave's paper.

Address by Rev. J. Vernon Bartlet, M.A.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel the difficulty of my position here this afternoon in that I have to call your thoughts back to the second paper. I feel also my difficulty in that I may appear in some degree to take from the effect of the remarks contained therein. I wish from the start to disclaim any such intention.

But I cannot help feeling, with reference to Dr. Cave's paper, that some of us will go away with thoughts in our hearts unexpressed. Some of us have felt that there are in our churches those who, had they been present, would not have received quite the light which they desiderated, although they would probably have responded in their hearts to the spirit of the thoughts presented. Accordingly I have to ask you to consider for a moment the importance of theological accuracy in relation to a profound religious idea. Now the phrase, "the Living Christ," is one that has come into vogue lately, but I cannot think that the phrase is at all a happy one. I know of no body of Christians that has ever adored a dead Christ; and therefore this choice of the phrase, "the Living Christ," seems to me to contain the danger of confusion of thought. It suggests, as far as I understand it, that Christ is to be in a more immediate relation to certain Christians to-day than has been the case in the past history of the church as a whole, and through some experience of an exceptional character. But whatever may be the associations of this novel phrase placed in the center of our religious nomenclature, what I wish to submit is this: that to many minds it appears to transfer to Christ the function assigned in Scripture to the Holy Spirit. I may explain myself by quoting a Scriptural text which will take us to the heart of the matter. St. Paul says, "I bow my knees unto the Father, . . . that ye may be strengthened with power through his Spirit in the inward man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith." Now it appears to me that there is a real danger lest the phrase in question overshadow our consciousness of the function of the Holy Spirit, who has been called by some respected theologians "the executive of the Godhead." As I take it, the teaching of the New Testament, and particularly the teaching of Christ in the Gospel of John, is that the revelation of Christ depends primarily upon the action of the Holy Spirit upon the heart. He takes the things of Christ and shows them to men. Christ had to say, "It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you." And in speaking of his own return to the disciples he spoke with all emphasis about the coming of that other Comforter through whose coming he also should return.

Some may say that this is mere theological refinement. Pardon me if I think it is not. Pardon me if I think that a religious phrase has certain theological suggestions which in the long run work themselves out in the popular consciousness. Pardon me if I think the perspective of Scripture is better than the perspective of a modern phrase. I am not arguing against anything which has been said about the necessity of personal experience. Experience has been the backbone of the Christian church from the first. It was the experience of Paul, of Bernard, of Francis of Assisi, of John Eliot, of Robert Dale, which gave them their power. They differed in many ways: but all were profoundly penetrated by personal experience of Christ. What I am submitting is that there is danger lest while we represent "the Living Christ" as disclosing himself immediately to the human heart, men ask in perplexity, "Where, then, is the function of the Holy Spirit?" I do not wish here and now to go into the high theology of this subject, according to which it may be said that wherever the Divine Word is, there is the Holy Spirit,

and wherever the Holy Spirit is, there is the Divine Word. I simply urge that many people will carry away the impression that the doctrine about the Holy Spirit is superfluous, because all that is necessary is to pray to the Divine Christ to reveal himself, and that this is the sum total of Christian theology. I think there is a great danger here at the present moment, just because there is abroad a strong tendency against mysticism. The Ritschlian theology, to which reference was made, has, as one of its main objects, the doing away of what is called pietism, or false mysticism. And it is most unfortunate that we should use any phrase which lends itself to the criticism of those who take up that position. The true course, to my mind, is to lay all the stress that the Ritschlians do upon the contemplation of the image of the historical Christ in the Gospels, and then say further that the mystical Christ, the Christ of faith, or of Christian experience, dawns upon the human soul, as it broods on that image through the action of the Holy Spirit taking of the things of Christ and showing them to us. If we state it in that form, I believe we shall state it in the form that satisfies all the facts of religious experience and is not liable to the criticism of discriminating theological minds.

One other thought. There is a special danger in connection with so sacred a subject, that it should become discredited by crude statements, which pain many minds and deter others from the consideration of it. Yet all of us are familiar with a form of statement something like this, that "Christ said so and so to me." Now, if we mean that literally, in the sense in which our next-door neighbor might say a thing to us, we are confronted by the fact that different people make this statement to a contrary effect — conflicting things are said by the same Christ to different people — and so confusion is introduced. If we do not allow for the human factor at work — the human ear, as it were, which is an imperfect organ spiritually, as it is physically — we bring in the limitations of our thought and compromise Christ with the results. If, on the other hand, we boldly affirm that, with all our imperfect hearing, with all our human limitations, we are yet capable of being so quickened by the Spirit of God as to have the eyes of our heart enlightened that we see Christ as our Life; then we may be mistaken in some things that have come to us under that form, but we do not compromise the Christ of whom we speak. These things, I fear, may seem to some of you theological subtleties or captious discrimination. I speak only to those in this house who do not feel them to be such. The rest I ask to forget them.

Address

Rev. Robert Craig, M.A., D.D., of Scotland, pastor of the Bristo-place Congregational church, Edinburgh, spoke as follows in discussion of the stated papers.

Address by Rev. Robert Craig, M.A., D.D.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, — I had not the least intention of speaking here this afternoon, but after hearing the papers of Mr. Thompson and Dr. Cave, I felt that there was need at least for some remark to be made on each of them and on the relation between them. In my youth, sir, I felt the charm of the writings of Channing and knew the power and the subtlety of the Unitarian argument. I afterwards came to consider, and consider carefully, the writings of Moses Stuart, and it was needful then to think of some things which he brought before the mind of New

England and which had much to do with the controversies of this historical city. One thing was left deeply impressed on my memory by Moses Stuart — the need in all such discussions as this of distinguishing between expression and suggestion and the difference between separation and distinction; and it seemed to me, as I listened to the eloquent speech of Dr. Cave, that we may distinguish between Christ as the object of thought — in the gospel, and the Divine Redeemer, but we require to remember that we have the truth from the right historical evidence concerning Christ, the right doctrine concerning the Divine Redeemer and the Living Christ, and these three are one. We are not to separate, but to distinguish. If we forget that fact we are sure to run into error. And we ought never to forget this also, that the main thing which we as preachers have to do is not to ask for the Living Christ to come to us, but to beseech sinners to come to the Living Christ. For he has given us his plain and simple message, "Come unto me." He is the everlasting gospel. And the Holy Spirit takes of the things of Christ and reveals them to us.

Now, sir, I am not suggesting anything to which Dr. Cave will object. We are only able, in these five-minute speeches, to submit, from our own stand-point, what seem to be outstanding differences. Experience may be put in its wrong place. It comes after faith. From my own point of view it is exceedingly important to keep the intellectual side of Christianity before the people of the present day. It is important sometimes to magnify the mystical; but while that has a charm for certain minds, it is only through the placing of spiritual truth before them that we can bring sinners to the Saviour. There are many who seek to experience the love of God for them who are bewildered because they do not look unto Jesus. The gospel is the bridge which unites God to man and man to God by the belief of the truth.

As to the relation between the two subjects, it seems to me a most important question, what is the reason for missionary societies? Why should we send missionaries to heathen countries? The Living Christ, the Divine Redeemer, is there already. God is there already. I look upon these heathen people as the children of God. I believe that Christ has died for every one of them, and I believe the Holy Spirit is seeking to bring the light of his truth to these men. But God has ordained that the church of Christ, through his living servants, shall go and declare the blessed message of his truth and make known to men the fact that God is a God of love, a God of light, that in him is no darkness at all, and that his desire is that all men should be saved and rejoice in the fellowship of the gospel. Therefore let no missionary forget that he is in the presence of the Living Christ. Where God is, missionaries have the best of all reasons to rejoice, and to use the great instrument that Christ has committed to the church, the declaration of the truth, the truth of redemption. We have been declaring that Christ died. Be not afraid to maintain that truth, and the miracle of the resurrection. Christ lives. Jesus Christ rose from the grave according to the Scriptures, and that apostolic gospel missionaries should carry to the ends of the world.

Missionary Address

Rev. Stephen C. Pixley, of South Africa, the venerable missionary of the Zulu Mission of the American Board at Inanda, was called for and spoke briefly from the floor of the necessity that every missionary should remember that life preaches as well as doctrine.

Missionary Address

Rev. Devello Z. Sheffield, D.D., of China, President of the North China College, Tung-cho, made the following remarks.

Address by the Rev. D. Z. Sheffield, D.D.

Mr. Chairman and Friends, — It has given me unspeakable joy, after thirty years of missionary work in China, to be permitted to be present at this convocation and to listen from day to day to these teachings from my ministerial brethren, and to realize the power that lies behind the work of a missionary in the far-off lands of the earth. In the anecdote that was given by the second speaker with regard to his own Christian experience in his early life, I was reminded of a very interesting experience in connection with our mission work. The Baptist missionaries in the province of Shansi for many years have instituted a method of bringing the truths of Christianity before the minds of the *literati.* Every year there are a company of from 8,000 to 10,000 that gather in the competitive examinations. When these young men retire from their examinations a copy of one of the Gospels is given to each individually, and on one occasion a copy of Dr. Martin's "Evidences of Christianity" and other Christian books were given to them. After this presentation a Christian theme is given out to this company of Chinese scholars, who have never before heard of Christian truth. They are expected to study these books and to give the results of their study in a carefully prepared essay. It has been my privilege for four successive years, at the request of the missionaries of Shansi, to look through these essays written altogether by over a thousand young men. I have studied through nearly 3,000 essays. Here is a body of young men who know nothing of Christianity. They have portions of the Bible placed in their hands, and by the study of the Bible they attain to a uniform comprehension of the great truths regarding God as the Infinite and Omnipresent, the Father of all men, and Christ as the divine incarnation. A Baptist missionary wrote me a little while ago that perhaps it would be a pleasure to me to know that two men who had gained the highest prize were broken-down opium smokers. They knew that they were men of some ability and so put themselves in connection with Christians, securing a greater range of Christian literature, and by careful study prepared themselves to write these essays on the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. I have those essays in my possession. No one would ever suspect, by the clearness and order and perspicuity of their discussion, that they were not Christian men, and born into Christianity. They were so profoundly impressed with the truths of Christian theism that opened up to them in their study that they sought out the Christian chapel, confessed the Lord as their Saviour, and are now Christian witnesses in that province.

I only wish to add a word along another line, as I have been given the privilege of standing before this great audience. As President Angell has said, I have been connected for thirty years with the theological educational work of our mission. Two years ago, in a meeting of the American Board, I noted from China, and with great anxiety, the suggestion that, because of the inadequacy of the gifts to the Board, it might be obliged to withdraw from all educational work except a very low order of theological education which had no preparatory work underneath. I

was delighted to see that the committee that replied to this suggestion settled that matter once for all, I trust, stating that our mission boards are not to withdraw from educational work. I desire to leave this one thought with you out of the experience not simply of myself but of my mission. We are all united in this, that we must not only evangelize the people, but we must give to the native church an educated Christian ministry, ready to go before the native church in the conflict with heathenism after our work as missionaries is done. And so I trust that this great body of ministers going to their homes will see to it in the future that in all of our Congregational missionary societies the missionaries' hands are strengthened in Christian educational work. In the great Conference held in 1877 in Shanghai, one of our missionaries objected to educational work as not pertaining to the Christian missionary, saying that education is a two-edged sword, cutting in two directions. "True," replied Dr. Mateer, a Nestor in Christian Education on the mission field, "and so much greater the urgency that this sword should be in Christian hands." I would like time to tell you of the power of Christian education. At the present time in China we have a vaster work, better organized and more full of promise than the Christian church in general understands.

Missionary Address

Rev. James H. Pettee, D.D., of Japan, missionary of the American Board at Okayama, was next presented.

Address by the Rev. James H. Pettee, D.D.

Mr. Chairman, — Not being a delegate, I am very much surprised to be called before you, but allow me to say just this word. I think I may sum up the situation in Japan by telling this story, which possibly every one in the house may have heard. Three little girls were comparing notes upon a very pleasant addition that had recently been made to the households of each one of them. One said, "We have got a new baby at our house and some of our friends sent in a beautiful silver knife and fork and spoon — the most lovely things you ever saw." Little girl No. 2 said, "We have a new baby at our house. She did n't have any silver presents, but Uncle Frank from China sent home an ivory rattle." Little girl No. 3 said, "We have just had an addition to our family, a beautiful little girl, but the friends did n't remember us and we have n't got any Uncle Frank. But the doctor says that our baby can have the most spasms in an hour of any baby in the neighborhood." You can make your own application.

There are just two thoughts which I would like to leave with you. One is that Christianity seems to me, from the stand-point of a foreign missionary, to carry not so much new truths as it does to put a deeper and a higher meaning into some of the old words and old truths. We, for example, go to Japan — and it is practically the same in other eastern countries — and we meet with the old Shinto religion. Now what is their word for God? "*Kami*." But what does that mean? It means simply a noble idea. In speaking of the upper part of a river or of an official high in authority the same word is used. Now it is the duty of the Christian missionary to put into that word for God something of our Christian meaning of the term. So it has come about in Japan, by the progress of the times as well as the direct influence of Christianity, that their thought has been centered upon one great Creator, Almighty God. And so, out of their numerous names

for God, they have taken the name of the God of the center of heaven — an eleven-syllabled word, and they have said, "That is the God that corresponds to the Christian God." That is a great advance over the common idea, that the Christian's God is simply one more "*Kami*." Now the Christian work goes on year after year and gradually puts into the word for God and the word for Spirit and the word for sin and the word for righteousness a deeper and a nobler meaning.

Just one further word. From the stand-point of my missionary experience I have sometimes thought that perhaps after all the greatest difference between Christianity and other religions is that it keeps the balance of things better. I was greatly impressed this morning with Dr. Lyman's address practically upon this same idea. It came home to me with great force that Christianity shows the balance of things. In Buddhism there are very noble thoughts. It is said that we find the thought of the Saviour in Buddhism. I do not so understand it at least. It is the idea of a Saviour, but it is more the sense of a Saviour from suffering than a Saviour from sin. However that may be, Christianity teaches the balance of things. It not merely coördinates truths in some sensible and rational manner, but far above that it coördinates the creed and conduct, keeping the balance between theoretical truth, or, if you please, scientific truth, and the practical helpful service of a ministering life. Thus we rejoice that we carry the Christian religion — the religion that not only teaches higher and nobler and purer truths, but the religion that teaches better balanced truths, and that is the only religion in these trying days that can reform the lives of men.

Response by Principal Cave

Principal Cave was given an opportunity of replying to certain criticisms that had been made with reference to his address.

Remarks of Principal Alfred Cave, B.A., D.D.

I agree with so much that has been said by the critics that it is scarcely necessary to call attention to anything in their speeches. I would simply say this: that I did not select the subject or its expression. It was passed over to me in that form by the committee, and I am not accustomed to quarrel with phrases unless the phrases are actually likely to be seriously misunderstood. If I had been asked by the committee to speak on the Holy Ghost, I suspect I should have said very much what I said concerning the Living Christ. And yet I should have drawn certain distinctions. I should have asked you to bear in mind that the work of the Holy Ghost is one thing in the non-Christian element and another thing in Christian circles. I believe profoundly that the Spirit issues from the Father and the Son. It is that emphasis upon the Spirit that goes forth from the Son which I thought would occur to every one of you when I spoke about the Living Christ. When our Lord himself speaks about the Holy Spirit that shall come he does not find it to be a contradiction when he also says, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." As a theologian I could not but put in a word or two of that kind, and I venture to add that I fancy that to some extent I was misunderstood. A man who has given his life to the study of theology, and whose books are not wholly unknown amongst you, must surely be forgiven for saying that no one has a right to say that theology is not a matter of personal and direct interest to me. All I wanted to emphasize was that theology that is not based upon personal experience of Christ is absolutely worthless, and that lives of Christ,

written by whomever they may be written, are absolutely worthless unless they too start from this initial presupposition of the knowledge of a personal Christ. You must know Christ before you can depict him, and that is all I wish to emphasize. Again on the other matter, I do not think it is necessary to say more than a word or two. Christ is everywhere, we understand, but he has committed to his church the proclamation of his Gospel. Nothing in my address could have been understood as intimating that I depreciated for a moment the prophetic utterances of the church. As a preacher, I should not so belie my profession.

Report of the Committee on Nominations

The committee on nominations (as reconstituted, see page 472) nominated the following persons as the provisional committee to sit between this Council and the next: —

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE *

From Great Britain: Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D.; Alfred J. Shepheard, Esq., M.L.S.B.; Albert Spicer, Esq., M.P.; Rev. William Hope Davison, M.A.; Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D.

From America: Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D.; Arthur H. Wellman, Esq.; Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D.D.; Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D.; Charles A. Hopkins, Esq.

From Australia: Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D.; Rev. E. T. Dunstan.

From Canada: Rev. Prin. Joseph H. George, D.D., PH.D.; Rev. John P. Gerrie, B.A.

From Africa: Henry Beard, Esq.

The report was accepted and adopted.

Adjournment

After the benediction by the Rev. Arthur Little, D.D., of Massachusetts, the Council adjourned until the evening session.

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* According to the second section of the Report on the Future of the Council (see page 431), the Rev. William J. Woods, B.A., is *ex officio* a member of this committee, and his name is so printed in the list of committees in the introductory pages.

The Provisional Committee organized with Albert Spicer, Esq., chairman, and the Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D.D., secretary.

RECEPTION AT THE SHAWMUT CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

Between the afternoon and evening sessions of Thursday a large number of the delegates attended an organ recital, reception, and supper at the Shawmut Congregational church, corner of Tremont and Brookline Streets. The delegates were received by the pastor, officers, and a committee of ladies of that hospitable church. Many of the pastors of our Boston and suburban churches were also present. After a half-hour's social intercourse and a brief word of welcome from the pastor, the Rev. W. T. McElveen, PH.D., the company enjoyed an organ recital, Mr. Henry M. Dunham, the organist of the church, playing the newly built organ for the first time. During the recital parties of a half a dozen each were escorted through the organ's interior by the president and vice-president of the Austin Organ Company, the builders of the organ; and an opportunity given to thoroughly examine the new and unique mechanism, which is in plain sight and easy reach. Supper was served in the spacious vestry. Three hundred sat down to the daintily decorated tables. Grace was said by the Rev. E. B. Webb, D.D., pastor emeritus of the church. After the supper brief addresses were made by the Rev. W. E. Barton, D.D., Rev. W. E. Griffis, D.D., Rev. E. B. Webb, D.D. (former pastors of Shawmut church), Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A., of England, Rev. Tsunetern Miyagawa, of Japan, Rev. Jee Gam, of California, Rev. E. B. Timoteo, of Hawaii, and Rev. P. S. Moxom, D.D., of Massachusetts, the pastor, Rev. W. T. McElveen, presiding.

REV. RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D.D., LL.D.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

EVENING SESSION

The Council assembled at 7.45 o'clock, President Angell in the chair.

The hymn "From Greenland's icy mountains" was sung. Passages from the last chapters of Matthew and Luke were read and prayer was offered by the Rev. William Hewgill, M.A., of England, and the hymn "Hail, to the Lord's anointed" was sung by the congregation.

Address

Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, D.D., LL.D., of New York, pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, and formerly president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, delivered the concluding address of the Council, on the Permanent Motive in Missionary Work.

Address by Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., LL.D.

THE PERMANENT MOTIVE IN MISSIONARY WORK

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters of the Council, Christian Friends, — No one, I am sure, can more profoundly regret than I do the removal by death from this scene and this service of our honored and beloved brother, Dr. Lamson, president of our oldest and largest missionary society. His work in the world-wide interest of missions was finished when it seemed to us to have hardly begun. The star went down when it had scarcely crossed the meridian; and we are left, as so often we have before been left, to bow before an inscrutable wisdom, and to say, "Thy ways, O Lord, are past finding out; nevertheless, not our will but thine be done." It must strike one with a sense of unnaturalness, that the older tree should stand when the younger and more vigorous has been suddenly broken; and that I, who have been retired from every occasion of this kind for many months, should be suddenly called upon to take his place for the service which he would far more suitably have performed. But we have to face facts as they meet us in life and adjust ourselves to them, and to do as courageously as we may the duty which seems plainly to fall to us.

Standing for the hour in his place, I can only suggest some thoughts, which may or may not be coincident with those which he would have presented if he were here, but which were borne in upon my own mind, constantly, while I occupied the office in which he succeeded me, and to which I am sure he would give his cordial assent.

The Permanent Motive in Missionary Work: that was the theme which he had selected, and which we had hoped to hear treated by him with his customary and characteristic eloquence, impressing upon us his matured thought, and his earnest and inspiring feeling, on the great subject. It is a catholic and comprehensive, even a cosmopolitan theme. It does not con-

cern itself simply with the interest of foreign missions, technically so called, although it may be that that interest was prominent before his mind as he chose and announced the theme. But, if you think of it, it concerns not Congregationalists only, but those in every Christian communion who are trying to further the cause and kingdom of our Lord on the earth. It concerns not the missionary fields alone, as they are popularly called, in other lands, but every field in which Christian service is sought to be rendered, from the obscurest slum in this town of Boston to the ragged edges of the circumference, the outmost circumference, of the world of mankind. The Permanent Motive in Missionary or Christian Work: that is what we are to look for.

We are familiar, of course, with the temporary, local, changing motives to missionary enterprise, which meet us at times, impress us forcibly for the moment, and pass away; the influence of great and signal occasions, when sympathies are almost tumultuously excited; the impulse which comes with a sweeping eloquence, which lifts us from the common levels of earth, and bears us as on wings toward issues and actions which we had not anticipated; perhaps the impulse which comes with personal interest in missionaries whom we have known, or mission fields which we have traversed. Great successes on certain fields move our enthusiasm; or tragic and terrible experiences in others, as recently among the Armenians, stir the deep fountains of our feeling. No one of these impulses is to be disregarded. Each one in its place has a power of its own, and all are to be valued and welcomed for their effect. But what we are to look for is the motive more deep, permanent, governing, which will be beneath and behind all these; as the tide-motive is beneath and behind the advancing and retreating waves which rise and flash, and break upon the beach; and this will be a motive not simple and single, but no doubt combined of several, distinguishable from each other, as a powerful current is made up of different uniting affluents. We must separate them in thought, that we may afterward combine them.

I think first, then, we shall all recognize this as essential to the missionary motive: a clear and profound recognition of the evilness and misery of the actual condition of mankind, certainly as compared with the powers which are instinctive in every human soul. It makes no difference really, or very little, at this point, whether we accept the Scriptural declaration that man has fallen from a higher estate to his present level, or conceive, with some modern theorizers, that man is just now partially emerging from the conditions of his brute-ancestry, stumbling up, through sin and error and manifold tremendous mistakes, toward wisdom and virtue, and the blessedness which they bring. In either case, the present condition of mankind is one of imperfection, weakness, unsatisfied desire, unrealized promise, and manifold peril. It is not the missionary that tells us this, principally or alone. Every observant foreign traveler repeats the same. Every one who has resided abroad, and then has come back to testify with an unprejudiced mind to that which he has observed, relates the same. The supreme difficulty here is in the want of the recognition of God, and of the great Immortality.

It used to be a reproach against Christian scholars made by skeptics that they investigated the ethnic religions in the spirit of suspicious hostility, by which their processes were diverted from true lines, by which their conclusions were colored. I am not concerned to argue the case of the Christian scholars of fifty years ago, or more, but I can certainly affirm that the Christian scholars of our own time investigate these religions carefully, patiently, sympathetically, with an eager desire to find everything in them that is of beautiful worth; and they do find many things of truth and

beauty, many things which excite their admiration, as illustrating the attainment of the higher aspiration of the human mind, reaching after the Unseen if haply it might find it. But they find nowhere the discovery of one personal God, eternal in authority, immaculate in character, creating man in his own image and opening before him the ageless immensities beyond the grave; and in the absence of such recognition of God, and such recognition of the Immortality, man is left to grope where he cannot fly, to clutch the earth where he misses Heaven. So it is that industrially, politically, commercially, socially, intellectually, he is on the lower level, until some exterior power reaches and ennobles him. So it is that crime such as is unknown in Christian communities is familiar and tolerated in the world. In fact, we need not fix our thought, prominently, on the more devilish crimes which still exist in parts and portions of the earth, — cannibalism, infanticide, human sacrifices, self-torture, the slavery that would destroy body and soul together in its own hell. Commoner vices have told us the story sufficiently, — drunkenness, licentiousness, the gambling passion, the opium habit, the fierce self-will that rushes to its end, regardless of anything sacred, in order to attain its pleasure.

All these we know. How familiar they are to the mind, and in the life, of the world at large! And there seems no power arising within the circle not reached by Christian influence to relieve the gloom, to elevate those who are oppressed by these sore burdens. There *is* no power. Property asserts its right to oppress, and to enjoy; poverty accepts its function, however unwillingly, of suffering in silence; the degradation of woman strikes a vicious stab at the heart and conscience of immense communities, while the oppression of childhood blights life at its germ; and, with the prospect of nothing better to come, suicide becomes a common refuge from the unbearable misery. There is nothing overstated in this description of the world at large; and you know how it is in your city-slums, even in this city of refinement and culture I have no doubt, certainly in the city in which I live; in the London and Birmingham of the other side, where the little girl twelve years old had never heard the name of Christ, where the boy of about the same age only knew the nature of an oath by having been his lordship's caddy. These are what we are to reach and lift, if we can do it. These are they to whom we are to bring blessings from the Most High. Certainly, every heart in which there is a spark of Christian sympathy must feel the power of this motive, pressing to the utmost and instant exertion of every force to relieve the suffering, to enlighten the darkened, and to lift the oppressed.

No one need exaggerate, every one should recognize, the weakness and wretchedness, the exposure and the peril of human society. When we remember that in this universe of ours destiny clings closely to character, has never anything mechanical or arbitrary about it, but follows the spirit which enters into it, then those tremendous words of our Lord in the twenty-fifth of Matthew have upon them an appalling sharpness and reach, as addressed to great classes and companies of mankind; and we must recognize it, and hear the solemn bell of the universe ringing through his word, and telling us of what is to be looked for in the Hereafter.

But then with this recognition of the exposure and peril of human society, of mankind at large, we must associate the recognition of the recoverableness to truth, to virtue and God, of persons and of peoples who are now involved in these calamities and pains; to whom now unrest and apprehension are as natural as speech or sight; the recoverableness of men as persons, and of communities as well as persons.

Here, of course, we come into direct antagonism with the pessimist, who says, "It is all nonsense! you can't possibly do the work; you can't

take these ragged and soiled remnants of humanity in your city-streets and weave them into purple and golden garments for the Master; you cannot accomplish the effect which you contemplate in the cities, in your own land, along the frontier, or in other lands. It is as impossible to make the unchaste pure, to make the mean noble, as it is to make crystal lenses out of mud, or the delicate elastic watch-spring out of the iron slag!" That is the world's view, a common and a hateful view. Our answer to it is that the thing can be done, and has been done, and done in such multitudes of instances that there is no use whatever in arguing against the fact. Christ came from the heavens to the earth on an errand. He knew what was in man; and he did not come from the celestial seats on an errand seen and known beforehand to be fruitless and futile. He came because he knew the interior, central, divine element in human nature, to which he could appeal and by which he could lift men toward things transcendent. We have seen the examples of success how many times! hundreds, yea even thousands of times, in our own communities, as missionaries have seen them in the lands abroad: where the woman intemperate, in harlotry, in despair, has been lifted to restored womanhood, as the pearl oyster is brought up with its precious contents from the slimy ooze; where the man whose lips had been charged with foulest blasphemies has become the preacher of the gospel of light and love, of hope and peace, to others, his former comrades; where the feet that were swift to do evil have become beautiful on the mountains in publishing salvation. We have seen these things in individuals and in communities; in the roughest frontier mining-camp, where every door opened on a saloon or a brothel or a gambling table, and where, by the power coming from on high, it has been transformed into the peaceful Christian village, with the home, with the school, with the church, with the asylum, with the holy song, where the former customary music had been the crack of revolvers. We have seen the same thing on a larger scale in the coral islands, scenes of savage massacre and of cannibal riot and ferocity, where the church has been planted, and Christian fellowships have been established and maintained. We have seen these things, and why argue against facts?

Arguing against fact, as men ultimately find out, is like trying to stop with articulate breath the march of the stately battleship *Olympia*, as she sweeps onward to her anchorage. An argument may meet a contrary argument; no argument can overwhelm a fact. And these facts in experience are as sure, as difficult of belief perhaps, but as compulsive of belief, as are the scientific demonstrations of the liquid air, of the wireless telegraphy. We do not question the reality of what we see; and we know that these effects have been produced, on the smaller scale and on the larger. I suppose that every one who has ever stood on the heights above Naples, at the church of St. Martino, on the way to St. Elmo, has noticed, as I remember to have noticed, that all the sounds coming up from that gay, populous, brilliant, fascinating city, as they reached the upper air, met and mingled on the minor key. There were the voices of traffic and the voices of command, the voices of affection and the voices of rebuke, the shouts of sailors, and the cries of itinerant venders in the street, with the chatter and the laugh of childhood; but they all came up into this incessant moan in the air. That is the voice of the World in the upper air, where there are spirits to hear it. That is the cry of the World for help. And here is the answer to that cry: a song of triumph and glorious expectation, taking the place of the moan, in the village, in the city, in the great community; men and women out of whom multitudes of devils have been cast, as out of him of old, sitting clothed and in their right minds, at the feet of Jesus.

You cannot tell me that it is impossible to produce these effects, for mine own eyes have seen them, mine own hands have touched them. I know their reality, and that every human soul which has not committed the final sin and passed the judgment is recoverable to God, if the right remedy be definitely applied; and that every people, however weak, however sinful, however wanting in hope and expectation, has within it the possibility and above it the promise of the Millennium. God's power is adequate to all that. We want to associate this idea of the recoverableness of persons and of peoples to the highest ideal and to God himself — we want to combine this with the idea of man's present misery and hopelessness in his condition, to constitute the true and powerful missionary motive; and then we want to recognize the fact that the gospel of Christ is the one force which, being used, secures this result in the most unpromising conditions.

Here, again, we encounter the opposition of multitudes. How often men have laughed, how loudly they have laughed, at the idea that the story of the crucified Nazarene could inspire a despondent soul to hope, could purify the vicious soul unto virtue, could bring any soul nearer to God! Perhaps somewhere they are laughing at it now; possibly even in this city of Boston, the home of culture and refinement, of fine and wide thought — I don't know, I don't live here; but I know that in the country at large there are always those who are disposed to say, "It is perfectly puerile to try to reach human sorrow and human sin with the power of the Gospel, lodged in the little book which the child may carry in her hand"! As if the inconspicuous forces in the world's development were not always those deadliest on the one hand or most benign on the other; as if wafts of air did not kill multitudes more than all the batteries of artillery; as if the unseen forces, hardly manifesting themselves at all, were not those which society seizes by which to advance itself most rapidly and grandly — that little spark, vanishing instantaneously but revealing the unseen force which drives machineries, draws carriages, illuminates cities, and enables you and me to talk as if face to face with friends and correspondents at the distance of a thousand miles; that fleecy vapor, vanishing silently into the air but representing the gigantic servant of modern civilization, which tunnels mountains, scoops out mines, and links the continents together in iron bands. These unseen powers are the ones that man craves and uses, or that, on the other hand, he dreads and repels; and the power of the gospel, however men may smile at the idea of that power, has vindicated itself too many times to be assailed by argument, certainly too many times to be encountered with ridicule.

The gospel is able to reconstitute society by reconstructing the character of individuals. Through its effect on persons it opens the way for vast national advances. It touches not merely the higher themes, but all the themes that are associated with those, and immediately pertinent to the interest of mankind. It teaches frugality and industry and honesty, by express command, and by the divine example of him who brought it to us. It turns men, as has been forcibly said, "out of the trails of blood and plunder into the path of honest toil." It is a gospel for every creature, that is, for every created thing; and gardens bloom in a lovelier beauty under its influence, and harvest-festivals, of which the country is full today, are only its natural and beautiful fruit and trophy. It exalts womanhood; and by the honor it puts on womanhood, and by the honor it puts on childhood, it inaugurates the new family-life in the world. It honors, as no other religion does or ever did, the essential worth of the immortal spirit in man; and it forces him, pushes him, crowds him, into thoughtfulness and educational discipline, since it will not allow him to be manipu-

lated into paradise by any priestly hand, but comes to him in a Book, and sets him to work to investigate its contents, to inquire concerning it, to look out widely around it, and to inform himself by careful thought of what it is and what it means.

There is the basis of colleges and theological seminaries, and I hope there will be no quarrel between them! There is the basis of all the educational institutions and influences that are worthy in the world. Christianity brings them. It generates by degrees a new social conscience. It unites communities, on which it has operated, in new relationships to each other. International alliances become possible, become vital. International law becomes a reality and a power; beneficence is stimulated, and law becomes ethical. As we have seen recently, in the prodigious excitement of feeling throughout civilized countries in consequence of the apparent gross injustice done to a single French officer by a military court, the time is coming, though it has not yet fully come, when mankind shall be one in spirit, and an

> . . . instinct bear along,
> Round the earth's electric circle,
> One swift flash of right or wrong.

It is not commerce which does this, it is Christianity. We are witnesses to it. Our ancestors, not many centuries ago, were mere rapacious savages, robbers in the forest, pirates on the sea; it was Christianity, brought to them, that lifted them into gladness, serenity, great purpose, great expectation and hope; and the new civilization in which we rejoice on either side, I will not say of the separating, of the uniting, ocean, was founded on that New Testament, the folios of which, I believe, are still preserved in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, and in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Here is the basis of what has been grandest, most illustrious, and most prophetic, in the recent history of mankind. Give the gospel freedom and it will everywhere show the power. Among the children and youth to whom it goes, among the mature and the strong, wheresoever it goes, it grapples conscience, it stimulates the heart. That one sentence, "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin," is the profoundest truth, is the most persuasive and commanding appeal, ever addressed by an inspired apostle to the children of mankind; and wherever that is heard, sin is lost in penitence, and hope is lost in triumphant vision, and the glory of the world disappears before the glory immutable of the Son of God!

Then we are to remember, certainly never is this to be forgotten, that the great imperishable motive, surpassing and dominating every other in missionary effort, is adoring love toward Christ, as central in the Scripture, glorified in history. No student of history, no observer of human experience, can fail to see that there is the sovereign passion possible to human nature; beside which the passion of love for a friend, for a country, for a business, for studies, may be auxiliary, but must be subordinate. There is the passion which has done the grandest things the world has ever known. There is the passion the vision of which interprets to us the strangest, sublimest pages of history. We have all felt it, I am sure, if we are Christian, in our measure, and at times; at the sacrament, perhaps; in those sabbaths of the soul of which Coleridge speaks, when the mind eddies around instead of flowing onward; when we have been moved to a great effort for him whom we love; most keenly, perhaps, when we have been in keenest sorrow, when the earth was as iron under our feet and the heavens as brass above our head, and we were all alone, yet not alone, for there stood beside us one in the form of the Son of Man, making luminous

the dark! We have felt this love toward Christ; and when we have felt it we have known that no power could surpass or approach it in the intensity of its moving force, to every enterprise, great, difficult howsoever it might be, by which he would be honored.

Love has been the sovereign power in all the church. Judgment may be generous; love is lavish. Judgment may be steadfast in its conclusions; love is heroic in its affirmations. It was love that garnished the house, and poured out the spikenard, and spiced the sepulcher. It was love that faced the flame, as in Felicitas and Perpetua, fronting the dungeon and not shrinking, fronting the sword and not blanching. It was love that said, "The nearer the sword, the nearer to God." You cannot conquer that power, indestructible, full of a divine energy.

And with the experience of this comes the vivid vision of the divine Providence working for the gospel in human history. How wonderful it is! Look at the progress of the last ninety years, since missionary work began in this country! The changes, except as they are matters of public record and of universal personal observation, would be simply unthinkable — the vast new machineries of travel and of commerce; the incalculable additions to the wealth of civilized lands; the ever-increasing prosperity and power of Protestant nations, in which the gospel is honored; the equally ever-reduced power and lessening fame of nations, ancient and famous, in which the gospel is refused free movement with a home among the people; the continually closer approaches of civilized and Protestant nations to each other, as of Great Britain and this country. Many years ago Lord Brougham said, I remember, "Not an axe falls in the American forest but it sets in motion a shuttle in Manchester." That has been true ever since, and is more true to-day than ever before. Not a mine is opened, not an industry established, not a mechanism invented in the one country, which is not recognized and the power of which is not felt in the other; and more and more their policies are weaving together, not necessarily in form, but in fundamental, underlying sympathy. All these things are going forward with the opening of regions and realms formerly inaccessible to Christianity; so that now the Christianity which seemed buried in the catacombs, which seemed burned up in the martyr fires, has the freedom of the world, and may everywhere be preached in its purity and its power. Here are the plans of God going forward; and we ought to feel in ourselves that in every hardest work we do we are only keeping step with the march of Omnipotence.

I know that there are many who fear that the prosperity of our times, the love of pleasure, the desire for ease and enjoyment, are to interfere with and stay these plans of the Divine Providence for the furtherance of Christ's church and of his cause in the world. I do not wonder at the fear, though I do not share it. Unquestionably the secular spirit is more intense and widely distributed at this time than it ever was before; and the opportunities for its gratification, in the acquirement of wealth and in the enjoyment of every luxury, are greater than ever before. Undoubtedly it is true that Sunday observance is far less strict, and family discipline and training far less careful, than they were, perhaps, in the days of our own childhood. Sunday newspapers make almost all American ministers wish they were Englishmen; and Sunday observance among ourselves reminds one too often of that colloquy between Joshua and Moses as they were coming down from the mount during the idol-feast, when the younger said, "There is a noise of war in the camp." "No," said the elder and more discerning, "it is not the voice of them that shout for the mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome, but it is the voice of them that *sing* that I hear." Sometimes in our congregations I think it is not

the shout for the mastery of the truth, pushing it upon men, it is not the voice of them that cry in penitence and humble obedience because they are overcome, but it is the voice of them that sing that we hear; and the singing is too often in operatic measures, and done by quartets, not by congregations. Talleyrand was right in saying years ago that Americans take their pleasures sadly. I think that we are right also, and more nearly right, when we say that Americans take their religion too lightly, too gaily, as if it were a varnish upon life instead of a fire and power within it. We need to meditate much more than we do on those great words that were written fifty years ago and more, on "The Earnest Church," written by the predecessor of our beloved and honored Dr. Dale of Birmingham: a man of such singular excellence, I once heard Dr. Cox say, that it required an angel hyphenated between the two apostles to make a name worthy of him — John Angell James. We need to meditate upon that, and to gird ourselves for more energetic service in the cause of the Master.

But the human soul is still beating, and full of life, in the heart of every one whom we address; and God's gospel has its grip on that human soul whenever it reaches it through our ministry and lifts it nearer the things supernal, and nearer God himself. While I see many things to make us solicitous, I see nothing to make us timid, concerning these mighty advancing plans of God. If persecution could not stay them, if prelacy could not finally thwart them, I do not believe that bicycles are going to override them, in the end, or that they are to find their grave in the fascinating golf-links. No! there is One who sitteth above the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; and His plans go forth, soundless, silent, except as they come into operation. But they never are broken; they never are drawn back; and the world has to learn more and more clearly, every century, that the banners of God are those which never go down in any struggle, and that whoever walks and works with God is sure of the triumph.

Then do not let us ever forget that this is the sublime interval in history between the ascension of the Master and his second coming in power and glory to judge the world! "In a grand and awful time," the hymn says — and I repeat it:

> "We are living, we are dwelling,
> In a grand and awful time,"

when the heavens have been luminous with the splendor of the Ascension, and are destined to be luminous again with the awful glory of the coming for Judgment; and now is our time for work — for work with the energy of the Divine Spirit whose dispensation this is. That Spirit wrote his gospel by the inspiration of human minds, and by the instruments of human hands, on leaves of parchment and papyrus. He is writing his gospel now, at large, through his inspiration of human minds and guidance of human hands over the expanses of the continents. But it is the same gospel — the gospel of sin, the gospel of atonement, the gospel of regeneration, the gospel of future judgment, and of future glory for the believing. That is the gospel; and we are to go with him in extending the knowledge of that and in writing it ourselves. Wheresoever we have the opportunity, that is our work; a work greater, more momentous, wider in its relations, than any other done upon the earth.

Let us not forget then the meanness, the misery and evilness, of human society, where the gospel does not enter and pervade it. Let us not forget the recoverableness to God of every person and every people, if the divine energies are rightly used. Let us not forget that the gospel of Christ is

the power at which men laugh and say, "You are trying to quarry mountains with sunbeams; you are trying to lift masses of masonry with aërial or, at best, with silken threads." It is the gospel of Christ which is to be the power to lift mankind and glorify God on all the continents, in all the earth. The passion of love for Christ, stimulated by everything that we read or hear, quickened by the Spirit in our hearts, is the power that is to loosen amassed wealth and make it fluent, that is to vitalize dead wealth and make it active, that is to enter into every languid heart and inspire it for service. And then the view of the Divine Providence working in history toward one result, steadily steering toward one haven and port, — the earth renewed in righteousness and beautiful before God; and then this dispensation of the Spirit, in which we have our time. After the resurrection, a disciple said, "I go a-fishing." Likewise said they all. It seems strange that even after that miracle, which has shot its radiance everywhere upon the history of the world, any disciple should have yielded to such an impulse. But now shall we, after the ascension and when the skies are still glowing with it, after Pentecost has opened heavenly principalities and powers to our view and our experience, under the shadow of the great white Throne that is to be set in heaven — shall we go to building and bargaining, to mining and merchandising, as our chief aim in life, and omit this sublimest service which angels, it seems to me, must bend above the battlements of heaven to see in its progress, and to make their hearts and harps jubilant in its vitality and success?

Oh, my friends, let us remember, wheresoever we labor, that our errand is to make this complex, complete, energetic missionary motive more clear to every mind, more thoroughly vigorous and energetic in every heart. Everything else must be postponed! Do not let us spend our strength in picking the gospel to pieces, to see if we can't put it together again in a better fashion! Do not let us spend our strength in any denominational controversies or collisions. Let us give ourselves, with all our power, to making this immense missionary motive operative throughout all the churches, throughout and in all Christian hearts; till He shall come whose right it is to reign, and take unto himself his great power, and rule King of Nations as well as King of Saints. Let us recognize this as the one truly magnificent errand for man on the earth. Let us be filled with the Divine Spirit, that we may accomplish it the more perfectly. Let us never intermit the service. And if, as we grow older, we grow weary with cares and labors, and it may be with sorrows, and are disposed sometimes to think we may now rest, let us remember the word of Arnauld, the illustrious Port Royalist, whom even his passionate enemies, the Jesuits, admitted to be great, of whom it is recorded that when some one said to him, "You have labored long, now is your time to rest!" his reply was, "Rest? Why rest, here and now, when I have a whole Eternity to rest in?" God in his grace open that tranquil and luminous Eternity to each of us, where we may rest in nobler praise and grander work, forevermore; and unto Him be all the praise!

Letter from the Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A., D.D.

The following letter from the Rev. J. Guinness Rogers, D.D., the Nestor of English Congregationalism, was received by the secretary just in season to be read to the Council before final adjournment.

109 Clapham Common, September 20.

My Dear Brother, — I feel so strongly moved to express, through you, to the Council, and especially to the American and non-British members

of it, my profound regret at not being able to be present, that I hope I shall not be guilty of any presumption in yielding to the feeling. I have been greatly touched by the urgent invitations which have come across the Atlantic and only wish that I could have yielded to the kindly pressure. But it meant more than a man of seventy-six ought to undertake. So, very reluctantly, I adhered to my original negative.

But the Council has very much in my thoughts, my sympathies, and my prayers. It must be a most valuable influence for good throughout the world; and we may rejoice in the thought that there is no danger of its tending to strengthen any hierarchical power. It will not only be a means of grace to those who are present, but, through them, an inspiration to the churches of our order throughout the world. Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied to you, and may the Spirit of God be consciously present in all your assemblies.

To the American churches, who have arranged this gathering, amid scenes of such historic interest, may I send most affectionate greetings. How much depends on the perfect union of our two peoples, and how much our churches on both sides can do to promote that better understanding, which is one of the brightest features of the day, no one can tell. Thank God, we fully understand and truly love one another. It is my strong, I might truly say passionate, attachment to America which makes me so deeply regret that I cannot be present at your gathering. The great domain of the English-speaking race is my fatherland. Among your representatives I have several friends whom I value in the highest degree. But, beyond the limits of personal knowledge and friends, I have an intense interest in the working developments of American church life. Educated under conditions so different, we of the old country and you with the stirring impulses of your wonderful land have something to learn from each other. For, underneath all diversities, there is substantial accord. There is great variety, but it is in unity, for we worship one Lord, and we humbly trust in one Saviour, and have as our one mission to preach and teach everywhere the "unsearchable riches of Christ." My heart goes out, in all its fullness, to my brethren, whom I shall never see in this world, but whom I hold very highly in love for their work's sake.

The Lord have you all in his own loving keeping.

With affectionate regards,

Your brother in the fellowship of Christ,

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

Resolutions of Thanks Amended

Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., of Illinois, moved that the words "and state" be inserted in the resolutions of thanks wherever the word "city" occurs. It was so voted.

Benediction and Dissolution of the Council

The concluding prayer was offered and the benediction pronounced by the Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D., of Australia, and President Angell formally declared the second International Congregational Council dissolved.

OVERFLOW MEETING AT PARK STREET CHURCH*

Park Street church was again well filled on the last evening of the Council with an appreciative and enthusiastic audience. The meeting was conducted under the auspices of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, and the Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D., of Massachusetts, its President, conducted the exercises. After the devotional service addresses were made by the Rev. Otis Cary, of Japan, missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Rev. David L. Ritchie, of England, and the Rev. Archibald F. McGregor, B.A., of Canada. In introducing the speakers, Dr. Clark spoke as follows, on Young People and Missions.

ADDRESS BY REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D.D.

YOUNG PEOPLE AND MISSIONS

The subject of the evening furnishes a very happy combination of ideas. The last few years have proved that the thought of world-wide missions, the idea of bringing the world under the dominion of King Immanuel, appeals to the young people with a power and persuasiveness that few other ideas contain. Wherever I go I find that the missionary fires are being kindled. No convention of young people is complete without its missionary session, and the most thrilling of all the hours is when the representatives of different nations stand before them, often arrayed in the curious garments of their own land, to plead for the people among whom they labor. The Macedonian cry is heard as it never was heard before. From the hearts of 5,000 students have gone up the devout vow of consecration, "Here am I, send me," and thousands more stand ready, I believe, to do their part, as God prospers them, in professional or business life to make it possible for their companions to answer the call from Macedonia. This is a missionary generation; it is the young people's generation. It is altogether fitting that these two thoughts should be combined at this meeting, and that the International Council of Congregational Churches should give its hearty benediction to those who go and those who stay at home to earn the money that others may go, and should devoutly thank God that so many young Samuels have heard the voice from on high, and have answered with all the eagerness and earnestness of youth, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth."

At the close of his address Dr. Clark introduced the Rev. David L. Ritchie, of England, a report of whose address follows.

ADDRESS BY REV. DAVID L. RITCHIE

The Rev. D. L. Ritchie said that, when the history of the nineteenth century came to be written, and its great achievements singled out and described, the remarkable triumphs of missionary effort and all that it

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* This meeting was not reported stenographically, but the material for the volume was supplied by the speakers, except in the case of the Rev. Otis Cary, who had returned to his field of labors before we applied for his manuscript. — *Editor.*

has meant for the world would be by unanimous consent put in the very forefront of these achievements. The nineteenth century had been a missionary century, the greatest since the first, and every Christian must earnestly hope that the twentieth century, on whose threshold they stood, would be the greatest missionary century that the church has ever known. The kingdoms of the world had to become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ, and it largely depended on the church whether that longed-for day was to come quickly, or to tarry long. The church was God's chosen instrument for the spread of the kingdom, and there was not a scrap of teaching in the New Testament that gave one authority to think or say that that kingdom can be hastened apart from the faithfulness of Christian men or women. God had put on the church the responsibility of evangelizing the world, and every Christian was called on to be a missionary; and so it was his purpose to state three reasons out of many that could be given why missions should be more liberally supported and ardently carried on than ever they had been. And he chose to begin at the very bottom of the ladder with a prudential — what many might consider an altogether worldly — argument.

1. *The missionary was the pioneer of civilization.* He was everywhere making paths of light through the dark places of the world. The trader followed in his footsteps, and with the trader the blessings and the blights, the virtues, and, alas! also the vices of civilized peoples. But it was generally the missionary who was the opener of new doors for trade and commerce. He went with the Word of Life in his hand, and his going made it possible for others to follow. Much had been said about the value of trade and commerce as a shuttle weaving the races of mankind into one great brotherhood, and he certainly had no desire to belittle that value, but it was not to be compared to the work of the missionary. Where he went hazarding his life, where he had been and laid his life down, the white sails of commerce had followed, but it had usually been left to the missionary to be the pioneer. The records of every missionary society could yield abundant evidence, and every corner of the heathen world could bear witness. Africa with its Moffat and Livingstone and Mackay and Hannington; New Guinea with its Chalmers; the South Sea Islands with their John Williams and Paton, bore eloquent testimony to the statement. How often have even governments, certainly European governments, with political schemes and colonial enterprises in hand been indebted to the missionary for information about lands on which they had set covetous eyes. The missionary was the one man who had been there and tarried long enough so as to know and understand. It is a reason why even worldly-minded men, who dread being suspected of spiritual enthusiasm, however enthusiastic they may otherwise be, should be interested in missions and certainly not hostile to them. Missionary effort had everywhere been the pioneer of civilization. The missionary had not only prepared the way of the Lord, he had also prepared the way of the trader and made his path straight and easy, a fact that traders oftentimes ungratefully and gracelessly forgot.

2. Another reason he urged was — Christianity was the absolute religion. By that he meant that all that was good in every religion in the world was found in it, and a great deal more; that it was the religion for all men and for all races; that it was the only religion that could satisfy man's heart; that all men needed it, and had a right to get it. Jesus Christ was God's last and best message to the human race, and the race sadly needed him and his salvation. Now it was beyond question that the fires of missionary enthusiasm had been damped down in men's hearts by very plausible and mistaken statements about the old religions of the world being

best suited to the races and lands in which they were found. Men had spoken as if Christianity was the best religion for the Western, and especially the Anglo-Saxon; Mohammedanism for the Turk and Arabian; Buddhism and Hinduism for the Indian; Confucianism for the Chinaman, and so on with the others. Arm-chair philosophers had sung the virtues of Buddha's ethical teaching, Mohammed's regulations, and the maxims of Confucius. Elaborate attempts have been made to piece something like the Sermon on the Mount out of Vedic hymns and other old Indian writings and philosophies in the vain imagination of comparing them with the teaching of Jesus. Let not a word be said against anything good or noble in the old ethical religions, for all their good was the gift of God, as all good ever is. But when compared with Christianity the best of them was "as moonlight unto sunlight as is water unto wine." If Comparative Religion had taught them anything it was surely this, that the only right way to speak of Christianity and these other religions was not in the language of comparison, but of utter contrast. After all, a religion was to be judged by the effect which it had on the life of a people — the national, the civic, the home, the personal life, and it was when judged by that standard that the fine theories that many had spun were found to be only tattered garments. The glories of Buddhism had been proclaimed by those who knew it only in theory; but Sir Monier Williams, who had spent his days in the midst of it, had scattered their arguments as dust before the wind. The virtues of Mohammedanism had been appraised, but Dr. Bruce had shown them the terrible reality. The missionary's testimony always was that a Christless land was the abode of darkness and the habitation of cruelty; that nothing but Christ and his salvation could bind up the wounds, soothe the sorrows, redeem and inspire the life of man. All men needed Jesus, all men and all races could receive him, and it was selfishness, a crime against humanity, a sin against God, for them to keep back the knowledge of him from those who sat in darkness. People now-a-days sometimes said that it was impossible to think that the heathen would be utterly lost. But all who knew the social condition, the home life of men and women in India, China, Persia, Egypt, Africa, testified that they were in a terrible enough hell as it was, and needed no other, and that it was the duty of Christian people to send to them deliverance. All men needed Christ; all religion must be superseded by Christianity. It was the absolute religion and was meant to be over all.

3. The last reason he urged was, it was *the will of Jesus Christ;* it was the very nature of Christianity to be missionary. Just as the light with its gleaming shafts sought and seized every opportunity of striking darkness to the heart even through the smallest chink and keyhole, so it was the nature of Christianity to seek to stab and overthrow man's darkness and error everywhere. Yea, more — it was the express command of Jesus that men were to go into the whole world and preach the gospel, and from his authority there was no appeal. It was

> Not theirs to reason why,
> Not theirs to make reply;
> Theirs but to do and die.

Even though there were no other reason, that was enough for the Christian; it was the Lord's authoritative command, there was nothing left for them but to obey. They must either go or send, and they must see to it that to the measure of their ability and according to their opportunity all were obedient to the divine commission.

Could they whose souls were lighted with wisdom from on high,
Dare they to men benighted the lamp of life deny?
Salvation, O salvation, the joyful sound proclaim,
Till earth's remotest nation has learned Messiah's name.

The concluding address was on Home Missionary Work and the Christian Endeavor Movement, and was delivered by the Rev. Archibald F. McGregor, B.A., of Toronto, Canada, Superintendent of Congregational Home Missions in Canada, an outline of which follows.

OUTLINE OF ADDRESS BY REV. A. F. MCGREGOR, B.A.

HOME MISSIONARY WORK AND THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR MOVEMENT

One of the striking comments which Matthew Henry makes concerning the wonderful life-bringing river in Ezekiel's vision is that, "The farther it goes the fuller it grows." The same remark may well be made concerning the missionary life of our Christian Endeavorers. What at its beginning seemed faint and low is rising and growing stronger with every year. That so wide and deep an interest is being taken in Christian work by our young people is cause for abundant thanksgiving to God.

If criticism could have stopped any movement, verily Christian Endeavor would before this have been barred back. But because the origin and spring of its life is high and divine, it has held on its brightening, growing way, and like the church of Christ, of which it is a living part, is unprevailed against. Faith, therefore, in its continuance and triumph may surely be calm and strong.

"For Christ" it lives and moves. The truth kept constantly before Endeavorers is that the Master calls them to be filled with a persistent desire to serve mankind by love and self-sacrifice. That "the common deeds of the common day are ringing bells in the far away."

Christian Endeavorers are auxiliary missionary forces. Their sympathy breathes of the apostolic. "Who is weak and I am not weak? who is made to stumble and I burn not?" — perhaps the most magnificent question in Paul's Christian life. The missionary passion is beautiful in its every manifestation. Shelley sings of one who in the garden of sensitive plants,

Lifted their heads with her tender hands
And sustained them with rods of osier bands.
If the flowers had been her own infants she
Could never have nursed them more tenderly.

The low, the lonely, the drooping, the strengthless, are indeed our charge. As we have opportunity, let us work that which is good toward them. Robert Browning's verse tells out the inward thought and longing of Christian Endeavorers: —

Hand grasps hand, eye lights eye in good friendship,
And great hearts expand and grow one in the sense of the world's life,

till the world's life and the Christ-life are one, manifestly and forever.

Thank God for all who are going into the work of surrender cheerily! In the ancient days "when the burnt offering began, the song of the Lord began also." So it is, with many of the young people in

Christian service to-day. They give cheerfully, they sing as they give. God bless them more and more! Let us quit our little criticisms and tax our powers in discovering not their faults and frailties, but rather the virtues of their lives and deeds. Of this good and great movement God himself is Leader.

> He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall *never* call retreat,
> He is sifting out the hearts of men beneath his judgment seat.
> Oh! be swift, my soul, to answer him, be jubilant my feet,
> For God is marching on.

The Christian Endeavor movement is indeed *a movement*. It is a course or process of changing position — a change in the case of multitudes of our young people from a position of inaction to one of growing activity in the way and work of the Lord. Where a little while ago there was no actual training of the youth of our churches that could be regarded as regular and sympathetic, now we see a host learning *by doing* as well as by example. There is the witness that God's Spirit is coming in kindly power on boys and girls, young men and maidens, for a clearer vision, a broader interest in human welfare, and a progress toward the perfect day, for "the Lord will perfect that which concerneth" this movement, he will not forsake the works of his own hands. Let us give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for here he "commanded the blessing, even life forevermore."

Benediction

The meeting concluded with prayer and benediction by the Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D.

Friday, September 29, 1899

MORNING

EXCURSION TO PLYMOUTH

A perfect autumn morning was that of Friday, September 29, and it crowned the days of the Council with its wreath of crimson and golden leaves, for this high day was spent in the open air, and among the scenes hallowed by the rich hand of nature and the memories of the deeds of the Pilgrims.

Arriving at the Terminal Station, the delegates were met by members of the Excursion Committee under charge of Mr. William F. Whittemore, by whom they were directed to the special Council train for Plymouth. The train left promptly at 9 o'clock, and ran to Plymouth in ninety minutes. The company occupied ten cars, and numbered 523. The strain of the long series of meetings relaxed, and a half-solemn feeling pervaded the groups of delegates as they sat and talked together; yet the beauty of the morning and the prospect of a pilgrimage to Pilgrim shrines lent a thrill of expectancy and exhilaration. This grew more intense as the brilliant foliage parted, affording glimpses of the sea, and the sight of the Standish monument in Duxbury announced that already the modern pilgrims were upon Pilgrim soil. The merry word was passed through the cars that this was "the highest monument in the world"; and, in answer to the incredulous looks of the visitors, who had not become so callous to superlatives as to accept all statements unchallenged, it was added that this was "Myles above the sea." With the hearty laugh came the locomotive's whistle, and the party clambered out for Plymouth.

On the train Mr. Whittemore, assisted by Hon. John H. Colby and Mr. William H. Blood, had perfected the dinner arrangements. The party had been assigned to three places for dinner, as the 400 limit of the Armory had been far exceeded, and all who were assigned to other places were furnished with tickets for hotel and trolley car, as well as seat tickets at the Armory. The perfection with which this plan was carried out reflected great credit upon the committee, whose organization and method proved adequate to every emergency.

Arriving at Plymouth, the excursion was met by a large committee in charge of the Rev. D. Melancthon James, pastor of the Church of the Pilgrimage, to whose efficient coöperation much credit is due. A squad of police was placed at the disposal of the committee, and by its courteous aid the movements of the company were facilitated.

The excursion committee had divided its responsibilities, Mr. Whittemore superintending the train, the carriages, the trolley cars,

the dinner, and the general arrangements of the company. Rev. D. M. James had in charge all local arrangements for the halls, the platforms, and the decorations. Rev. Marshall M. Cutter conducted the music. Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., had in charge the morning itinerary, and acted as marshal of the day, while the Rev. E. G. Porter arranged the program for the exercises at the banquet in the Armory, at which he presided.

A souvenir brochure, "Ye Pilgrim, His Book," outlining the itinerary and containing information concerning the points of interest, was given to each person before the company left the train.

The procession formed in Old Colony Park, and moved first to the National Monument to the Forefathers. The company contained the largest number of foreign visitors that has ever visited Plymouth in a body, and, while many had been there before, and some had been there often, the greater part of the company were treading in the footsteps of the Pilgrims for the first time. As they climbed the ascent, the serene features and upward-pointing hand of the statue of Faith proved an inspiration, and the company pressed eagerly toward the summit.

The sun was bright, but the clouds were numerous and fleecy white, and later in the day the sky became overcast, though not threatening. At this time the light was bright on woods and water; the Cowyard lay rippling and blue between the visitors and Plymouth beach; the headlands of Manomet and the Gurnet, with Clark's Island and the Saquish within its arm, were clearly outlined; and the Standish monument on Captain's Hill in Duxbury looked across at the figure of Faith through clear, crisp air that was like a tonic. The visitors who first arrived looked long and earnestly at the monument and at the sea, and saw why they had been brought first to the monument instead of to the Rock.

Exercises at the Monument

Dr. Barton ascended the platform and introduced as the presiding officer at the monument the Rev. D. Melancthon James, pastor of the Church of the Pilgrimage, who delivered the following address and introduced the further exercises. Mr. James began by announcing the national hymn of our Congregational faith, "O God, beneath thy guiding hand," two verses of which were sung by the people.

Address by the Rev. D. M. James

It is my grateful privilege to welcome you as pilgrims from many lands and from many parts of our own land to this one land of the Pilgrims. Our fathers, as the ancient Pilgrims, came to Plymouth by way of Boston, old England. You have come to Plymouth by way of Boston, New England. They journeyed hither in spite of conspiracies; you have journeyed hither surrounded by courtesies. The welcome that you received from the civic authorities in the newer Boston stands in marked contrast with the welcome our ancestors received from the civic authorities in the older

Boston. After meeting for eight consecutive days in a crowded city for instruction concerning the relation of our churches to civic and religious questions, you gather for the first time in the ancient town for inspiration gathered from the scenes where our civic and religious life began in the Western World. Around this national monument to the Pilgrim fathers you fittingly gather as an International Council representing the Pilgrim faith. By their lives and in their death the Pilgrims made this land sacred, and a grateful people erected here an enduring monument to their "labors, sufferings, and sacrifices in the cause of civil and religious liberty." The men in whose honor this monument was erected and whose names are inscribed on its polished surface, if they could speak, would, I am sure, with Carver and Bradford and Brewster, voice a glad welcome. Long and oft they watched from these hills, for the coming of friends from the Old World, and glad were they to share with these friends their homes in the wilderness and their liberty in religion.

We stand in the presence of five majestic figures wrought in enduring granite — Faith on the summit, with her finger pointed heavenward, Morality founded on religion, Law administering justice tempered with mercy, Education founded in wisdom and fashioned with experience, Freedom breaking the chains of tyranny and fostering the blessings of peace. These figures, the one standing on the main pedestal with her feet upon the Rock, and the others seated at her feet ministering in her name, are symbolic of the fundamental principles on which the Pilgrims founded their republic. These principles, it is true, were not peculiar to the Pilgrims, but their heroic endurance to perpetuate these principles was peculiar. The *Mayflower*, in midwinter facing the terrors of yonder sea, was but a symbol of what the Pilgrims endured in their long and patient struggle in behalf of civic and religious freedom. The good ship anchored in this goodly harbor. The brave men and women founded here a goodly republic.

There are many places sacred to the lovers of Plymouth history visible from this commanding position. Right in front of us is Clark's Island, the island at the left of the little group that you discern in the distance, with a clump of pines standing on the southern shore. Beyond it you will discern the Gurnet which is connected with Duxbury by a long beach, and between us and the Gurnet stands Saquish. Here at my left is the Captain's Hill on which stands the monument to Myles Standish. At the foot of that hill, between the monument and the harbor, may be found the Standish home, and beyond the monument is the home of John Alden and Priscilla. To the right of the monument are the towns of Duxbury and Marshfield, each memorable as the home of many of the early settlers, and sacred because it holds the dust of many of our honored dead.

In the name of the town of Plymouth, in the name of the churches of Plymouth, and in the name of the people of Plymouth, we bid you a glad welcome. To these historic shrines of noble memory; to this sacred past interpreted in the fuller life of the living present; to the enduring wealth of the larger republic of to-day built upon the enduring worth of the smaller republic of yesterday, we bid you a glad welcome. We have but few requests to make. Mr. Capen in his address of welcome at Boston offered to you a part of the Rock for a part of Scrooby. We are willing to give you a part of the Rock, but we already claim a large interest in Scrooby because the best in ancient Scrooby was also the best in ancient Plymouth. The people of Plymouth have a sacred charge. Leave with us a part of the Rock; a few of the relics; and all of the graves of our honored dead; bestow a blessing upon modern Plymouth and

foster with ceaseless care the priceless good which the pilgrims of all lands have "with difficulty attained."

I have but one duty to perform, and that is to introduce to you, as the speaker at the monument, one of our friends who came in these latter days, but who has the faith and the spirit of the ancient time. There is a great educational work in progress in England, and here is a brother from England who stands at the front in that work. Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell will speak to you on the Pilgrim as a Man of Faith.

Address by Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell

THE PILGRIM AS A MAN OF FAITH

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — It is impossible to look upon this historical scene and upon this gathering, which will be historical, without deep emotion, and without a sense of profound unworthiness to be in any measure the exponent of the feelings which now animate your minds. I have been asked to speak of the Pilgrim as a man of faith, but I think that long since the Pilgrim has spoken for himself in that respect, and his eloquence has passed into history. Some of us feel that we have never stood before a monument that has touched our hearts so deeply as the majestic monument about which we are gathered this morning; and yet I think if we could call back to this hilltop and to these streets the spirits of Brewster and of Carver, and of the great men that have been named by the chairman in his opening speech, and if we were to ask them what monument they would rejoice in most, their answer would be that, while they would be proud to see this granite monument, the one thing that would make them proudest to see in this great republic would be freedom of conscience accepted as a universal law, and freedom of conscience practiced from sea to sea.

I think that the Pilgrim as a man of faith gives a final answer to that falsehood that it does not matter what men believe. There is no cant, there is no lie, that has had such a poisonous and paralyzing effect in our time as the cheap and paltry commonplace that it does not matter what men believe, it matters only how they live. These men would not have lived as they lived if they had not believed in God and liberty as they believed. A man's faith is as vital to his action as the blood is vital to nutrition and as heat is vital to motion. We therefore receive from this statue this morning, from these proud antecedents of Pilgrim history, this one blessed lesson that faith and life are one and indivisible.

Another thought is that the Pilgrim as a man of faith is a practical extension of that famous eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. If the writer of that chapter, the bead-roll of the men of faith, had lived in our day, I venture to say he would have included in that roll of honor the men and the women of the *Mayflower*. By faith they left their country — and only an Englishman knows how England can be loved. "With all her faults we love her still," and I venture to say that if the Pilgrims left England it was not because they did not love her, but because it was impossible for them to live in the freedom of conscience and worship on that beloved soil. The May-blossom was as sweet in the seventeenth century as it is in the nineteenth century. The gorse and the chestnut bloom and the daisied meadows of old England were as full of charm to them as they are to us, and the loved ones they left upon the shore were as precious to their hearts as the loved ones whom some of us have left on that shore are precious to us. It was not because they did not love England, but they

loved God and liberty and truth more passionately than they did anything else. This was the reason why they transferred themselves from those shores to these. It is hard for some of us to leave England in a 10,000 ton boat, taking only a few days to cross the ocean, received when we arrive by a republic of 80,000,000, received to an abundance such as Babylon never knew and never saw. An unpatriotic American somewhere behind me says, "Thank the Lord!" He must be a brother of singularly dyspeptic constitution. It was a great act of faith for them to leave their country and to commit themselves to the deep in such a craft as brought them over here. Do not let us suppose they had no anxious days and no fearful nights. We can imagine many a lovely and many a careworn face among the tender-hearted women leaning against the strength of the sturdier men. We can imagine many a fearful apprehension coming upon them in the midst of the sea as they scanned the horizon and found no composing answer. But, thank God, they were willing to dare the perils of the deep that so they might reach a freer shore. Some of us in crossing took a pilot on board 300 miles out from Boston, and no angel was ever received with a warmer welcome than that pilot when he came out of the fog and ascended the captain's bridge; but I venture to say that the Pilgrims took their pilot on board long before — that when they "crossed the bar" of old England they saw their pilot, Jesus Christ, "face to face," and they had him with them in the ship all the way across.

And by faith, when they came here, they buried their dead. The only thing for which some of them came to the shores of Massachusetts was to be buried in this land. There they lie, the honored dust of the Pilgrim dead, and so in Massachusetts there can never arise that interesting question which torments the Anglican and ritualistic conscience on our side — the question of consecration. The very fact that the Pilgrim fathers and the Pilgrim mothers are buried upon this soil consecrates Massachusetts for every Englishman for all time.

But it was an act of faith which they performed when they founded here a free church in a free state. Let it be said of the men of the *Mayflower* that they were not the persecutors in New England. Whoever persecuted in New England, it was not the men of the *Mayflower*, it was the men who came later and who brought our English tricks over with them. There were some who came later who had not learned the great lesson of toleration; but to the eternal honor of the men of the *Mayflower* let it be said that they came here to find freedom for themselves and not to deny it to others. Thank God for the work which they did, and here this day we dedicate ourselves afresh to that work. We have only to look around this monument to know what the program is to which in our time, and with our enlarged resources, with our sweet amenities, with our tremendous facilities, we have to apply ourselves. Here is the program: Faith, contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; Morality, not only in the life of the individual, but in the policy of governments and states — morality, not only in the treatment of great empires which can strike back, but in the treatment of small and insignificant but noble people, who cannot with equal force strike back. Here is the program: Liberty for men of every color, of every language, and of every creed. And what shall I say of Education? When one finds that almost the corner-stone of the civic system of Massachusetts and of America in later times is education, one can only wish that we from the old country could catch this educational spirit and take it back with us to England, which lags so far behind, and could devote ourselves, one and all of us, to the great work of educational reformation in that country. Brethren, do not let us who go back to England think that the work of the Pilgrim is

finished. It is to be carried on, and we intend to carry it on. Congregationalism is not going to sleep after this Council. I venture to say that Congregationalism on the other side will wake up and put on her beautiful garments and take to her right hand the sword of the truth more powerfully than she has done in the days that are past. For we may say of Congregationalism in the words of Tennyson: —

> She desires no halls of the blest, no quiet seats of the just,
> To sit in a golden grove and bask in a summer sky.
> Give her the glory of going on, and not to die.

EXERCISES AT BURIAL HILL

Following the exercises at the monument, the Pilgrims descended Allerton Street, where electric cars took the entire company to Town Square, whence they climbed to the top of Burial Hill. Not as a place of burial alone had the hill its interest, however, for here stood the watch-tower of the Pilgrims, and here the old church-fort. On the exact spot occupied by the flat-roofed meeting-house, with its six cannons on the top, a platform had been built. Here the Rev. Albert E. Dunning, D.D., editor of *The Congregationalist*, was introduced as the presiding officer.

Address

Dr. Dunning, in introducing the speakers, made the following remarks: —

Address by Rev. Albert E. Dunning, D.D.

This place was one of the great battlefields of the world.

Just below this spot, on yonder slope by the sea, lie the bodies of half the advance guard of the first English army which founded colonial and religious freedom on this Western Continent. From this snowclad coast, across that icy bay, those exiles looked yonder to the horizon beyond which their quiet homes in the heart of dear old England had long since faded from their sight, but never from their thoughts. To the westward they saw a pitiless winter wilderness in which savage foes were lurking. But their purpose did not falter, though their breath failed. Those who died and those who remained alive were of one mind. The survivors of that first winter, as they stood beside the graves of their comrades, watched the sails of the *Mayflower* spread to the breeze for her homeward voyage, but not one of them left the field.

That invincible little army had no certain base of supplies, but they had an unfaltering trust in God. They fought hunger, cold, Indians, solitude, homesickness. They planted the bodies of their beloved in this refractory soil, and left no sign to show who or where they were. They engraved no record on these bleak rocks of their deeds or their faith. They laid themselves down one after another to have drawn over them the frozen earth as a coverlet. They did not even ask to be remembered.

But because of what they did, because their spirit is undying, from this spot westward to the Golden Gate, every mile bears imperishable marks

of the feet of the Pilgrims. These silent dead have given new meaning to liberty, new sacredness to religion.

Thirty-four years ago the first National Council of American Congregationalists * on this spot declared the faith for which these men and women died, leaving here their unmarked graves. That event marks a new era for Congregational churches. It emphasizes anew the two great truths, the heritage left by Christ to his disciples, which underlies our denominational life. The first makes us Christians: "One is your Master." The second makes us Congregationalists: "All ye are brethren."

These two truths are married. Neither can live alone. Their offspring is the kingdom of God. To extend this kingdom we here pledge anew our faith and purpose.

Let us picture the little company that landed here that bleak December day — one body, that of a beloved wife, floating lifeless in the bay. See them looking eastward to the dear old homeland, westward to a bleak wilderness, around them into bronzed faces and weakening bodies; but looking into eyes kindling still with divine hope. See that light fade from their eyes; see the shallow graves, the tearful group, lessening almost daily as the earth closed over fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, and children.

Now see the *New* England, the new America reunited in Christian fellowship and high purpose, to *Old* England, both nations conscious of one great trust, to give civilization to the world and to make all nations know the brotherhood which Christ makes the supreme test of his kingdom.

He died for love of mankind. These our fathers and mothers died for the love he taught them.

Graves of Englishmen in every land now witness to the faith that divine love for mankind will conquer the world. This first World's Council of Congregationalists that has ever met in this Western hemisphere waits on Burial Hill while in our hearts we thank God for what these graves stand for, and silently pledge our lives in Christian unity to the same great purpose which, through death, brings the world to acknowledge Christ as its Saviour and Lord.

Prayer

Rev. John D. Jones, M.A., B.D., A.T.S., of Bournemouth, England, then led the assembly in the following prayer: —

Prayer by Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D., A.T.S.

Almighty and ever-blessed God, the giver of all grace, we thank thee for all the sacred memories that have come crowding into our minds at this time and upon this spot. We thank thee for the grace that enabled thy servants in the years that have gone to bear their witness and to be faithful to their trust even unto death. We thank thee for their courage and for their loyalty and for their love of liberty and of truth, and we bless thee for the great and glorious heritage of gospel freedom that they have handed down to us, their successors. And now, as our hearts are fired by the memory of their constancy and courage, we humbly beseech thee, gracious God, to supply us in this our own day with a like courage and faith. We

* At the close of Dr. Dunning's address, Dr. Hazen asked how many of those present were in attendance upon the Council meeting held on Burial Hill in 1865, and it was found that sixteen were present on that occasion, including the Rev. G. S. F. Savage, D.D., who was on the committee of the creed that was drafted at that time.

humbly pray thee that now, as we consider the issue of their life, we may learn to imitate their faith and in our own day keep and seek to enlarge those glorious privileges for which they suffered and died. Hear us for both countries, for the great English-speaking countries represented here, and grant that those truths for which the Pilgrims left their homes and buried their dead upon this spot may become dominant in both lands. May there be amongst all our people a great and supreme desire to spread the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. This we ask for his sake who loved us and gave himself for us, to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit we would ascribe all honor, thanksgiving, and praise, now and forever. Amen.

Dr. Dunning

It is our joy that the heritage of all that is associated with this place belongs not more to the descendants of those New England Pilgrims than it belongs to the descendants of those Pilgrims who did not cross the ocean, but who have always been one in sympathy and in aim with us. The most noted living historian of the Pilgrims on both sides of the sea is Rev. Dr. John Brown, of Bedford, England, who will now speak to us.

Address by Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D.

THE PILGRIM IN THE WILDERNESS

Some time ago Dean Stanley visited this sacred place, and one who was showing him around referred to the passage of the Pilgrims from the Rock up Leyden Street, and the Dean said: "Stop a moment," and shutting his eyes he said, "I see them going by." He reproduced with his historical faculty and his pictorial power of imagination the whole scene. I have been doing something of the kind as I have sat here and looked into your faces, as I have thought of the way in which they came up to this their sacred place of meeting in the old days gone by. Perhaps I shall not be out of place if I say to my English friends that this was not the first burial place of those who, within three months, died out of the hundred who came over in the *Mayflower*. There were fifty who died and they were buried on Cole's Hill, just a little below this spot. For a while they worshiped in the common house, but afterwards, when tidings of a massacre on the part of the Indians in Virginia reached them, they felt it necessary to fortify their position on this spot, and they built here the square fort of which Bradford speaks. It was built of logs, and he thought it was a grand building. Do you know, I have seen many a little humble village chapel that was greater to the souls who worshiped there than the most magnificent cathedral, because God met them in that place. It so happens that we have an account on which we can rely of the method in which the Pilgrims proceeded in their Sunday worship. Isaac De Rasieres, who came as a visitor from the Dutch settlement in New Amsterdam, spent a Sunday here in 1627, and his description of that Sunday always seems to me one of the most picturesque parts of the Pilgrim story. In the morning, by beating the drum, the people were all summoned to the captain's door. They came with their muskets and firelocks and clad in their cloaks of the period, and then they marched three abreast up to this spot. Following at the end was the governor, on his right hand was the minister in his long Genevan cloak, and on the other side was the captain. They came up here and worshiped on this spot. It was sacred to them

because here they received the courage and strength to do their work. Those who came afterwards lie buried around us and we can read their names. Reference was made this morning by Mr. Hollowell to the 11th chapter of Hebrews, and we can apply to them the words, "These all died in faith." They came here to testify to their love of freedom, their love for the service of Almighty God, and they have left a heritage which has not only been for you in the United States, but also for us in the old land, and our faith is quickened by the remembrance of theirs. I have stood, as you may have stood, in the great cathedrals of Europe; but the square fort built of logs on this spot is more sacred to me than any of the great triumphs of architecture. The little room in which Shakespeare wrote Hamlet is not to be measured by the number of feet which it contains. And the great principles which flow forth from such places as these are forever reproducing themselves and forever creating new forces for God in the history of the world. One very important thought which I would like to emphasize is that every new generation has new duties to discharge, new difficulties to face; and we may say in the words of your own poet, "Freedom has yet a work for us to do." So speaks that inward voice that never yet spoke falsely and which urges the spirit on to nobler deeds for country and for mankind, and for our success we ask no more than to bear unflinching witness to the truth.

EXERCISES AT THE ROCK

At the close of the exercises on Burial Hill, the company passed down through Leyden Street, the oldest street in New England, many of them pausing to drink from the spring of Elder Brewster. They came to the top of Cole's Hill, descending which they drew near to the Rock. The company formed in Indian file and passed slowly under the granite canopy, and each Pilgrim as he came to the Rock was assisted to the top of it and down on the other side. Five hundred and eighteen by actual count crossed the Rock in twenty-seven minutes. The company then gathered around the Rock, from the top of which the exercises were conducted.

Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., presided at this point and called upon the audience to join in singing, to the tune of "Old Hundred," two verses of a hymn written by Dr. Abiel Holmes, first sung here in 1806:—

Our fathers' God, thy own decree
Ordained the Pilgrims to be free;
In foreign lands they owned thy care,
And found a safe asylum here.

When the wide main they traversed o'er,
And landed on this sea-beat shore,
The Pilgrim's Rock must e'er proclaim
Thy guardian care was still the same.

After the singing of this hymn Dr. Barton mounted the Rock and delivered the following address:—

Address by Rev. William E. Barton, D.D.

THE HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH ROCK AND ITS PLACE IN THE AFFECTIONS OF OUR PEOPLE

Fathers and Brethren, and Pilgrim Friends, — No more pleasant duty could have been assigned me than that which my companions upon the committee have permitted me, in asking me to preside at this meeting, to relate to you the history of the Rock and its surroundings, and to speak of its place in the affections of our people. Nor has any company stood upon this spot since the days of the Pilgrims to whom it would have been a greater honor thus to speak.

It is fitting that this second International Congregational Council should close its meetings with an excursion to this Pilgrim shrine. Plymouth Rock belongs to the nation and the world, and to no one denomination; still we gladly remember that those who gave this Rock immortal honor were our Congregational forebears, from whom we trace our spiritual lineage. The imagination has no freer field for a retrospect of the past or a forecast of all that is hopeful in the future than is afforded by our present situation. We stand upon what is at once the monument of the English spirit whence came the Pilgrim movement, the corner-stone of our republic and of our American institutions both religious and political.

"A rock in the wilderness welcomed our sires." The same rock welcomes us all to-day — still pilgrims, in quest of that which they sought.

It was just a month, as you may remember, between the *Mayflower's* first landing at Provincetown and the landing of the shallop with her exploring party here. The *Mayflower* reached Provincetown Saturday November 11 (old style), or November 21 (new style), 1620. There, and on that day, they signed the social compact in the *Mayflower's* cabin.

Then followed explorations along the coast until December 16 (new style), when their third expedition of discovery set out for a more extended search for a favorable site for a home. This expedition was made in the *Mayflower's* shallop with twelve Pilgrims, including Carver, Winslow, Standish, and Bradford, and a crew of six seamen from the *Mayflower*.

Coasting along the cape and meeting hostile Indians, they came near to the mouth of this harbor. A gale arose, broke their mast in three pieces and nearly wrecked their boat, and they were almost in despair; but, encouraged by an unknown member of the crew, they bent to the oars and made the harbor, where they came ashore in the darkness and storm on Clark's Island. The next day, Saturday, they spent in repairing their boat and drying their clothes and powder. Of the next day, the great rock in the middle of Clark's Island bears their simple record: "And on the Sabboth day wee rested." On Monday, December 21 (new style), they came to the mainland, and their feet first pressed the soil where now we stand.

The shallop returned to Provincetown, with its report that the explorers had found here a harbor, affording "a uery good place for their shipping," and, on "ye land," "diuers corn-fields and little running brookes, A uery good place for situation." The Pilgrims were eager for a home. Having been "pestered nine weeks" on the voyage, and another month in Provincetown Harbor, "in this leaking, vnwholesome ship," they had grown "uery weak and weary of ye sea." They tell us that "They knew that they were Pilgrimes, & looked not much on those things. But lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits." But they longed for a home, and on the fifteenth of December (old style), the *Mayflower* herself set her sails, and arriving next day, dropped anchor

yonder in "The Cowyard," a mile away from shore. She found a harbor shallow enough at low tide, but attractive in its outline and its shore, and land-locked by the Gurnet and Plymouth Beach and the headland of Manomet. The exact location of their future home was still open to question, and they spent several days in exploration about Plymouth and Kingston. At length, as they tell the story, "After our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could we came to a conclusion, by most voyces, to set on the maine Land, on the first place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of land cleared, and hath been planted with Corne three or four yeares agoe, and there is a very sweet brooke runnes under the hill side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbor our Shallops and boats exceeding well."

It was the twenty-fifth of December, as they reckoned time, when they began their work, which was the erection of a "common house." This in its various functions served, so far as any building served, and until the erection of other buildings, as their home, their fort, their church, their school, and their state house. All the Pilgrim principles which could express themselves in architecture were embodied in that hewn-plank house and sheltered under its thatch roof.

They were not unwilling to begin their work upon Christmas Day. They were quite ready thus to disregard what to them was a reminder of an oppressive ecclesiasticism. But their work that day did but consecrate the day anew. They builded that day a shelter, rude as the stable of Bethlehem, in which the Spirit of him for whom there was too little room in the statelier temples and hostelries of earth became incarnate in the Pilgrim institutions which found their cradle there.

Our tradition concerning the landing place of the Pilgrims has come down to us from the generation of the Pilgrims themselves. We may say that it is founded upon a rock, and this notwithstanding the fact that it was one hundred and twenty-one years after the Pilgrims landed when this Rock first received public recognition.

The tradition which was abroad in the community crystallized in the year 1741 in opposition to a proposition to build a wharf at this point and over the Rock. To settle the discussions that then arose, the oldest man in the community was brought to this spot in a chair. This was Elder Thomas Faunce, long a ruling elder in the church of Plymouth, and clerk of the town. From his father, who came over in the *Ann* in 1623, he heard what also had been told him by the surviving Pilgrims, the story of the landing and the place thereof.

Elder Faunce was ninety-five at this time, and a number of the Pilgrims were still living when he was of adult age. He was forty when John Alden, the last of them, died. Elder Thomas Faunce, for forty years the contemporary of the Pilgrims, publicly identified the Rock, and, we are told, bedewed it with tears when he bade it his last farewell. This places the tradition on no uncertain ground. We are as sure as we need care to be that this one bowlder on this shore, located as it is near the mouth of the creek, a bowlder which itself was a pilgrim of the glacial age, first afforded our forefathers a footing on New England shores.

So briefly we trace the history of the events which made this spot famous.

In 1774 the tide of a new national spirit was rising among us, and it floated Plymouth Rock from its moorings, and these thirteen colonies from their allegiance to the mother country. In that year the Rock was moved to the center of the village, drawn by twenty yoke of oxen, and amid great rejoicing, to Town Square, where it reposed at the base of a liberty

pole, bearing the legend "Liberty or Death." For sixty years it remained there, and in 1834 was moved to the front of the new Pilgrim Hall, where, for forty-six years, it reposed within the iron railing that now incloses the Mayflower tablet; but, in 1880, it was brought back to its original site and placed beneath this canopy.

Thus the Rock, the nation's corner-stone, was taken from where the glacier left, and the Pilgrims found it, and wrought into the foundation of the new republic; but only a part of it was moved. In the process of lifting it, in 1774, from the sand that had covered it over, the Rock split, and during the century and more that the upper part was moving about, the nether remained in its original position. The people who saw it sunder, said: "It is prophetic. Thus shall the colonies be sundered from the motherland." And the prophecy found its quick fulfillment. But in 1880, when the half that had wandered for more than a century came back, the lower half was raised and the two were cemented together, never again to part. And we cement them anew to-day in the fellowship of this hour.

We are one people in history and tradition; one in speech and literature; one in hope and destiny, even as the half of this Rock that journeyed is one to its imperishable heart with the half to which it is now happily reunited. What God hath joined together let not man put asunder.

Here, by the grand old ocean, we declare that a thousand leagues of heaving, tossing flood roll between us and any thought of ill between the motherland and the land of her pilgrim children. Here we covenant that, fast as the *Mayflower's* anchor held her to this bleak harbor through the first long perilous winter, our faith and hope shall hold us true to our Pilgrim principles and true to each other and to our common faith and the heritage of our Anglo-Saxon civilization. Nor shall we and our children after us forget the obligations and privileges which the heritage of the Pilgrims has brought to us, till this Rock itself shall crumble and be lost in the sands of the shore.

But a thought yet more dear comes to me. We are one, not simply we brethren on both sides of the sea, but we are one with them, we pilgrims of to-day and of the sacred past. "We, having the same spirit of faith," rejoice to count ourselves their children. We are often charged with forsaking their principles. I do not believe that we have done so. We have changed our forms of doctrinal statement; we have changed and yet shall change the incidentals of our belief. We adjust our faith to the larger vision. So, and only so, do we prove ourselves their children. It was not their desire that their views of things should be a finality, but they aspired to do their work well for their own time and as a foundation for the future, "yea, though they should be euen as stepping stones vnto others, for the performing of so great a work."

Plymouth Rock stands higher than it once did: it has risen to attain the level of the elevated shore line. But the Rock of our faith is higher than we have thought; and we raise the level of our shore line if haply we may rise to it and build upon it.

We have been reminded that thirty-four years ago the National Council stood yonder on Burial Hill and again declared its faith in the God and the Bible of the Pilgrims. Changes have come to us since then, and changes are yet to come. But, as we stand where first the Pilgrims found a home upon the solid land after their months of tossing on the angry sea, we remind ourselves how in all its essentials our faith is one with theirs, and founded on the same Rock.

We believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Son and our Redeemer. We believe in the Holy Spirit by whom God, who is

the Spirit, has revealed himself to us through holy men of old, whose record we have in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and in the continuous revelation of that one and the self-same Spirit, still leading us into truth. We confess ourselves sinners in God's sight, and we hope for salvation through the love of God expressed in the gift of Jesus Christ who died for us, and for newness of life through the Spirit of him who raised up Jesus from the dead. We believe in the church of Christ, one and invisible, and in the visible communion of saints in bonds of Christian fellowship. We believe that the wages of sin is death, and that the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. We look for and expect the coming and triumph of his kingdom in the earth, and we hope for the life everlasting.

Address

At the conclusion of his address, Dr. Barton introduced the Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., who spoke as follows: —

Address by Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR FAITH

Some of our English people have thought that we understood the story of the Pilgrims, but no one can understand either its pathos or its dignity who has not visited Plymouth. It has been my good fortune, by passing around this bay, to see the whole lay of the land within the bay. We have not only to look upon this shore with its two beaches and its promontory yonder, but we have, if we can, to efface by imagination the brilliancy and the brightness of this morning and to conceive of that little shallop driving in under a heavy wind with the spray-filled and misty air. There was the imminent danger that she might be wrecked on the Manomet promontory. When the helm was taken by the unknown pilot she had to bear down the narrow neck of sea between these two beaches here, Plymouth Beach and Duxbury Beach. I have only to tell you that last winter, where you see that house, fourteen other houses were swept away in a single storm, for you to understand the difficulty of the journey which they made. What can we say but that the hand of God was with them, and, to use Holmes' words, "The chances have laws as fixed as planets have." It was not God's will that that shallop should be wrecked either upon Manomet promontory or on either of the sandy reefs down which they made their perilous progress.

And then what did they find when they came here? My brethren and sisters from England, did you look out of the window of the railroad carriage as you came along this morning, and did you notice through what kind of a land you were journeying? What a waste and desolate wilderness it must have been before these men and their successors made it blossom as a garden of the Lord! It was all sand and bowlders, brought here by no glacier, however. You people on this continent are accustomed to larger things than we upon the other. The whole of this New England must have been covered not by a glacier, but by an enormous ice-cap that deposited here very little but sand and rock. Upon this spot they landed, one hundred and one of them, worn by their toilsome voyage, debilitated by scurvy, suffering from ship fever — so debilitated and so worn out that within nine months half of their number had died. Now for all this in some measure they were prepared. Here are one or two extracts which I have made from the letter which was written by them to Sir Edwin Sands

when they asked for permission to come to America. In the first place, let me remind you that they had thought of going to Guiana, but they determined that they would not go to that rich and tropical region, where the fruits of the earth are so abundant, lest they and their children should be debilitated and corrupted by luxury. Well, they were not debilitated by luxury when they came here. Then they wrote and said, "It is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage, or small discontentment cause them to wish themselves home again. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country and inured to the difficulties of a strange land which yet in a great part we have by patience overcome." I have sometimes wondered whether there was not here and there a wife of the Pilgrims who might have wished that her husband had not been quite so heroic. But God honored them by taking them at their word. They wanted to come to a place where they should have their full manhood tested and trained, and God brought them here. That is what I mean when I say that no one can understand either the pathos of the story as shown in their sufferings and their fidelity or the dignity of their story as showing the trust that God reposed in them as men worthy to be the founders of a nation. Their faith was in God, that is true, but they might have had their faith in God and have stayed in England. They had a special faith in addition to that. They believed that they had received a divine revelation in the word of truth; and although we should not define that term "divine revelation" in the same way in which they defined it, we are here to make the same assertion to-day, and our children who read the Scriptures in the light of the newer learning will be able to say as confidently as their fathers before them that they had here a true revelation of God. Christ spoke to these men's hearts, and because they were assured that Christ had spoken to them, every record which spoke of the Christ was dear and precious to them. When boys read the Æneid of Virgil they are struck and interested with the splendid stories of fighting which are there. When men read the Æneid of Virgil they perceive that the poet had a great thought in mind, that he was not the mere historian of battles, but that he wrote that poem to illustrate the principle that a nation which had so magnificent a destiny and so wide a power as the Roman Empire must have been founded in unusual sufferings and built up on the graves of men who knew how to endure unto the end.

"*Sunt lachrymae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.*"

Such were the men whose memory has brought us here to-day. This story of America is so grand and great that it could not but have had an introduction so full of peril, so trying to heroism, so charged with opposition. And it is for us not only to recall all this, but to bow before the Lord God Almighty that we in our small way may be faithful also, worthy if not to be the founders, yet at least to be the sons of a country, worthy to be successors and to carry on the tradition of those whose sufferings history has thought entitled to be recorded, and whose fidelity it will be for us to imitate and pursue.

Prayer

After a photograph had been taken of the delegates standing in front of the Rock, Dr. Barton called upon Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark, President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, to offer prayer.

Prayer by Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D.

Oh thou who art the Rock of our salvation, we pray thee that our feet may be planted upon firm faith in thee as were our fathers'. We pray thee that, as they looked to thee when in any trouble or sorrow and when afflictions pressed upon them, so may we always be ready to flee to the Rock that is higher than we. As they looked for their salvation to thee, O Christ, may we with them be able to pray and sing,

> Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
> Let me hide myself in thee.

Now and always may this salvation in Christ be characteristic of every one descended from the Pilgrim fathers. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, the way, the truth, the life, the rock. Amen.

EXERCISES AT THE ARMORY

The delegates next assembled at the Armory, where a banquet had been prepared for them by the Congregational Club in coöperation with the Church of the Pilgrimage of Plymouth. Rev. Edward G. Porter presided and called upon Rev. Joseph Robertson, of Australia, to invoke the divine blessing.

Prayer by Rev. Joseph Robertson, M.A.

Holy Father, we ask thy divine presence and blessing on the social hour which we are now to spend. We cannot but thank thee for all that these meetings have been to us and all for which they stand. For mercies past, for mercies present, and for mercies promised we give thee our sincerest thanks, and we beseech thee to grant that from this historic spot we may carry away with us such gracious and holy influences as shall make us to serve thee with a stronger faith, with a more intense devotion, and with a holier love. We beseech thee now to grant thy blessing on these gifts of thy providence and to accept our thanks for all thy goodness and love, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

At the close of the banquet Mr. Porter stated that it was the custom of the Pilgrim fathers in concluding a feast of this character to return thanks for it to God, and he therefore called upon Rev. John J. Poynter, of England, to return thanks.

Prayer by Mr. Poynter

Our fathers' God and our God, once more we lift up our hearts to thee in gratitude and praise for the bounties which thou hast set before us, for all the hospitality of these glad days given and received, for fellowship and inspiration and the gladness of a great joy. We thank thee for the old friendships deepened and enriched and for the new friendships formed in the brotherhood throughout the world. We bless thy name for the glorious memories that are within us and about us on this holy ground, but above all for the Christ through whom the common food of earth is sanctified forever. Help us, O God, now and at all times to partake of the river of thy salvation, and evermore give unto us of the Bread of Life. Amen.

Post-Prandial Addresses

The banquet was followed by several five-minute addresses, each of which was most interestingly introduced by the Rev. Edward G. Porter. The visiting delegates who responded to the toasts were Rev. William E. Griffis, D.D., Rev. Alfred Rowland, LL.B., B.A., Rev. Morton Dexter, D.D., Gen. H. B. Carrington, Rev. Stephen L. Desha, Rev. Albert M. Hyde, Mr. Evan Spicer, Mr. John Leith, Mr. Arthur Lord, Mr. Edward Smith, Pres. William F. Slocum, B.D., LL.D., Mrs. Michael Burnham, Pres. Edward D. Eaton, D.D., and Rev. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D.

Rev. E. G. Porter

To accommodate one of our speakers who is obliged to leave, we will pass over directly in imagination to Holland. From the beginning of the history of this colony we have been accustomed to regard ourselves, the dwellers along these shores, as of English origin, and to consider our institutions, political, social, religious, and literary, as essentially English. A few years ago a lawyer in New York, who was a scholar, a lover of our institutions and a devoted adherent of our faith, wrote a most important work. He was a classmate of mine — the late Douglas Campbell. His work, in two large and carefully written volumes, is entitled "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America." A zealous follower and friend of Douglas Campbell, who has taken up that author's spirit and claim, and who has had much to say to us concerning Holland as the source of many of our New England and American institutions, is with us to-day, and I will call upon Rev. Dr. William Elliot Griffis, of New York, to respond to the subject, "The Pilgrim who Sojourned in Holland."

Address by Rev. W. E. Griffis, D.D.

THE PILGRIM WHO SOJOURNED IN HOLLAND

Our chairman, who is President of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, will allow me to say that my ancestors were from Nottinghamshire, England, and the kinsman of one of my ancestors was the first of the Scrooby people called up before the court of the Archbishop of York for being a separatist. My other line of ancestry was from Devonshire, England; I have no Dutch blood whatever in my veins. I am not a follower of Douglas Campbell. I had my material for my history of the Pilgrims in Holland long before I ever heard of Douglas Campbell. I helped him a good deal, though I had no sympathy with him in his feeling of hatred toward England which is expressed in his book. I have no hatred toward the land of my fathers; I have a deep and abiding love for the dear old home. But I am a student of American history, and I believe that those who have written our history have come almost entirely from a region within ten miles of the Golden Dome and have left out a great element in that history. When God laid the foundations of the United States he laid them very much more broadly than our New England brethren have been accustomed to think. I love the rose of England, but I love the lily of Holland, as well as the arbutus of America. I do not think the Pilgrim would have been quite the man that he was if he had not abode for eleven years in that country which, though it now lies in the shadow of Great Britain, was then far ahead of the England of the Tudor and the Stuart days in intellectual and religious liberty and which was itself the dyke of Spain against England.

When the Pilgrims went to Holland, a few hundred country people with a few townsmen and those from London, they came to a land which had then (I am talking about the Protestant Netherlands) only 700,000 people and only 6,000 square miles of territory. Holland then was mostly a swamp, a mud-hole, which the genius and faith and patience and industry of men have made into a garden, with its 12,600 square miles of territory, mostly gained from the sea, and with a population of five or six millions. There the Pilgrims found a people who had revolted from the king because they believed in no taxation without representation and consent. They had common schools which were sustained by public taxation where the poor children were educated free and the burghers' children were educated for a comparatively small sum. They had a system of registration of deeds and mortgages similar to our wonderful land system. They had a church that was ultra-democratic in many of its forms, and the Pilgrims, while abiding there, so drank in that atmosphere of reason and of faith that they were never troubled with witchcraft and were free from many of the bigotries which belonged to the Puritans. And not only this, but they absorbed many little things during their stay in Holland which our previous historians say originated in England, such as turning to the right as the law directs, whereas all through the English colonies it is turning to the left. They not only absorbed a great deal, but they had also a deep spirit of discernment. The time came when they were confronted with Arminianism on the one side, which, whatever it may be now, then meant despotism and arbitrariness and hatred of the common people; and Calvinism on the other side, which, although now made into a guillotine for cutting off the heads of scholars who think differently from the synod, was then fresh from God in its might and power. Calvinism makes great stalwart men, and John Robinson needs no apology for standing by the synod of Dort and by Calvinism, and by Maurice. When at last the swords were drawn, represented by Barneveldt, who stood as I think for aristocracy, and by Maurice, who stood for correct theology, for schools and progress, it is no wonder that John Robinson and his Pilgrim band took the right side. They need no apology now from us. They had the right thought, the right spirit, and they came to this country to plant the seed they had gotten from England and from Holland. Tolerant, great souls, they lived here and laid a foundation, the stones of which were broader and stronger because they had lived in Holland as well as in England, and I for one rejoice that the Pilgrim was a sojourner in Holland.

REV. E. G. PORTER

Much of the wheat of England was sifted to make New England, but not all of it. Very much remained in the homeland. We have had in this Council many gentlemen who represent what that faith is in England and Scotland and Wales to-day. We are glad to have with us as the representative of the sentiment, "The Pilgrim who Stayed in Old England," Rev. Alfred Rowland, of London.

ADDRESS BY REV. ALFRED ROWLAND, LL.B., B.A.

THE PILGRIM WHO STAYED IN OLD ENGLAND

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — I feel that on an occasion like this it becomes any Englishman to obey those who sit in authority over him. I have very great pleasure, therefore, in rising in response to the call of the chairman. I am very glad that this subject which has been

assigned to me indicates a recognition of a historic fact that although the Pilgrim fathers came over to this country, they did not leave us altogether denuded of their spirit in that far-off land. As they came here in order to find liberty for themselves, so they left many in the old country who years afterwards fought, and fought very victoriously, for liberty for future generations. You had your Brewster and we had our Hampden; you had John Alden and we had John Milton; you had Myles Standish and we had Oliver Cromwell; and I venture to say that the fight which was begun by these was one demanding as much heroism and persistence as the fight which was carried on here. Those who are present here representing the United States will hardly need to be assured that we in England have still to carry on this fight, and that we need something of the Pilgrim spirit in order to bring it to a successful issue. You do not know what it is to have the incubus of a state church dominating especially the village population. You are free from a House of Lords which mutilates as many bills as it does not murder which are brought before it by a liberal government. I do not think you know very much, judging from the speech of your broad-minded Bishop Lawrence, of the kind of ritualistic tendency and priestly arrogance by which we have been cursed of late years in England, where we have almost all the errors of the Romish church taught, although we have not the recognition of the Pope — partly because there are so many gentlemen there who wish to be popes themselves. We have to undertake this work with the sympathy and with the prayers of our brethren who are on this side of the sea, and I hope that we are recognizing the necessity of having an inflow of spiritual power in order to accomplish victoriously the great work that lies before us. I know we have had in this country, in the last ten days, a wonderful manifestation of the strength of Congregationalism. We have had magnificent audiences, such as perfectly appall us Londoners, for we would not have been able to gather so many people at any time for the discussion of such questions. We have been enjoying the most princely hospitality in all directions, and the memory of the kindness of the American people will abide with us for all time to come. But although we have had also exhibitions of splendid oratory, and although we have had pleas for even higher mental culture, I hope we are seeking still more for an earnestness and persistence in regard to the propagation of the Christian faith such as perhaps has hardly characterized us in the past. The Pilgrim fathers had very few of the advantages which we have been enjoying here during the last ten days; but, at all events, they had that faith in an unseen and ever-present Saviour to which our friend Mr. Hollowell so eloquently referred this morning. I think if we had only a sense of his presence in our churches more intense than that which we have enjoyed, we should understand something of what Charles Lamb meant when, in speaking about the Lord Jesus Christ to one of his friends, he said, "If Shakespeare came into this room we would all instantly rise up to greet him, but if the Lord Jesus Christ were to appear we would all fall down and adore him." We want more of that spirit of reverence, of humility, of self-devotion, and of self-forgetfulness, and I hope that, just as the English churches generally are built in the shape of the shadow of a cross, even so all our Christian communities may dwell in the shadow of the Cross, that we may understand that the great emblem of our faith is not a couch of roses, but a cross of sacrifice, as our friend Mr. Forsyth has so earnestly declared. May we have grace unitedly, the people on that side of the sea and on this, to do something more than we have yet done for the advance of spiritual religion, that all nations the world over may soon call Jesus Lord!

Rev. E. G. Porter

It is reported in the traditional history of Plymouth that in the spring of 1622 the settlers here were in great straits and were obliged to face a serious famine. Sickness had also been amongst them, making its devastations, and it is generally believed that their amount of corn was reduced to a very small measure — even a pint, it is said, so that five kernels were dealt out officially to each inhabitant. It has long been a custom here in the celebration of Forefathers' Day by the Old Colony Club and on other occasions to place five kernels of corn by the side of each plate at the table. Upon our menu you will find a contrast which is somewhat forcibly presented, and yet I am free to say that from the official documents we may readily believe that the fathers of Plymouth did not usually suffer for want of good fare. It was not precisely what we have had here from the proprietor of the Samoset House. To begin with, we find on that bill of fare "musles." That may have been oysters, but, at all events, it was a very acceptable product of the sea and they found it always good. The other articles mentioned on the left-hand page of our menu were certainly not to be despised, especially the wild turkey, the venison, and the moose, which they are said to have had frequently. For the benefit of our foreign visitors I will say that "siquitash," spelled in various ways, was simply corn and beans cooked together, a very palatable dish which we are always glad to have whenever we can get it. The limit mentioned as to bread, "A quarter of a pound a person a day till harvest," was necessary not unfrequently in the very early times. "Nocake" was the ordinary Englishman's way of spelling and pronouncing the Indian word "Nokihick," which was simply parched meal pounded in a mortar with a pestle, and whenever they traveled they carried a quantity of it with them and were always glad to have it. The other things mentioned were very common. They had a good store of dry ship biscuit from the *Mayflower*. They got some things from the woods, and the last article mentioned, "strong water," we find officially alluded to in an account of the treaty made on Watson's Hill, across the brook, with Massasoit, where this article was probably used to lubricate matters or to liquidate matters, as you may be pleased to call it. They secured that treaty amicably and it remained in force for half a century until King Philip's War. We find the first celebration of Forefathers' Day in Plymouth of which we have any definite record was in 1769, when the Old Colony Club was organized and had a feast in Plymouth. We have a record of the menu at that dinner. They had a large baked Indian huckleberry pudding to begin with, a dish of succotash, a dish of clams, one of oysters and codfish, a haunch of venison roasted by the first jack brought to the colony, a dish of sea fowl, one of frost fish and eels, — there is a river here in Plymouth, between this and Manomet, where eels have always been abundant, — an apple pie, and last, a course of cranberry tarts and cheese. So that one hundred and thirty years ago they fared very well, though probably not as well as we fare to-day.

The Pilgrims were accustomed from the very beginning, during the springtime in successive years, to be planters of necessity. They found the fields ready at hand on the slopes of this beautiful Sweetwater Brook which they loved so much and on the reclaimed lands from the forest hard by. They became very industrious and very successful planters. I give to you now the subject, "The Pilgrim as a Planter," and call upon Rev. Morton Dexter, a lineal descendant of the Pilgrims, to speak on that sentiment.

Address by Rev. Morton Dexter, D.D.

THE PILGRIM AS A PLANTER

This topic which has been assigned to me has a bucolic and agricultural sound, has it not? And yet in the early part of their history here the Pilgrims did very little planting. They were compelled, in connection with their planting, to illustrate a number of those characteristics which helped to make them what they were, and of which we, as we study them, are so proud. They were compelled to exhibit a noble patience all through the bleak and blustering winter until the opening spring had rendered the soil suitable for cultivation. Then they were compelled to illustrate a notable humility in taking the advice and depending wholly, as it proved, for their successful planting upon Squanto, their Indian friend, without whom their crops would have wholly failed, for the wheat, the seed peas, and the other seeds of various kinds which they had brought with them from England to America came to nothing. The only crop which amounted to anything, and that was little enough for a year or two, was the corn, the seed for which they had found on this side of the ocean and which Squanto taught them how to plant and cultivate. Then they were obliged to illustrate the virtue of diligence and industry, for it was hard work indeed for them after they had planted their crop to nurture it and to protect it until they had an opportunity to harvest it. It occurs to me to say, in connection with this subject of the Pilgrim as a planter, that the history of the matter reminds us of one of the most singular things in the early life of the Pilgrims — their attempt at a modified form of Christian communism. When they came over here they were under an agreement with the merchant adventurers, the purport of which was that, while each Pilgrim might have two days out of the six secular days of the week for his own purposes, he must devote the other four to working for the common good. As long as that agreement was maintained disaster in one form or another seemed to follow upon their course; but by and by when they made up their minds, at Governor Bradford's instance, that it was time to drop any such effort at communistic living, and that it would be wiser to put every man upon his own mettle and his own honor to cultivate a piece of ground for himself, and make the most and the best of it for himself and for those he loved, from that moment prosperity began to come to them. I suppose in no other community in history has the experiment of communism been tried to better advantage, or by a body of men and women of more genuine average good character, of higher common sense, of more earnest purpose, more praiseworthy in regard to avoiding all violations of law and order. Never has there been a community where that experiment has been tried with so good a hope of success as in the Plymouth community when they tried it two hundred and fifty or more years ago. It failed, and there is a lesson for social economists in the fact.

The Pilgrim as a planter — the Pilgrim as a supplanter is the idea which a great many people have of him. They tell us that the Pilgrims came here and drove the Indians out, treated them with cruelty and forced the native races to abandon the territory where they had lived for generations in order that the white men might appropriate their lands. We all in this country have heard that witty but baseless slander — I would not repeat it but for the fact that it may be new to the ears of some of our guests — that the Pilgrim fathers fell first upon their knees and then upon the aborigines. There is not one iota of truth in anything of that kind. They bought and paid for everything which they got from the Indians. They were so scrupulous, so conscientious, that when, in the days of their

poverty they first landed down yonder on the cape and found a few baskets of corn, which they were compelled to carry away in order to save their lives and to use the corn for planting afterwards, they took pains to learn who the owners of it were, and on their first opportunity, a few months later, when sending an expedition down that way, they sent the money to pay for the corn. They were equally scrupulous in all their dealings with the Indians. They never had any trouble whatever with the Indians, although naturally afraid of them, until they began to be aware that the Indians, who had some reason for objecting to having any one come into their country, were conspiring against them and that their lives would soon be imperiled if they did not take measures to protect themselves. So far as I have been able to inform myself by a pretty thorough study of this part of American history, there is no case on record where any charge can fairly be made of injustice toward the Indians on the part of the Pilgrim fathers. This slander is commonly repeated, but it is an absolute slander.

DR. PORTER

The hymn which we are about to sing is one of the most famous and the most interesting in our country. It has a story which is known to many of you, given to us years ago by the Elder Norton of Harvard College, who visited Mrs. Hemans. This hymn is often sung in Plymouth and always with *eclat*, always with the ring of patriotic gratitude for our inheritance. One of the gentlemen on this platform from England was asked if he knew of this hymn. "Know it?" said he; "I used to recite it at school." We will now sing the hymn, "The breaking waves dashed high."

Hymn

Mrs. Hemans' hymn was then sung, the Plymouth chorus leading.

The breaking waves dashed high
  On a stern and rock-bound coast,
And the woods against the stormy sky
  Their giant branches toss'd;
And the heavy night hung dark
  The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moor'd their bark
  On the wild New England shore.

. . . . . .

What sought they thus afar?
  Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?
  They sought a faith's pure shrine.
Aye, call it holy ground,
  The soil where first they trod.
They have left unstain'd what there they found—
  Freedom to worship God.

REV. E. G. PORTER

The Pilgrims came to Plymouth to worship God in peace, primarily to have a home of their own and to secure for themselves the blessing of a community well governed, with the fear of God before their eyes and with

lands about them for their own improvement. We find, therefore, that the history of these colonies is contrasted with the history of the colonies in southern Europe and in Central and South America. There is a world-wide difference between them. We find that the Pilgrims came to Plymouth not for military purposes, but were here mostly on an errand of peace, and wherever the sons of the Pilgrims have been in this broad land they have preserved order. They never have loved the military function, though they have not been unwilling to assume it when necessary, from the Pequod War, so soon after these settlements along the coast had been made, down to the war of last year. Military science has not been the favorite study or occupation of the men of America, and yet the men of America, from Myles Standish to Admiral Dewey, have shown themselves equal to any emergency. We have not been lacking in men of heroism and personal prowess, ready to make any sacrifice, even unto death, for the preservation of order and peace in the land. I give you, therefore, as the next sentiment, "The Pilgrim as a Soldier," and I will call upon General Carrington, of the United States army, to speak to that toast.

Address by General H. B. Carrington

THE PILGRIM AS A SOLDIER

The air is quick with intelligence; voices seem to vibrate in my soul from air and earth and sea. A day or two ago I took up my old New England primer, dated "in the year of Christian Empire, 1634," derived from an ancestor who was a descendant of the Ironsides of Cromwell. He preceded me three generations at Yale. In 1759, on a communion Sunday, a courier from the governor entered his church with a summons for thirty-six recruits to join the British regulars and go to the French-Canadian War. He said to his people, "Here is the bread and the wine; before I administer, I wish to get the thirty-six names." They hesitated, and he went in front of the altar and signed his own name first, and later went to the war as chaplain, after preaching a sermon to his people on service as a religious duty.

But other voices come to me, and I want to emphasize one point. We talk of eternity; mothers and fathers talk with their children anticipating eternity. It is a mistake. When a child breathes its first breath it is in eternity. We are in eternity now. We have a little time to utilize here and now, and time is only a part of eternity here on earth, and we are responsible forever for what we do or neglect to do now. There is no such thing as past, present, or future with God, nor with us in the line of duty. Governor Bradford, a few rods from here, took a candlestick and placed a small candle in it, saying that with a small candle he would light a thousand other candles and that he hoped that from that light the whole nation would eventually glow with the force of the Pilgrim example. That candle has lighted thousands and millions of candles all around the world. Wherever the telegraph and our other electric inventions have gone, wherever the gospel has gone, that little candle has enlightened the world.

Hardinge said of Havelock that he was every inch of him a soldier because he was every inch of him a Christian. So was Myles Standish. What is a soldier? He is not a robber; he is a man charged with the protection of society and the maintenance of peace against all interrupters of peace. Daniel Webster, who lies near the grave of Bradford, when he made his memorable utterance that a man's personal responsibility to God

is the greatest thought that can enter the human mind, announced almost word for word that which was the prime energizing spiritual force of Myles Standish in his tent, at church, everywhere. Myles Standish and his fellows, clad in mailed armor, fortified this little community and conducted the people safely to church, where they might serve God as they wished to serve him. That is the spirit of the true soldier in all the ages.

Let me refer to Holland once more. Do you see that banner hanging there, the stars and stripes? The red stripe is symbolic of blood, the emblem of sacrifice, for without the shedding of blood there can be no salvation. The white stripe is the emblem of peace, and the blue represents the firmament above with the stars which sang together in the morning of creation. In 1619, one year before the Pilgrim fathers came here, there was in Holland a young man who had studied law and who had also written a commentary on the Old and New Testaments, besides a poem on Christ's life and character. So liberal was he that he was put in prison. His wife took a chest of clothes to the prison and concealed him in the chest, and so he escaped. That was the man Hugo Grotius, whose legal writings are the standard for all the world. A few weeks ago when the American President sent a silver wreath to Hugo Grotius' tomb, all the delegates at the Hague conference united in singing the "Star Spangled Banner." If the conference at the Hague accomplished nothing else, it marked the promise of an arbitration agreement between all nations after the example of our own America.

Rev. E. G. Porter

The Pilgrim was a soldier when necessary; he was also a sailor. Some planted, others fished the seas, and they began very early to build their ships here on this immediate coast. There is one river hard by on which over a thousand sea-going ships were built in the last century alone. One of these ships was the *Columbia*, which was the first vessel to carry our flag around the globe, sailing from Boston in 1787. She visited the Hawaiian Islands on her way to the northwest coast of Nootka Sound.

We had expected that a rear admiral of the navy would have been here to respond to the sentiment of the Pilgrim as a sailor, but we are very glad to ask our friend from the Hawaiian Islands, who represents that group in which we are so deeply interested as we have been for a long time through the operations of our missions, Rev. Mr. Desha, pastor of the church at Hilo, to speak to this toast.

Address by Rev. Stephen L. Desha

THE PILGRIM AS A SAILOR

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens, — It is my misfortune not to have the command of my father's language. It is not my fault; it is the American people's fault. If they had annexed Hawaii about forty years ago I would have the command of my father's language. But I will try my best. I think it is a kind of put-up job between Mr. Porter and our secretary of the Hawaiian Board, Mr. Emerson, for I thought he was going to translate what I should say here, but he has gone out and so I am left like a child among you.

"The Pilgrim as a Sailor." Why, yes, I think that it is a very easy subject to talk about. I will mention some names who had the spirit of the Pilgrim in them. Among the booming of the cannon and the smoke and the blood on the deck of the vessels one sailor called out, "Don't give

up the ship." That was the spirit of the Pilgrim in that sailor. And among the booming of the cannon in Santiago Bay a sailor boy went in there with a ship and risked his life to save the honor of his country, and the American people honor him and call him a hero — Hobson. And in that early morning of May, thousands of miles away, that great man whom the American people honor to-day entered the harbor of Manila, full of mines, and compelled the whole world to respect the stars and stripes and the American navy. About eighty years ago, from the shores of this state, a company of Pilgrim fathers left their homes and their dear ones and their beautiful country, the land of the free and the home of the brave, and went thousands of miles around Cape Horn to the Hawaiian Islands. They were six months on their little vessels. They carried with them the spirit of the Pilgrims and they planted the spirit of liberty on those islands. To-day from their graves they offer the Hawaiian Islands, the islands of paradise, to be under the stars and stripes.

Only one thing more. On behalf of my brethren and myself I want to thank the people of Boston for their kindness to us. We are Pilgrims from the islands of the sea. We came here to learn something more and then go back to our island home and preach the gospel of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer. Our visit will bear fruit. Standing by that great monument this morning one of our number, looking up to that monument, said, "Oh, brother, let us go back and by the shore where our fathers lived and labored, those whom we call the Pilgrims from the United States, build up a monument, not so good as this, but to tell the world that we honor those Pilgrims who came and died there side by side with the people whom they converted, giving the crown to Christ." So we are going back to try and build a monument in honor of the dear fathers who have passed away.

Rev. E. G. Porter

The speaker who was to have come last on our program is obliged to leave in order to reach his Western home. He was to speak on the "Pilgrim of To-morrow," and he was selected from among the younger clergy of our country because he can look forward with great anticipation to many of his immediate contemporaries. He lives nearly upon the meridian which represents the center of population in the United States as it used to be before we added certain far outlying possessions. I refer to Rev. Albert M. Hyde, of Toledo.

Address by Rev. Albert M. Hyde

THE PILGRIM OF TO-MORROW

I believe you will agree with me that this wonderful privilege which we have enjoyed in these last ten days reaches its highest and most sacred point to-day when we stand by the shadow of Plymouth Rock. I believe that this hour in the providence of God may be an hour that shall mark an epoch in the history of all Christendom. I believe that this hour, as these sons and daughters of the Pilgrims are gathered from all the corners of the earth, is big with destiny for the churches and the nations and the world. This morning as we passed one by one over Plymouth Rock, I said to myself, "There go the Pilgrims of to-morrow; there are those who may carry the spirit of the Pilgrim fathers into all the circles of this great globe of ours." My sisters and my brothers, is it not true that as great perils confront us, as stupendous problems confront us, as those which met our

Pilgrim fathers in the days past? I stood up the other day on Copp's Hill, the quiet, restful sleeping-place of the Mathers and their associates. It was a peaceful scene, but all about me were gathered the slums of the great city. There were the hosts of the weary and the sad, there were the columns of the vicious and the sinful, and there in the evening twilight hours I heard the sobbing of the great city. And then I fancied that to my ear there came the appeal of a nation and from over the sea there came the voice of the world. You and I are in danger, I believe, to-day, unless beyond the homage which we pay to the past we see the sublime beauty of the future. You and I miss the spirit of Plymouth Rock unless, turning away from this Mecca, we go out and do our part to live our lives, to be indeed sons and daughters of the Pilgrims in all these days that are to come. Our words to-day can add no laurel to those who sleep on Burial Hill; our criticism to-day can take no wreath of glory from the fame which they have won. It is for us, their children, the Pilgrims of to-morrow, on this scene and at this hour, to pledge ourselves under the very shadow of Plymouth Rock to the same spirit of manhood and womanhood, the same grand iconoclasm that has made glorious the past and may make still more glorious the future. To-day let us pledge ourselves in this sacred hour.

Rev. E. G. Porter

The Pilgrim spirit has from the beginning been identified with the spirit of enterprise and progress. It has therefore been largely a commercial spirit, and the men of Plymouth and of Boston soon found their way into various commercial pursuits. We find them going along the shores as far as Monhegan, to Pemaquid and Sagadahoc on the coast of Maine. We find them trading with the men of Manhattan, of Virginia, and of the West Indies. And as in these colonies, so also in the mother country, there was the same commercial enterprise in manufacturing and trading. It is precisely so to-day. England and America represent among the nations of the earth the foremost peoples who are engaged in active and remunerating commercial operations. We manufacture our goods and send our locomotives to Russia and to Australia, while our steel products are wanted in such numbers that Pittsburg and Buffalo and the other great centers of that industry are not able, working night and day, to fill the orders which they receive from the ends of the earth. We have with us among our English guests a gentleman who is largely connected with manufactures and commerce. He represents a house well known in England and throughout the world — a gentleman whose voice has hitherto been silent in our Council, but from whom we shall now be very glad to hear. I refer to Mr. Evan Spicer, of London, who will speak on "The Pilgrim as a Trader."

Address by Evan Spicer, J.P.

THE PILGRIM AS A TRADER

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — About a month ago I came into this country as a happy pilgrim. Two hours ago I felt a little homesick, and if the *Mayflower* had been sailing then I might possibly have taken a return ticket. Whoever has given me this sentiment to speak upon to-day must have been sharping me. "The Pilgrim as a Trader" — he is altogether too good a trader. He competes with me everywhere. But there is a good deal to be said about the trader in this country and

I should like to criticise him. I feel as if the trader in this country had had too much his own way. The old Pilgrims kept their cities in New England beautiful, but I fear the pilgrims of the later day have lost that sense of the beautiful, unless they feel that chimneys all around and in the middle of their cities are beautiful. I only wished, as I traveled through some of the cities of the West, that the traders there had had less influence and the ministers and those who are fond of art and that which is beautiful had had a little more control in the arrangement of their cities. If you want to see a city that is beautiful in the eyes of the trader, go to Chicago. There everything has to give way to the trader. I believe, sir, that if the spirit of the old time, the spirit of those men who came over here to Plymouth, was to rise up before you now it would criticise you a little as I do.

But, sir, putting that aside, the trader has done splendid work. The trader of to-day has not forgotten the God of his fathers. The trader of to-day has provided for the people all over this country the most magnificent churches and chapels in the world. He has provided the most magnificent institutes, educational and philanthropic, with finer equipments than you can see in any other part of the world. It is the successful trader that has been able to do this, and I wish the successful pilgrim trader a Godspeed in his good work. If it had not been for the successful trader we should not have been receiving this princely — am I right in using that expression? — this magnificent republican and magnificent democratic hospitality which we have been receiving during the last week. We as Englishmen will go back feeling thankful for what we have seen. We shall go back feeling inspired by what we have seen. I shall pity some of those men and women whom we shall meet in opposition; they will have to hear from us some plain words in reference to education, in reference to religious questions and many others in which you are far in advance of us, and which I put down to the sagacity and the wisdom of your pilgrim traders.

Rev. E. G. Porter

I am very happy to call upon the next speaker for several reasons. One is that he is a Scotchman, and a bonnie Scotchman, too. We have not heard very much from our Scotch brethren, though we have had them in the Council. The Pilgrim line has not been supposed to be very closely identified with the Scotch, and yet I venture to say that if you were asked what is the second Scotland in the world, you would say it is New England, in its spirit, in its character, in its original thought and earnest moral purpose. Another reason why I am glad to call upon this brother is that he is a brother-in-law of George Macdonald. Another reason is that he was the Bible class teacher of Dr. Forsyth, from whom we have heard in the Council. Another reason is that every Lord's Day afternoon he has a service of his own for working people, attended by about 1,500. I call upon a Justice of the Peace to speak for "The Pilgrim as a Magistrate," Mr. John Leith, of Aberdeen.

Address by John Leith, J.P.

THE PILGRIM AS A MAGISTRATE

Mr. Chairman and my Dear Brethren, — I shall not lose any part of my five minutes in talking in a general way, but almost at once speak to the subject on which I have the pleasure of being allowed to say a word

or two. I am too much of a Scotchman to lose any valuable time, because you know the Scotchman is said to be a man who keeps the Sabbath and everything else that he can lay his hands on, which of course is a libel. For these last few days I have been living an enchanted life. Some of my friends think my life has been a little more enchanted than many others because I have been situated under the most delightful circumstances. I have received the most unbounded kindness from all the friends who have entertained me. What has struck me most especially in connection with this visit has been your great and glorious country, with its wonderful capacity and expansive power, and also the deep and strong religious feeling which pervades all the classes of people among whom we have had the privilege to move. And the subject which I represent has something to do with this — the Pilgrim as a Magistrate. You know the magistrate is spoken of in the Scripture as a terror to evil-doers, and of course that can have no reference to any of you. But the other part of the statement must certainly have something to do with you — praise for those who do well. Certainly we have received at your hands the most magnificent hospitality, and we tremble at the prospect of having to even try to copy you in our country when you come to visit us. In reference to this subject, I find that the compact made in the *Mayflower* on reaching the shores of this land was loyally adhered to. This compact which the Pilgrim fathers made, in its fundamental truth and purity, has been maintained and followed; and although one of your own poets says,

> New occasions teach new duties,
> Time makes ancient truth uncouth;
> They must up and onward ever
> Who would keep abreast of truth, —

although that is true in some aspects and some conditions of truth, the great eternal fundamental principles so stoutly upheld by the Pilgrim fathers have always been conspicuous in this country. I believe in the old-fashioned methods of empire extension. I believe in the method adopted by Moffatt and Livingstone. I believe in consecrated soldiers, such as the distinguished soldier to whom we have listened, and who, along with his statement as to his own views, has set before us the supremely important truth that this is eternity and that God is here. If our soldiers would speak to us in that way, many of us would regard them with great reverence. I believe that to win a people's allegiance by a pure policy and a fair treatment is the way to gain their favor. It is not at the point of a bayonet always that we are to make hostile tribes friendly, but by the exhibition and practice of the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ — not conquest, but emancipation. No man, no nation, can be permanently advanced at the cost of others. There is no lasting influence to be gained by injustice. We are to be the brothers, not the conquerors of others. God puts his royal seal upon that man's life who devotes himself to saving others. The great future of your country in its line of development must certainly be in this direction. That sweet and sainted poet, patriot, and preacher, John Greenleaf Whittier, saw in a vision the position in which you now are when he sang with tender pathos and great outlook into the future as he thought of what America should be, "pure, generous, brave, and free," and when he thought of how it was to be accomplished and how indifferent he was as to what share he might have in it himself: —

A dream of man and woman
Diviner but still human,
Solving the riddle old,
Shaping the Age of Gold.

The love of God and neighbor;
An equal-handed labor;
The richer life, where beauty
Walks hand in hand with duty.

Ring, bells in unreared steeples,
The joy of unborn peoples!
Sound, trumpets far off blown,
Your triumph is my own!

I rejoice to be here, and I rejoice to have the opportunity of meeting with you all on this great and historical occasion.

Dr. Porter

The gentleman who was to have spoken on the next sentiment, "The Pilgrim as a Preacher," was a distinguished clergyman from the Pacific coast, but he was obliged to leave and could not come here to-day. Inasmuch as last evening, in that last official session of the Council, we had in the preacher a gentleman who by character, attainment, position, and service is recognized universally in this country as perhaps the best representative of the preacher, we need no other speaker on that topic to-day. We will therefore omit that toast and pass on to the next, and I am happy to call upon a gentleman of Plymouth, born here, of Plymouth instinct and inheritance and fond tradition, the President of the Pilgrim Society, Mr. Arthur Lord.

Address by Mr. Arthur Lord

This great assembly, representing a Congregationalism which is world-wide, gathered here in Plymouth where once stood the home of Elder Brewster, seems to me a most grateful and graceful tribute to the memory of the men and women who formed the Pilgrim company of 1620. In their lives and labors, in their struggles and triumphs, in their weakness and their strength, you as Congregationalists may well feel a just and special pride. I have been referred to as an officer of the Pilgrim Society, to which was first intrusted the duty of keeping the memory of those Pilgrims green. In 1820 the Society was chartered by act of the Commonwealth for the purpose of erecting a monument to perpetuate the memory of the virtues, the enterprise and the unparalleled sufferings of the first settlers on these shores. No stone marked their graves; no tablet designated the site of house or watch-tower; no shaft expressed a nation's tribute to its Pilgrim founders. No, even the rock itself was neglected and uncared for, lying near the doorway of a warehouse upon the wharf. But in that very year Mr. Webster delivered that magnificent address of matchless eloquence, which led John Adams to say that Mr. Burke was no longer entitled to the praise of the foremost orator of modern times. From that year the interest in the Pilgrims grew and strengthened and deepened. Mystic cords stretching across from Plymouth Rock over prairie and river and mountain have spanned a continent, and for myself I do not believe that the lesson of the Pilgrim's influence and example and teaching will lose itself amidst the murmurings of Pacific seas as west-

ward the course of empire takes its way. You have seen the Rock, you have ascended the hill of graves of which the poet sings: —

> The earliest ray of the golden day
> On that hallowed spot is cast;
> And the evening sun, as he leaves the world,
> Looks kindly on that spot last.

You have seen the monument surmounted with its stately figure emblematic of the faith which inspired the Pilgrims to seek a freedom which would be stimulated by education and chastened by morality and regulated by law. You will soon turn to the hall where are still preserved the few and simple memorials of the Pilgrim company, mute yet forever eloquent, which the hand of time has spared. When the active exercises of the day are over I beg you to take with you the good wishes of the Pilgrim Society for your safe return to happy homes, the cordial greetings of this community to their kinsmen everywhere, at home and abroad. Take with you also across the ocean the sure conviction that the seas no longer divide, but unite us in ties of affection and respect, not in union of formal treaties or entangling alliances, but in a friendly and generous rivalry as to which people shall most happily contribute to the great cause of forwarding the splendid march of civilization, of humanity, of righteousness and peace.

REV. E. G. PORTER

There have been a considerable number who have not taken part in the public exercises and who have not attended, indeed, all the meetings, but who have had an earnest desire to see something of our educational, our political, and our charitable institutions. Among these gentlemen is one whom I had the pleasure of meeting at dinner last evening at the Touraine, whom I decided at once would be a gentleman whom you would wish to hear from to-day. He represents the lay delegates from England. He is himself very closely connected, not only with large business interests, but also with great philanthropic interests. He has himself founded a large temperance institute in the heart of England. Living in Bewdley, he is interested in various parts of that very populous center of England. I have pleasure, therefore, in calling upon Mr. Edward Smith, to speak upon the subject, "The Pilgrim as a Statesman."

ADDRESS BY MR. EDWARD SMITH

THE PILGRIM AS A STATESMAN

Pilgrim Sisters and Pilgrim Brothers, — I am very glad to be reminded that we are here to-day as Pilgrims. I had almost forgotten that, because it seems to me that I have been in paradise for the last ten days. Certainly I have seen a great many ministering angels of all kinds. Only yesterday, in attending one of the schools in a poor part of Boston, the schoolmaster directed a little girl to take me to the school-board office that I might get some literature with respect to the wonderful system of education that you have in Boston. She was a dear child, and I was very much interested in talking with her. I found that her parents came from Donegal, a very poor part of Ireland, and so I thought I would like to make a little present to her for her kindness, and I tendered to her a quarter of a dollar. "Oh, no, sir," she said, "I could not, indeed, take it;

no, thank you." I do not know where I shall find another such an one. Perhaps I might say that we have been not so much in paradise as on the Delectable Mountains, and there we have been having sweet converse with the shepherds. But we must remember, those of us who have read that wonderful book of John Bunyan's, that when Christian left the shepherds upon the Delectable Mountains, it was not long before he was caught in the net of the flatterer. We have been enjoying many good things to-day, but do not let any of us Pilgrims of to-day be caught in the net of the flatterer, but let us remember that we have, every one of us, our work to do. We that are in business can find many that are turned out of the way, and a little kindly word or a hand of help will bring them back again. We had reference to the stars just now, but let us remember that those who turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars forever and ever. Not only let us remember that we are Pilgrims, but let us remember what the apostle Peter said when writing to the poor Christians of his day. He said, "Ye are a royal priesthood, a chosen generation, a holy nation, a peculiar people." What for? "That ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." Oh, let us shine for our Master. Let the light of God's countenance rest upon us, so that his way may be known on earth, and his saving health among all nations.

Rev. E. G. Porter

New England has not only aspired to a large success in business pursuits upon the land and upon the sea, in planting and trading and in certain professions of arms, but New England has always stood — and never more conspicuously — as the exponent in the United States of liberal learning. Harvard was founded in 1636 by an appropriation of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay of four hundred pounds, a sum equal to the entire annual tax rate of the colony, an unprecedented incident in the annals of any nation. From that beginning we have spread abroad our colleges not only here in the East, but also in the West, and we find in distant parts of the land colleges that are lineal descendants of Harvard and Yale. Go where you will, on this side of the Mississippi or the other, on this side of the Rocky Mountains or on the other, you will find our institutions of learning, and we may trace their origin directly back to New England. I have great pleasure in introducing as the gentleman to speak upon "The Pilgrim as a Scholar," President William F. Slocum, of Colorado College.

Address by President W. F. Slocum, B.D., LL.D.

THE PILGRIM AS A SCHOLAR

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — Every literature has its motive for existence, if it is to live at all; just as each political or social movement possesses its motive. When one studies Puritan character, Puritan history and literature, he discovers within them all a central idea, which explains much which they produced and passed down to us.

Their theory of government was built upon this central idea which dominated their whole history, and that was that in all, over all, and through all, *God is King.* This conception of the kingship of Jehovah gave them also their ethical theory, *viz.*, that the law of right is absolute.

If one asks what idea more than any other dominates and gives character to Puritan literature, I should answer this one upon which every true

system of morals or theology plants itself: the conception that "*Right is right since God is God.*"

It was that idea which made "Uncle Tom's Cabin" an epoch-making book; it was this same theory of life which, burning in the soul of our Quaker poet, made him write those "songs of freedom," which roused again and again the nation to its great duty of breaking every shackle from the slave; it is this idea that made the Puritan preacher a scholar and gave him a motive for his sermons to which reverent congregations listened during long hours in the old fireless New England meeting-house. The best Puritan literature, as well as the best Puritan preaching, was the outgrowth of that conception which created the struggle for civil and religious liberty in the Netherlands, the story of which has been adequately written only by our great New England author, who is himself a direct descendant of the Puritans.

May I add that our modern literature is losing power and value just as it has thrown overboard the old Puritan theory of morals? It is worse than useless, in so far as the conception that the law of right is as unchanging and unchangeable as the character and purpose of God is disregarded.

The college or university, East or West, training its students for citizenship and leadership in this nation of ours will cease to make scholars worthy of the high privileges to which they are called, if the dominating conception, as they pass out into the work to which they are called, be not that in thought, word, and deed they must make others as well as themselves believe that there are no compromises in God's ideal of righteousness. If this idea has written the poetry, the essay, the sermon, the history of the past, it must still play its commanding part in producing the literature of the future.

REV. E. G. PORTER

We speak of our Pilgrim fathers; there were also mothers, there were wives and daughters, and we should not be true to our inheritance if we should not hear to-day from one who shall speak as the representative of the Priscillas, the Penelopes, and the Dorothys of the earlier time. I am happy, therefore, to call upon one who is herself a daughter of the Pilgrims, born near by in Kingston, a graduate and trustee of Mount Holyoke College, and President of the Woman's Board of Missions from Missouri — Mrs. Burnham, of St. Louis.

ADDRESS BY MRS. MICHAEL BURNHAM

THE PILGRIM MOTHERS

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — It is said that some years ago there was a school in which the catechism was taught by the teacher. Every morning in regular rotation he would ask, "Who made you?" "God." "Who was the first man?" "Adam." It happened one morning that a stranger came into the school, the teacher being absent, and asked the questions of the catechism. "Who made you?" To his surprise the small boy said, "Adam." Seeing his surprise, the little boy said, "Please, sir, the boy whom God made has gone home to-day." Notwithstanding my very delightful time here in Plymouth, since I have been sitting on this platform with these gentlemen, the only representative of my sex, I have wished I was like the little boy at home. Now our chairman says that I have only three minutes and so I will say only a part of what I would have said. I am a Pilgrim, born of Pilgrim stock, nurtured in Pilgrim air, educated in Pilgrim schools, and in order to keep

the name fresh and true in my heart I have become a member of Pilgrim Church in St. Louis, a grand church which carries out the Pilgrim principles. I presume in the earlier days when Priscilla exercised her right and gathered to herself John Alden, that never in her wildest moments would she have thought of such a gathering as this being possible on Pilgrim soil or indeed on any soil; but the principles and the character of our Pilgrim mothers and daughters have been a large element in making this fact possible. They were strong and true; they were noble and devoted; they were unselfish and loving; and when they left that other home where there was so much that was necessary for their comfort and well-being, they left all to come here with their husbands, their fathers, and their lovers, and they helped to make this great republic. To-day I cannot but give voice to that which I know my sisters all over this country would be glad to say, that we want to carry out in our lives and in our hearts those principles which our Pilgrim mothers brought with them. And so I say, all honor to the women who came here and helped to found this great republic, and may the Lord help us, their descendants, to carry on the good work.

Rev. E. G. Porter

There are only two more speakers, and I will call first upon President Eaton, of Beloit College, Wisconsin, who will speak upon "The Pilgrim of Yesterday and To-day."

Address by Rev. Pres. Edward D. Eaton, D.D.

THE PILGRIM OF YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY

The stranger in Boston, entering the Public Library, sees on the left hand the statue of a young hero in cloak and hat, with cane and sword, booted and spurred. It is young Sir Harry Vane, who spent but one year in Boston, a Pilgrim from England and a Pilgrim back again to England. In that one year he was governor of the new Commonwealth, and Wendell Phillips said of him that he was the noblest human being that ever trod the streets of Boston. In him for the first time on this shore there was a champion of absolute liberty in church and in state. During his one year as governor the Pilgrims set forth again to colonize America, founding the new Commonwealth of Connecticut, and a charter was given to Harvard University. He then went back to England, there to throw himself with all his power into that great struggle of the Commonwealth against the tyrannous king. It was he who was sent to Scotland to negotiate that union which brought the Covenanter side by side with the English Puritan and settled the fate of English tyranny. Now it seems to me that Sir Harry Vane may serve for us in this one moment as the type of the true Pilgrim of to-day, the man whose cane strikes the solid ground of fact, the man whose sword is ready to flash from its scabbard when wrong is to be righted and the true cause honored, the man booted and spurred to hasten the king's business all over the world. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society and of the American Board to-day are such Pilgrims throughout the world. The men who have builded Boston and New York and Chicago and Minneapolis and St. Louis and San Francisco are many of them of this Pilgrim stock, and so it goes around the world. As your English poet says,

One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never feared though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake.

Wherever men have thus "greeted the unseen with a cheer" there has been the spirit of the Pilgrim of Yesterday and To-day.

Rev. E. G. Porter

Rev. Dr. Bevan will give us the last word, speaking on "The Pilgrim from Australia."

Address by Rev. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., D.D.

THE PILGRIM FROM AUSTRALIA

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen, — I am sure, after the long-continued banquet both of provision for the body and for the mind, few should be the words of the last speaker. I am glad that Australia has not been forgotten, though in the matter of relics and historical reminiscence Australia has fallen very far behind the old mother country or even the older children of the family such as we have in New England and America. And I suppose also that the Pilgrim spirit hardly went to Australia for the same purposes for which it came here. Australia did not have the good fortune of being founded to promote the ideal and spiritual purposes of life.

I often tell the Australian people that it is a very serious loss to them that they cannot look back to some of those highly inspirational sources which are found in some of the older nations and to which you so often refer in America. But I am not quite sure that it is altogether an advantage to be always looking back; there is something in not having a back to look at. I know some people the best part of whom is their ancestors, and they are mostly underground. I think there is in Australia a sense of a future; there is growing up what is called the native association. Men are giving up the thought of using Australia as a place in which to make a fortune and then go back to England or some of the old countries to spend it; I think they are leaving a good deal of that idea to many of the Americans. But they are rather feeling in Australia the sense of its being their native land, and they intend to lift the glory of that land high among the nations into the family of which, by federation, Australia has now entered.

Were it not so late I would like to say that the spirit which animated the Pilgrims is wanted even in Australia, for there are plenty of people there who are untrue to liberty. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty in Australia as well as everywhere else. There are ecclesiastics who would rob us of our freedom in Christ, there are statesmen who need to be watched, and there are forces in the material life of our modern times which we must fight with the essential spirit of the Pilgrim, — faith in liberty, faith in righteousness, and, above all, faith in Jesus Christ.

I think there was something rather fine, I must say, in the fact to which reference was made, that there was a time in the history of Plymouth Rock when it was a sort of everyday affair, lying at the door of a merchant's warehouse. I am not quite certain if there is not something nobler

in such an object as your rock being thus in your common life and among your common things rather than canopied over and turned into a relic. We may worship relics when we have forgotten the force of those principles which relics represent. I should like to see the spirit of Plymouth Rock, therefore, at the door of the merchant and even going into his counting house. I should like to see the spirit of those old Pilgrims coming into the common life. There is great danger lest, like the Israelites, we may give up worshiping Jehovah by building temples to him, and we do this very often when we turn these objects of force into our objects of worship. After all, they are only Nehushtan — pieces of brass.

Long may the spirit of Plymouth Rock be for England and America and Australia the force and power of their common life, and not a mere relic, interesting as it is to visit and proud as the people may be who possess such a thing amongst them.

We are taking to ourselves some new-fangled things, and among others certain hymns which are, I think, a little away from the tone and temper of our place in Christ's church as Congregationalists, — hymns that are highly sentimental, very eloquent, very beautiful, and somewhat poetic, but it seems to me they are now and then very false. We sing of "pilgrims of the night." It seems to me, sir, that we are rather pilgrims of the light; for if there be anything in this history of ours, it is that we love the light; we desire to see the light for ourselves; we do not want the obscurantists; we do not want the men who darken a text by great knowledge or by little knowledge, for you may darken it by either of those extremes. But we want the light that is shed by the true Teacher, and still more the light that is given by him who lives out the truth and manifests the truth.

But I am not here to make a speech. I am just here to say that I think we ought to express a word of thanks. It must be brief, but it will be thoroughly earnest. We ought, I am sure, to thank our chairman. His comments upon the subjects to which reference has been made have been most illuminating. He has recalled historical relations and has told us many interesting facts, and I think we ought to be exceedingly thankful to Mr. Porter for the excellent way in which he has conducted this meeting, and for the arrangements made for it. I have no doubt many have been associated with him in it, and we thank him and through him those who have given us so great and intellectual a treat this afternoon. But I am sure that all the delegates, whether belonging to America or coming from abroad, will unite in expressing our cordial thanks to the friends in Plymouth who have given us this welcome. I have sometimes said in Australia that I paid a far greater compliment to Australia by going to it than the people who were born there. The man who was born in Plymouth could not help it, but we who have come to Plymouth have come of our own free will. I will not discuss the respective claims that we might in this way urge upon the consideration of our Plymouth friends who live here. We chose to come, and we are glad we have come, and we thank Plymouth because it has treated us so generously and so royally. Talk about princely welcomes — the old mediæval princes could not be compared in the magnificence of their banquets and the luxury of their homes with the great republics of the Middle Ages, and America is only following the example of those republics in her splendid generosity, in her magnificent progress. I trust she will not follow those republics in that luxurious style of living and that love of simply material things which was their destruction. A better spirit, the spirit of the Pilgrims, is dwelling among you and will save this great republic from the decay which has overwhelmed so many others.

And with a closing word, sir, may I not say how grateful we are for the

splendid welcome given to us on all sides. I felt that the Council closed its special functions last evening a little coldly perhaps. Some word of general thanks might have been uttered, but the modesty of our friends who arranged for this Council is the only thing that is more magnificent than the generosity with which they have welcomed us. It seems to me that we can only lay our thanks upon the altar of our friendship and our brotherhood. The welcome we have had in your homes, the splendid reception you have given to us in your churches, the glorious provision which you have made for our material needs, and the abundant supply of things for the hearing of the ear and sometimes more than the understanding of the heart, have been perfectly overwhelming. I do trust you will not bring International Councils to a conclusion because there remains nothing else. The great Alexander had no other worlds to conquer. It may be that Congregationalism may have no other Council to hold. But wherever such a Council may be held in the future, I am quite sure the transcendent kindness of our American friends will not be overpassed. From the bottom of my heart, and for all my brethren, I thank you, — yourself, sir, Plymouth, America, American Congregationalism, represented by Boston as no other place could represent it — for your kindness.

At this point the descendants of the first generation of Pilgrims in the audience were asked to rise, and about ninety stood up. Two stanzas of the hymn "Blest be the tie that binds" were then sung, and Mr. Porter called upon Rev. Robert Bruce, of England, to offer the closing prayer and pronounce the benediction.

PRAYER AND BENEDICTION BY REV. ROBERT BRUCE, M.A., D.D.

Merciful and loving Father, who hast brought us joyfully and safely to this meeting of privilege, dismiss us now with thy benediction of abiding peace and increasing joy and love to our several homes and to our various occupations, and finally may we all, after fulfilling thy will on earth, meet each other and our Saviour in the land above, through Jesus Christ. May the blessing of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, the one almighty and merciful God, abide with us and all whom we love, now and evermore. Amen.

The Court House and Pilgrim Hall were then inspected, and promptly at five o'clock the train started homeward. On the way up to Boston farewells were said, cards exchanged, and arrangements made for future meetings. Upon arriving in Boston, the members of the Council and their friends separated, never to gather again in precisely the same company.

APPENDIX

THE EXCURSIONS

EXCURSIONS BY TROLLEY, TALLYHO, AND STEAMER

The transportation committee, a sub-committee of the committee of arrangements appointed by the Boston Congregational Club for the entertainment of the second International Council, consisting of Mr. William F. Whittemore, Hon. John H. Colby, Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., Rev. Edward G. Porter, Mr. Arthur A. Maxwell, and Mr. Joseph H. Warren, made the usual arrangements for reduced rates on the railroads and for supplying information to those desiring to attend the Council.

Early information was sent to all delegates and published in the denominational newspaper; but not content with this, which comprises the usual responsibility of the transportation committee, the committee also gave its attention to the care of delegates while in the city, providing for them a series of interesting outings to historic and other points of interest. While effort was made to prevent needless interference with the hours of meeting, it was recognized that many delegates would be unable to endure the strain of consecutive attendance upon three protracted sessions a day, and the excursions were so planned in the morning and afternoon as to bring a pleasant, and to many a needed, relaxation, besides giving a better impression of the city of Boston than could otherwise be secured.

Of the general excursion down Boston Harbor and the pilgrimages to Salem and Plymouth, mention is made elsewhere in this volume. Some brief reference deserves also to be made to those shorter but very interesting excursions under the management of the committee. Through the courtesy of the Boston Elevated Railway Company, special trolley cars were placed at the disposal of the committee and run upon schedules, arranged for the convenience of Council delegates. One of these trips was by way of Cambridge, Watertown, Waverley, and Brookline; another took its tourists to Franklin Park and brought them back by a different route. Perhaps the most popular trip of all was a drag ride by tallyho coach through the city's parks. Another party left daily for a tramp about the historic North End of Boston; and so by trolley, coach, and steamer, as well as on foot, small groups of delegates were taken, under competent guides each day, in many directions and to interesting scenes.

The committee's plan involved not only the arrangements of these excursions, but also their superintendence. Each party was limited and tickets were distributed on application, to delegates and their wives from a distance. At advertised hours, and promptly at the hours advertised, these clubs were seen departing from the Social Hall, each personally conducted; and the parties returning with uniform satisfaction from these different tours listened with a deeper interest to the addresses in the remaining sessions, by reason of the fresh air and the change of scene. While all the committee worked faithfully for the success of these excursions, a special word of credit is due to their indefatigable chairman, Mr. William F. Whittemore.

HARBOR EXCURSION, FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 22

Following the reception at the Vendome, the delegates of the Council, with their wives, enjoyed a general excursion down Boston Harbor.

There were several smaller excursions on different days on the city's police boat *Guardian*, kindly tendered to the Council by the City of Boston. The excursion of Friday was upon a larger scale, and, through the courtesy of His Honor Josiah Quincy, the Mayor of the City of Boston, made use of the city's larger boat, the *J. Putnam Bradlee*. The excursion was under special charge of Mr. William F. Whittemore, chairman, and of Hon. John H. Colby and Rev. Dr. William E. Barton, all of the committee on transportation.

The afternoon was pleasant and clear, though there was a tonic in the air and a little autumnal haze softened the more distant outlines. As the vessel swung into the stream, Dr. Barton pointed out the points of interest as they came in view astern: the Navy Yard, Bunker Hill Monument, Dorchester Heights, and Fort Independence. The site of Castle William was identified with particular interest by the British delegates. The frigate *Constitution*, lying at the Navy Yard, was hailed with a glad cry of recognition by all on board, and a greeting not less cordial was accorded the modern gunboat *Prairie*, then lying in the harbor, returned from the Spanish war with the dingy war paint changed back to that of the *White Squadron* of peace.

Further down the harbor Nix's Mate recalled the always interesting story, somewhat apocryphal to be sure, of the prophecy of the mutineer there executed, whose alleged declaration that the island would be washed away is recalled by the sight of the ominous, black-looking pyramid that marks the dangerous shoal. Long Island Head, with its new disappearing rifles peeping over the parapets, and Fort Warren, with its granite walls and its new and formidable defenses, were passed and described with interest. Passing beyond the fort through the ship channel, the vessel sailed toward Boston Light, and putting about gave a view of Minot's Light, rising

sheer from the waters. The story of its first course of masonry which occupied twenty-six months' effort, followed by a superstructure completed within a year, suggested a homiletic use to a number of ministers, who were seen reaching for their pencils and notebooks. Returning, the vessel passed near Hull, and Dr. Barton's warm eulogy of its brave life-savers evoked the heartiest applause along the deck.

Explanations ceased as the vessel returned along her previous course, and the visitors enjoyed the remaining time in quiet contemplation of the scenery, or in conversation in little groups concerning the Council, the city, and the harbor. As they neared Boston, one of the British brethren rose and said, "Brethren and friends, I want to move a vote of thanks to Dr. Barton for his explanation of the points of interest along our voyage this afternoon, and to say that for me it has been the most pleasant feature of this delightful excursion." The resolution passed with a hearty vote, and there were calls for a speech from Dr. Barton, who said, "Friends, you embarrass me with your kindness, and I thank you for your courteous vote of appreciation. To show you these points of interest has been a pleasure to me, and I am glad to know that it has been a pleasure also to you. I could not fail to notice your especial interest in the scenes associated with our war of the Revolution. I am glad that the time has come when we may view these battlefields, that have not known a hostile step for more than a hundred years, without animosity and with mutual interest. Indeed, we have a mutual glory in them, and neither of us grudges the other his share. At Bunker Hill you, our British friends, were victorious, and are quite welcome to the joy of the victory, and you have never grudged us our greater satisfaction in our defeat than was yours in your success. But we have a broader interest in all these battlefields. It was one conflict which was waging then on both sides of the ocean; it was one struggle of the English-speaking people for a broader freedom both here and there. It was fought as courageously by eloquence and diplomacy and righteous protest by Pitt and Fox and our nonconformist brethren in England as it was fought here by George Washington and our fathers, whose courage on the battlefield is our glory and our pride. And the victory belongs to us all. The great names are our common heritage. Our Washington is yours also, and while earth has no lack of monarchs, no one in America doubts which of these is intended when we say "the Queen." Of all people who have a right to magnify our common inheritance in these victories, our nonconformist brethren on the two sides of the ocean stand foremost. I have said that we are proud of our Revolutionary fathers, but many of us had more than one; I myself had two, and one fought under George Washington and the other was on the British side. I congratulate myself that they did not have the honor of each other's acquaintance. Again I thank you for your kind vote of thanks, and I rejoice with you on this pleasant excursion."

Another delegate rose and said, "I hope Dr. Barton will consider

himself our chairman for a moment while I introduce another resolution. I understand we are here to-day as the guests of the City of Boston. We have received from the beginning most generous and courteous treatment, but it seems to me that this pleasant recognition, which comes to us from the municipality itself, through His Honor the Mayor, and the city government of Boston, deserves a word of appreciation. I therefore move a vote of thanks to His Honor the Mayor of the City of Boston and to the city government for the use of the steamer this afternoon, together with the assurance of our hearty appreciation of a voyage so pleasant that we can never forget it." Dr. Barton put the motion, which prevailed amid the hearty applause, and Dr. Barton said, "It gives me especial pleasure to convey this vote of thanks to His Honor the Mayor of the City of Boston. I may take this opportunity to say how glad Boston is to have a Mayor whose interest in a gathering of this sort prompts him to this gracious act. To Alderman Colby also we are indebted for many of these courtesies, as well as for his faithful work beyond this committee. We are honored in having such men at the head of our city government, nor is this Commonwealth less proud of its governor. His warm words of welcome to you on the opening night and his genial greeting at the State House on the following day are one in kind with the courtesies which we have received from the city, and in both cases they are hearty and sincere."

The vessel had left the dock at three o'clock sharp, which was the advertised hour. She was equally prompt of return. At exactly five o'clock she was made fast to the wharf, and the delegates went ashore with many pleasant and appreciative words concerning the afternoon's outing.

DELEGATES AT CONCORD*

It was a pleasant thing that so many excursions within and beyond the environs of Boston were planned for the delegates of the International Congregational Council. It would have been equally grateful to the people of Concord, and particularly to the Trinitarian Congregational church, if this town could have been included in the list. In view of the varied historic interest centering in it, not only for our own country, but for England, and closely allying it to the motherland, such an inclusion would seem to have been amply justified. The church would have been glad to welcome the entire membership of the Council in a body, and to provide for their comfort and entertainment in its recently reconstructed house of worship, could arrangements to this end have been made.

The town of Concord was incorporated in 1635, the original grant having been made to about twelve families who came hither in the fall of that year, "travelling through unknowne woods." But, as

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*This interesting account of the gracious hospitality offered the delegates at Concord was prepared for the Volume of Proceedings by the Rev. George A. Tewksbury, pastor of the Trinitarian Congregational Church of Concord, who was also a delegate to the Council. — EDITOR.

the scene of our opening Revolutionary history, Concord is the logical result of Plymouth and Salem. It marks and commemorates the inevitable development of what was begun in 1620. It was here that the seed of a separate nation sown in the earlier colonization first visibly germinated; of which "the full corn in the ear" was to be the freedom and independence of the united colonies. "Here the British army was first fronted and driven back; and if only two men, or only one man, had been slain, it was the first victory. The thunderbolt falls on an inch of ground, but the light of it fills the horizon. The British instantly retreated." * So that a visit of the Council in a body to Concord would have naturally followed and rounded out the other excursions made, distinctly recognizing the national idea, — as in those the earlier colonial idea came prominently to view.

In the thought, however, that many of the delegates would, of their own motion, visit Concord, the Trinitarian church at its annual meeting, held two days before the Council, voted unanimously — the vote being moved and warmly commended by Deacon Thomas Todd — to provide free transportation to the various places of local interest, Revolutionary and literary, for all of whose coming information might be received.

Nor did the church fail to have the opportunity expected. During the sessions of the Council, several companies of the delegates, in all about forty, mostly from England, came to Concord, and were cordially received by Rev. George A. Tewksbury, the pastor of the church, and his wife. They were taken to the North Bridge, the Wright Tavern, the Wayside, the homes of Emerson and Alcott, and "Sleepy Hollow." In these trips efficient aid was rendered by Mr. George M. Baker, in describing the places visited. Miss Ellen Emerson, daughter of Ralph Waldo Emerson, very kindly admitted the visitors to the room long occupied by her father as his study.

It was to be expected that the literary associations of the town would be enjoyed by all; but it was of special interest to note the cordial appreciation and warm approval on the part of the English visitors of the defensive and revolutionary action which began here in 1775. It was freely expressed by them that the issue of the memorable struggle was right and best, alike as related to their own country and to ours.

We are grateful to those who favored us with their coming. The memory of kindly words and sympathetic interest in those things of the town which give it a place peculiar to itself, and in the welfare, too, of the Trinitarian church, will remain with us, not to depart, though they have gone. The town of Concord, Massachusetts, U. S. A., belongs to the world.

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* Emerson's Address, April 19, 1875.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

"Reunions, breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, five o'clock's, ten o'clock's — what a round of social festivities! But they all helped to lubricate business." So recorded *The Congregationalist* at the close of the Council. A complete list of these social functions cannot be chronicled here. The governor's reception at the State House, the banquet at the Vendome, the musical and supper at the Shawmut church, have all been noted in their proper places in this volume. Among the many little gatherings, none was more delightful than that of the American delegates who went to the first International Council on the *City of Chicago*. They were entertained at Young's Hotel by Mr. and Mrs. G. Henry Whitcomb, of Massachusetts. The delegates from the British Colonial unions had a reunion and dinner at the Vendome. Dr. Mackennal presided, and Rev. D. Burford Hooke, colonial secretary, was the animating spirit. The Michigan delegation was entertained at an informal lunch at Young's Hotel by Mr. E. Boynton, of Massachusetts, father of Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., of Michigan. A dinner given at the Algonquin Club by Mr. M. F. Dickinson, Jr., brought together a very choice company, including the governor of the Commonwealth, the mayor of the city, several college presidents and other educationalists in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia. The Winthrop Club, the oldest social and literary club of Congregational ministers in the United States, gave a breakfast at Young's Hotel. Rev. Morton Dexter presided, and brief speeches were made by Drs. Mackennal, Fairbairn, John Brown, Bevan, Forsyth, and Bruce, Principals Cave and Gosman, and Rev. Messrs. Horne, Halley, Hollowell, Rowland, Selbie, Thomas, Woods, Jones, Macfadyen, and Professors Ralph Wardlaw Thompson, Robertson, Armitage, Wilkins, and Simpson. Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, entertained several English and American delegates at the University Club with a luncheon. Dean Hodges of the Cambridge Divinity School, Dr. J. S. Lindsay, Mr. John C. Ropes, and Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale were among the guests from Boston and vicinity. The delegates present were President Angell, Mr. Samuel B. Capen, Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., Rev. Robert Bruce, D.D., Dr. P. T. Forsyth, Mr. Evan Spicer, and Rev. Albert E. Dunning, D.D.

SEMINARY REUNIONS

Graduates of several of the theological seminaries were present in such numbers that most delightful reunions were held and banquets enjoyed. About a hundred persons attended the Bangor reunion. Addresses were made by Professor Denio, Mr. Galen C. Moses, and others. Alumni of Yale Divinity School held a meeting and banquet,

at which President Hyde's paper was discussed. The Oberlin alumni, representing thirty-four states and five foreign countries, met in the parlors of the Brighton Congregational church. Prof. H. C. King spoke for the alumni, and Rev. Judson Smith, D.D., for the trustees. Hartford Seminary alumni dined at Young's Hotel; and between thirty and forty men attended the Chicago Seminary reunion at the Parker House. Graduates of Union Seminary met at the American House. In all these assemblies the student experiences of former years were recalled, and loyalty to the college and seminary and the merits of the Council were the chief themes discussed.

THE BRADFORD MANUSCRIPT *

The Bradford Manuscript, with its precious account of the sailing of the *Mayflower* and the planting of Plymouth Colony, is in the handwriting of Governor William Bradford, and tells the story of the colony from the removal to Holland in 1608 till the year 1646.

Secured by Rev. Thomas Prince in 1728 from Mayor John Bradford, grandson of Governor Bradford, it was kept with the valuable manuscript and books in the tower of the Old South Meeting House. During the Revolution it disappeared, and no one knows how it was lost.

In 1844 Bishop Samuel Wilberforce published a "History of the Episcopal Church in America" containing extracts from manuscripts found in the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham. In 1855 American scholars first noticing these extracts came to the conclusion that they might be from Bradford's lost history. The handwriting compared with Bradford's extant letters, as well as the contents of the book, proved it to be Governor Bradford's history "Of Plimoth Plantation."

At once it began to be desired that the manuscript might be returned to Massachusetts, but the return was not accomplished until 1897, when, through the courtesy of the Bishop of London, the book was delivered to the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, who brought it in person to Boston, where it was received by Governor Wolcott with an interchange of international courtesies and many expressions of good will. No more romantic story of the loss and recovery of a precious document is recorded in history; nor is there in either country a more valuable monument of the Pilgrim movement, or a more gracious evidence of the spirit of international friendliness which now prevails. An accurate report of the book, with the proceedings which accompanied its return, including the oration of Senator Hoar, has been published as a public document by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

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* See page 44.

NECROLOGY

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Clarke, Benjamin, London, England.
Colman, J. J., M.P., Norwich, England.
Common, Andrew, J.P., Sunderland, England.
Conder, Eustace R., D.D., Leeds, England, 1892, July 5 — 72.
Cornish, Rev. George, LL.D., Montreal, Canada, 1895, August 18 — 67.
Dale, Robert W., D.D., LL.D., Birmingham, England, 1895, March 13 — 65.
Evans, E. Herber, D.D., Carnarvon, Wales, 1896, December 30 — 60.
Falding, Frederick J., D.D., Bradford, England, 1893, January 1 — 74.
Ferguson, Fergus, D.D., Glasgow, Scotland, 1898 — 74.
Ferguson, J. Toowoomba, Queensland.
Fielden, Rev. William S. H., London, England, 1894, June 2 — 64.
Finlayson, Thomas C., D.D., Manchester, England, 1893, February 7 — 57.
Green, Rev. Thomas, Ashton-under-Lyne, England, 1897, December 18 — 67.
Harrison, Rev. Joshua C., London, England, 1894, July 19 — 81.
Hill, T. Rowley, M.P., Worcester, England.
Jarvie, Rev. J. M., Greenoch, Scotland, 1899.
LeFevre, Hon. Dr., Melbourne, Victoria, 1891.
Manthorp, Rev. C., Glenelg, S. Australia.
Morison, James, D.D., Glasgow, Scotland, 1893 — 77.
Morris, John, D.D., Brecon, Wales, 1896, November 27 — 83.
Newth, Samuel, D.D., London, England, 1898, January 29 — 77.
Reynolds, Henry R., Broxbourne, England, 1896, September 10 — 70.
Roberts, David, D.D., Wrexham, England, 1897, September 5 — 79.
Saunderson, Rev. John G. Danville, Quebec, Canada.
Shipperley, Rev. James, Maitland, N. S., Canada, 1897.
Simon, Rev. Henry, London, England, 1892, August 19 — 54.
Symes, Rev. Colmer B., London, England, 1896, June 24 — 57.
Thomas, Rev. John, Liverpool, England, 1892, July 14 — 71.
Thomson, Alexander, D.D., Manchester, England, 1895, May 6 — 80.
Walker, Thomas, London, England.
Watt, Rev. David G., Herne Hill, England, 1897, May 8 — 80.
White, Rev. Edward, London, England, 1898, July 25 — 79.
Wintringham, Mr. J., Grimsby, England.
Wood, F. J., LL.D., London, England.
Wright, Rev. J. Morley, London, England, 1896, September 27 — 41.

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Barrows, Rev. Walter M., 1899, August 10 — 53.
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Brand, James, D.D., 1899, April 11 — 65.
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Hall, Rev. Alfred H., 1891, December 26 — 46.

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Ross, A. Hastings, D.D., 1893, May 13 — 62.
Simmons, Pres. Henry C., D.D., 1899, December 20 — 54.
Stearns, Prof. Lewis F., D.D., 1892, February 1 — 44.
Taylor, William M., D.D., 1895, February 8 — 65.
Watt, Rev. David G., 1897, May 8 — 79.
Woods, Charles H., 1899, April 16 — 62.

ERRATUM

REV. EUGENE C. WEBSTER,

Editor, Volume of Proceedings:

Dear Brother, — Our English friends named Rev. D. Burford Hooke for Assistant Secretary of the Council. The action of the Council (as recorded on pages xxviii and 7) which made him Secretary, instead of Assistant Secretary, was an error.

Yours fraternally,

HENRY A. HAZEN, *Secretary*.

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